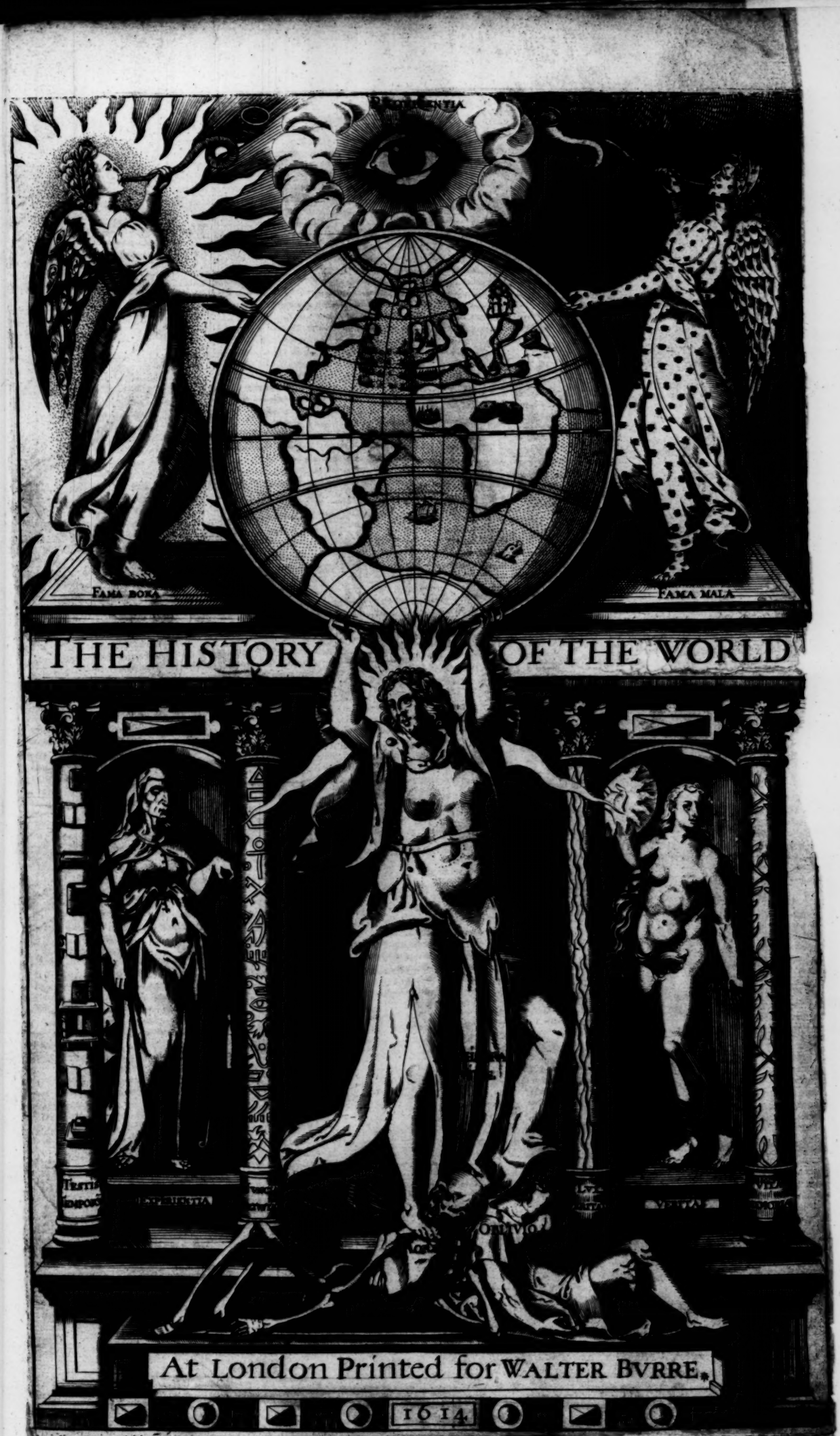
PROVIDENTIA
FAMA BONA
FAMA MALA
THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD
OBLIVIO
At London Printed for WALTER BVRRE.
1614

THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

FRom Death, *and darke* Obliuion (*neere the ſame*)
The Miſtreſſe of Mans life, *graue* HISTORY,
Raiſing the World *to good, or euill* FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITY.

'igh PROVIDENCE *would ſo: that nor the Good*
Might be defrauded, nor the Great ſecur'd,
both might know their waies are vnderſtood,
And the reward, and puniſhment aſſur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamy hand
Of TRVTH, *which ſearcheth the moſt hidden ſprings,*
And guided by EXPERIENCE, *whoſe ſtreight* Wand,
Doth mete, *whoſe* Line *doth ſound the depth of things;*

She chearefully ſupporteth what ſhe reares:
Aiſsiſted by no ſtrengths, but are her owne.
Some note of which each varied Pillar *beares,*
By which, as proper titles, ſhee is knowne,

Times Witneſſe, Herald of Antiquitie,
The Light of Truth, and Life of Memorie.

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THE PREFACE.

HOw vnfit, and how vnworthy a choice I haue made of my ſelfe, to vndertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reaſon, though exceeding weake, hath ſufficiently reſolued me. For had it beene begotten then with my firſt dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it ſelfe to my younger yeares: and before any wound receiued, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well haue doubted, that the darkenes of Age and Death would haue couered ouer both It and Mee, long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation: I haue proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, within this our renowned Iland of Great Brittaine. I confeſſe that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are runne out in other trauailes; to haue ſet together (as I could) the vnioynted and ſcattered frame of our Engliſh affaires, than of the vniuerſall: in whom, had there beene no other defect, (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawne on to the very euening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt, and ſoule-peircing wounds, which are euer aking while vncured: with the deſire to ſatisfie thoſe few friends, which I haue tryed by the fire of Aduerſities; the former enforcing, the latter perſwading; haue cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelfe the ſubiect of euery opinion wiſe or weake.

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue others that were, (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any age. For, Proſperity and Aduerſity haue euer-more tyed and vntied vulgar Affections. And as we ſee it in experience, That dogs doe alwayes barke at thoſe they know not; and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which wee call Honeſty in all men, and that eſpeciall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemne, without hearing; and wound, without offence giuen: led there-vnto by vncertaine report only; which his Maieſty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame no man (ſaith Siracides) before thou haue enquired the matter. Vnderſtand firſt, and then reforme righteouſly. Rumor, res ſine teſte, ſine

Daemonolog. l. 3. c. 1.

Eccl. c. 11. v. 7.

Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis detestor. Sen. de ira. l. 3. c. 22.

sine iudice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witnesse; without iudge, malicious and deceiuable. *This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gaue St.* Augustine *Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, & detested that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better rule, then this of* Seneca; Conscientiæ satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus; sequatur vél mala, dum benè merearis. Let vs satisfie our owne consciences, and not trouble our selues with fame: bee it neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we deserue well.

For my selfe, if I haue in any thiug serued my Country, and prised it before my priuate: the general acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack; & the contrary no other harme than an outragious tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the loue of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honor in the dust; though further then the defence of her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what deuice they did it: He that is the Supreame Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompt, so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that haue made themselues Fathers of that fame, which hath beene begotten for them: I can neither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulers.*

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can trauell the World without a pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility, to perswade by the mouth of one Aduocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensiue vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giuing life which GOD *hath cast vp Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we read and heare, and among those that are, whom we see and conuerse with; euery one hath receiued a seuerall picture of face, and euery one a diuers picture of minde; euery one a forme apart, euery one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it commeth that there is found so great diuersity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many naturall and vnnaturall; wise, foolish; manly, and childish affections; and passions in mortall Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.*

And though it hath pleased GOD, *to reserue the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so doe the*

outward workes of men (ſo farre as their cogitations are acted) giue vs whereof to gueſſe at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſſe the one by the other, very neare the life: did not craft in many, feare in the moſt, and the worlds loue in all, teach euery capacity, according to the compaſſe it hath, to qualifie & maske ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true, Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeite behauiour the thinges that are forced for pretences, hauing no ground of truth, cannot long diſſemble their owne natures. *Neither can any man (ſaith* Plutarch *ſo change himſelfe, but that his heart may be ſometime ſeene at his tongues end.*

In this great diſcord and diſſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if wee direct our ſelues to the Multitude; Omnis honeſtæ rei malus iudex eſt vulgus. The common people are euill Iudges of honeſt things, *and* whoſe wiſedome (*ſaith Eccleſiaſtes*) is to be deſpiſed; *if to the better ſort; euery vnderſtanding hath a peculiar iudgement, by which it both cenſureth other men, and valueth it ſelfe. And therefore vnto me it will not ſeeme ſtrange, though I finde theſe my worthles papers torne with Rats: ſeeing the ſlothfull Cenſurers of all ages haue not ſpared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the ſeuereſt men to themſelues, with Hypocriſie; the greateſt louers of Iuſtice, with Popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt valour and fortitude, with vaine-glorie. But of theſe natures which lye in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, ſeeing* Salomon *complained long ſince: and that the very age of the world renders it euery day after other more malitious; I muſt leaue the profeſſors to their eaſie wayes of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.*

Eccl. c. 11.

Nihil facilius, quam reprehendere alium.

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common and approued cuſtome of thoſe, who haue left the memories of time paſt to after ages; to giue, as neare as I can, the ſame right to Hiſtory which they haue done. Yet ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other mens wordes; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath beene honoured; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderſtanding, ſince the world it ſelfe had life and beginning, euen to this day: yea it hath triũphed ouer time, which beſides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vaſt and deuouring ſpace of ſo many thouſands of yeares, and giuen ſo faire and peircing eies to our minde; that we plainly behold liuing now (as if we had liued then) that great World, Magni Dei ſapiens opus, the wiſe worke (*ſaith Hermes*) of a great GOD, *as it was then, when but new to it ſelfe. By it I ſay it*

is, that we liue in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was gouerned: how it was couered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes haue florished and fallen; and for what vertue and piety GOD *made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Auncestors; and, out of the depth and darkenesse of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-paßed miseries, with our owne like errours and ill deseruings.*

But it is neither of Examples the most liuely instructions, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified mindes; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisdome of GOD *doth peiree through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iustice of* GOD *doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formalities, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, couer from his knowledge. And so much did that Heathen wisdome confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke he can hide it from the euerlasting gods, he thinkes not well.*

To repeat GODS *iudgements in particular, vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaied with his mercies; would require a volume a part: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome The markes, set on priuat men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them: so as they who succeed, and haue not seene the fall of others, doe not feare their owne faults.* GODS *iudgments vpon the greater and greatest, haue beene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkeable in the world. Now to poynt farre off, and to speake of the conuersion of Angells into Deuills, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who haue gnawne the graße of the earth with beasts, for pride and ingratitude towards* GOD: *Or of that wise working of* Pharao, *when he slue the Infants of* Israel, *ere they had recouered their Cradles: Or of the policy of* Iezabel, *in couering the Murder of* Naboth *by a triall of the* Elders, *according to the Law: with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practise, perill, bloudshed, and*

cruelty

cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue vndergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make them-selues and their issues maisters of the world: And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, *and the rest, noe fruit, flower, grasse, nor leafe, springing vpon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No; their very roots and ruines doe hardly remaine.* Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. *The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes and States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forraine force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others obserue, That the greatest haue sunck downe vnder their owne weight; of which* Liuie *hath a touch:* eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret sua: *Others, That the diuine prouidence (which* Cratippus *obiected to* Pompey*) hath set downe the date and period of euery estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to resolue.*

For seeing the first bookes of the folowing story, haue vndertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to trauaile after and ouer-take farre off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath beene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld, both in diuine and humane letters, the successe of infidelitie, iniustice, and crueltie, haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same patterne.

True it is that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred vp alike with examples of like nature: But euery one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne priuate; Or otherwise best suteth with his apprehension. But the iudgements of GOD *are for euer vnchangeable; neither is hee wearied by the long processe of time, and won to giue his blessing in one age, to that which hee hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisedome, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded, will be able to discerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policie, as well among those examples that are found in ages remoued farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare by euident proofe, than by asseueration, That all doing hath alwaies beene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of preface, runne ouer some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.*

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no ſooner paſſed ouer the violence of the Norman Conqueſt, than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of Gods Iuſtice, vpon the children of Henry the firſt. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, hee had diſpoſſeſt ouertreacht, and laſtly made blinde and deſtroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne ſonnes Lords of this Land: GOD caſt them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearely beloued.

To paſſe ouer the reſt, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the iſſue of blood then made, though it had ſometimes of ſtay and ſtopping, did againe breake out; and that ſo often and in ſuch aboundance, as all our Princes of the Maſculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the ſame diſeaſe. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then ſuſpicious: yet in that he after wards cauſed his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the deſire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then ſuppoſed to be liuing; the King making that to be treaſon in his Vncle, which was indeed treaſon in him-ſelfe, had his Vncles intelligence beene true) this I ſay made it manifeſt, that he was not ignorant of what had paſt, nor greatly deſirous to haue had it otherwiſe; though he cauſed Mortimer to dye for the ſame.

This cruelty the ſecret and vnſearchable iudgement of GOD reuenged, on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and ſo it fell out, euen to the laſt of that line, that in the ſecond or third deſcent they were all buried vnder the ruines of thoſe buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the ſecond, who ſaw, both his Treaſurers, his Chaucellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counſailours, ſome of them ſlaughtered by the people, others in his abſence executed by his enemies; yet he alwayes tooke himſelfe for ouer wiſe, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntington and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought themſelues as great Politicians in thoſe dayes, as others haue done in theſe: hoping to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelues, by the Murder of Glouceſter; died ſoone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands, and farre more ſhamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King himſelfe (who in regard of many deedes, vnworthy of his Greatneſſe, cannot hee excuſed, as the diſauowing him ſelfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents) He was in the prime of his youth depoſed, and murdered by his Coſen Germane and vaſſel, Henry of Lancaſter, afterwards Henry the fourth.

This King, whose Title was weake, and his obtaining the Crowne traiterous: who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend onely the recouery of his proper inheritance; brake faith with Richard *himselfe; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should liue. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set vpon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from conspiracies and rebellions: he saw (if Soules immortall see and discerne any thinges after the bodies death) his Grand-childe* Henry *the sixt, and his Son the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race; and by the Issues of his Enemies worne and enioyd: Enemies, whom by his owne practise hee supposed, that he had left no lesse power lesse, than the succession of the Kingdome questionlesse; by entailing the same vppon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no otherwise, but that these cautious prouisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and signall victories of his sonne* Henry *the fift, had buried the hopes of euery Competitor, vnder the despaire of all reconquest and recouery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of* Casaubon *also true;* Dies, hora, momentum euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry *the sixt, vpon whom the great storme of his Grandfathers grieuous faultes fell, as it formerly had done vpon* Richard *the Grand-childe of* Edward: *although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he refused the daughter of* Armaignac, *of the House of* Nauarre, *the greatest of the Princes of* France, *to whom hee was affianced (by which match he might haue defended his Inheritance in* France) *and married the Daughter of* Aniou, *(by which he lost all that hee had in* France) *so as in condiscending to the vnworthy death of his Vncle of* Gloceſter, *the maine and strong Pillar of the house of* Lancaster; *Hee drew on himselfe and this kingdome the greatest ioynt losse & dishonor, that euer it sustained since the* Norman *Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said which a Counsellor of his owne spake of* Henry *the third of* France, Qu'il estoit vne fort gentile Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps. That he was a very gentle Prince; but his raigne happened in a very vnfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham *and* Suffolke *were the practisers & contriuers of the Dukes death:* Buckingham *and* Suffolk, *because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority, which otherwise vnder the Queene had bin absolute; the Queene, in respect of her personall wound,* spretæque iniuria formæ

formæ, *becauſe* Gloceſter *diſſwaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſſe to the Counſaile. For after the cutting downe of* Glouceſter, Yorke *grew vp ſo faſt, as hee dared to diſpute his right both by arguments and armes; in which quarrell,* Suffolke *and* Buckingham, *with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolued. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike downe* Yorke: *yet his ſonne the Earle of* March, *following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, deſpoyled* Henry *the Father, and* Edward, *the ſonne, both of their liues aud Kingdomes. And what was the end now of that politique* Lady *the* Queene, *other then this, That ſhe liued to behold the wretched ends of all her pertakers: that ſhe liued to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her onely ſonne the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crowne was ſet on his head that did it. Shee liued to ſee her ſelfe deſpoyled of her Eſtate, and of her moueables: and laſtly, her Father, by rendring vp to the Crowne of France the Earledome of* Prouence *and other places, for the payment of fifty thouſand crownes for her Ranſome, to become a ſtarke Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which* Siracides *calleth* fine *but* vnrighteous: *for other fruit hath it neuer yeelded ſince the world was.*

ſirach 19.

And now it came to Edward *the fourths turne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of* Lancaſter *were rooted vpp; One onely Earle of* Richmond *excepted: whome alſo hee had once bought of the Duke of Brittaine, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of* Edward *ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelfe ſtability. For this* Edward *the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the ſlaughter, which* Glouceſter, Dorſet, Haſtings, *and others, made of* Edward *the Prince in his owne preſence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the iudgement of GOD in the ſame kinde. And Hee, which (beſides the execution of his brother* Clarence, *for none other offence then hee him-ſelfe had formed in his owne imagination) inſtructed* Glouceſter *to kill* Henry *the ſixt, his Predeceſſour; taught him alſo by the ſame Art to kill his owne ſonnes and Succeſſors* Edward *and* Richard. For thoſe Kings which haue ſold the blood of others at a low rate; haue but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

To Edward *the fourth ſucceeded* Richard *the Third, the greateſt Maiſter in miſchiefe of of all that fore-went him: who although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedie, hee had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne perſon, then all the reſt; yet hee ſo well fitted euery affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly vpon the affections of* Haſtings, *and* Buckingham, *enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as hee*

eaſily

easily allured them to condiscend, that Riuers *and* Grey, *the Kings Maternall Vncle and halfe brother, should (for the first) be seuered from him: secondly, hee wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned, and lastly) for the auoyding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads seuered from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on euery post,* Scelera scelerib⁹ tuenda Sen: de clem. *namely, To depresse those whom they had grieued, and to destroy those whom they had depreſt; Hee vrged that argument so farre and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king himself, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into* Buckinghams *head, That, whensoeuer the king or his brother, should haue able yeares to exercise their power; they would take a most seuere reuenge of that cureleſſe wrong, offered to their Vncle and Brother,* Riuers *and* Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, *whose fidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Diuell, who neuer disswades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when hee found by* Catesby, *who sounded him, that he was not fordable: He first resolued to kill him sitting in councell: wherein hauing fayled with his sword; He set the Hangman vpon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite; He caused his head to be stricken off, before he eate his dinner. A greater iudgement of* GOD, *than this vpon* Hastings, *I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same daie that the Earle* Riuers, Grey, *and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence giuen) by* Hastings *aduice executed at* Pomfret: *I say* Hastings *him-selfe in the same daie, and (as I take it) in the same houre, in the same law-leſſe manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of* London. *But* Buckingham *liued a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the* Londoners *to elect* Richard *for their king. And hauing receiued the Earldome of* Hereford *for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grieuous vexations of mind, and vnfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and deliuered vp by his trustiest seruant; He had his head seuered from his body at* Salisbury, *without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what successe had* Richard *himself after all these mischefes and murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion: and after such time, as with a most merciless hand he had preſsed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke ouer and discerne it? the great outcry of innocent bloud, obtaining at* GODS *hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonor, both to his friends and enemies.*

This cruell King, Henry *the seauenth cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of* GODS *iustice. A politicke Prince hee was*

if euer there were any, who by the ingine of his wisdome, beat downe and ouerturned as many strong oppositions both before and after hee ware the crowne as euer King of England did: I say by his wisdome, because as he euer left the raines of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies wayed his vndertakings by his abillities, leauing nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humaine actions. Hee had well obserued the proceedings of Loys *the eleuenth, whom hee followed in all that was royall or royal like, but hee was farre more iust, and begun not their processes whom hee hated or feared by the execution, as* Loys *did.*

Hee could neuer indure any mediation in rewarding his seruants, and therein exceeding wise, for what so euer him-selfe gaue, he him-selfe receiued backe the thanks and the loue, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so reddely as by benefits) were traynes that better became great Kings, than great subiects. On the contrary, in what so-euer he greeued his subiects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. How-so-euer, the taking off, of Stanles *head, who set the Crowne on his, and the death of the young Earle of* Warwick, *sonne to* George D. *of* Clarence, *shews, as the successe also did, that hee held somewhat of the errors of his Ancesters, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand children, as that of* Edward *the third and* Henry *the fourth had done.*

Now for King Henry *the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many seruants did hee aduance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gaue hee aboundant floweres from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Harueſt burnt them in the Hiue? How many wiues did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawle towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles haue kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to haue giuen his accompt to* GOD *for the aboundance of bloud already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of* Nofolke *the Father; and executed the Earle of* Surrey *the sonne; the one, whose deseruings he knew not how to value, hauing neuer omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour, and the Kings seruice; the other, neuer hauing committed any thing worth of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised; the other, no lesse valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which he heaped vpon the Fatherlesse, and widdowes at home: and besides the vaine enterprises abroade, wherein it is thought that hee consumed more Treasure, than all our victorious*

Kings

Kinges did in their ſeuerall Conqueſts: what cauſeleſſe and cruell warres did he make vpon his owne Nephew King Iames *the firſt? What Lawes and Wills did he deuiſe, to eſtabliſh this Kingdome in his owne iſſues? vſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, & cut downe thoſe branches, which ſprang from the ſame roote that him-ſelfe did. And in the end (not withſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious prouiſions) it pleaſed* GOD *to take away all his owne, without increaſe, though, for themſelues in their ſeuerall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe wordes of* Samuell *to* Agag *King of the* Amalikites, *haue beene verified vpon many others:* As thy ſword hath made other women childleſſe: ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſſe among other women. *And that blood, which the ſame King* Henry *affirmed, that the cold aire of* Scotland *had frozen vp in the North,* GOD *hath diffuſed by the ſunſhine of his grace: form whence* His Maieſty *now liuing, and long to liue, is deſcended. Of whome I may ſay it truely, That if all the malice of the world were infuſed into one eie: yet could it not diſcerne in His life, euen to this daie, any one of thoſe foule ſpots, by which the Conſciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue beene defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the ſword of his iuſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him, haue ſtayned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of* England; *it may truely be auowed. That he hath receiued it euen form the hand of* GOD, *and hath ſtayed the time of putting it on, howſoeuer he were prouoked to haſten it: That Hee neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that ſought to put him beſide it: That Hee refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Princeſſe did. That his* Maieſty *entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right ſet open; and into which, by a generall loue and Obedience, Hee was receiued And howſoeuer* His Maieſties *preceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witneſſe the Treaty at* Cambray *in the yeare,* 1559) *yet hee neuer, pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned* Lady *his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the iniury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long raigne.*

Neither ought wee to forget, or neglect our thankefullneſſe to GOD *for the vniting of the Northern partss of Brittany to the South, to wit of Scotland to England, which though they were ſeuered but by ſmall brookes and bankes, yet by reaſon of the long continewed warre, and the cruelties exercized vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitly ſeuered. This I ſay is not the leaſt of Gods bleſſings which* His Maieſty *hath brought with him vnto this Land. Nay, put all our petty greeuances together, and heap them vp to their hight, they wil appeare but as a Mole-hil compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince*

then; haue acknowledged the vniting of the Red-Rose, *and the White, for the greatest happinesse (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome receiued from* GOD, *certainely the peace betweene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our British blood, heretofore and during the difference so often & abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more inable to recouer her auntient honor and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies and conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588, ioyned the army which hee commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; and had his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against vs in the north: it is ease to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainely we would then without murmur haue brought this vnion a farre greater praise than it hath since cost vs.*

It is true, that there was neuer any Common weale or Kingdome in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings liue in the world and not aboue it. They are not infinit to examine euery mans cause, or to relieue euery mans wants. And yet in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice) His Maiestey *hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his owne Coffers. Of whome it may be said as of* Salomon Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem Cordis: *Which if other men doe not vnderstand with* Pineda, *to be ment by* Liberality, *but by* Latitude of knowledge; *yet may it bee better spoken of* His Maiesty, *than of any King that euer* England *had, who as well in Diuine, as Humane vnderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.*

Pix comment. in Sal. 1. K. 4.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiestey, *without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of* Queene Elizabeth, *made by vnskilfull and common Painters, which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill* Artists, *in setting out the beauty of the externall: and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leaue to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely mindes, a most defectiue representation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest* Reader *but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whome for that purpose I haue inserted this breife discourse) with* His Maiesties *temperate, reuengelesse, and liberall disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them iustly, and with an euen hand: and withall but bestow euery deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King him-selfe hath.*

Now

Now as we haue told the succesſe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great perſonages: ſo we fiende, that GOD *is euery where the ſame* GOD. *And as it pleaſed him to puniſh the vſurpation, and vnnaturall cruelty of* Henry *the firſt, and of our third* Edward, *in their Children for many generations: ſo dealt* He *with the ſonnes of* Loys Debonaire, *the ſonne of* Charles *the great*, or Charlemaine. *For after ſuch time as* Debonaire *of* France, *had torne out the eies of* Bernard *his Nephew, the ſonne of* Pipen, *the eldeſt ſonne of* Charlemaine, *and heire of the Empire, and then cauſed him to die in priſon, as did our* Henry *to* Robert *his eldeſt brother: there followed nothing but murders vpon murders, poyſoning, impriſonments, and ciuill warre; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguiſhed.*

And though Debonaire, *after he had rid himſelfe of his Nephew by a violent death; and of his Baſtard Brothers by a ciuill death (hauing incloſed them with ſure gard, all the daies of their liues, within a Monaſterie) held him ſelfe ſecure from all oppoſition: Yet* GOD *raiſed vp againſt him (which hee ſuſpected not) his owne ſonnes, to vex him, to inuade him, to take him priſoner, and to depoſe him; his owne ſonnes, with whome (to ſatisfie their ambition) hee had ſhared his eſtate, and giuen them Crownes to wear, and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Yea his eldeſt ſonne* Lothaire *(for hee had foure, three by his firſt wife, and one by his ſecond; to wit,* Lothaire, Pipen, Loys, *and* Charles) *made it the cauſe of his depoſition, That he had vſed violence towards his Brothers and Kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whome hee might haue deliuered) to be ſlaine, eo quod, ſaith the Text,* fratribus et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit. Becauſe he vſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, and ſuffred his Nephew to be ſlain whom he might haue deliuered. *Step. Paſquier recher. l. 5. c. 1.*

Yet did hee that which few Kings doe, namely, repent him of his cruelties. For among many other things, which hee performe in the Generall Aſſemblie of the States, it follows. Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe cõfeſſus, & imitatus Impe ratoris *Theodoſii* exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* propriũ nepotem geſſerat. After this hee did openly confeſſe him ſelfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour *Theodoſius* hee vnder-went voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which hee had done againſt *Bernard* his owne Nephew. *Paſq Ibidem.*

This hee did: and it was praiſe-worthie. But the bloud that is vniuſtly ſpilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

This King, as I haue ſaid, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire *his eldeſt he gaue the Kingdome of* Italy; *as* Charlemaine, *his Father, had done to* Pepin *the Father of* Bernard, *who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To* Pepin *the ſecond ſonne he gaue the* Kingdome *of* Aquitaine: *to* Loys, *the Kingdome of Bauier: and to* Charles, *whome hee had by a ſecond wife, called* Iudith, *the remainder of the Kingdome of* France. *But this ſecond wife, being a Mother-in-law to the reſt, perſwaded* Debonaire *to caſt his ſonne* Pipen *out of* Aquitaine; *thereby to greaten* Charles: *which, after the death of his ſonne* Pipen, *he proſequted to effect, againſt his Grandchild bearing the ſame name. In the meane while, being inuaded by his ſonne* Loys *of* Bauier, *he dies for greife.*

Debonaire *dead:* Loys *of* Bauier, *and* Charles *afterwards called the* bald, *and their Nephew* Pipen *of* Aquitaine, *ioyne in league againſt the Emperour* Lothaire *their eldeſt Brother. They fight neare an* Auxerre *the moſt blody battle that euer was ſtroken in* France: *in which, the marueilous loſſe of Nobility, and men of warre, gaue courage to the* Saracens *to inuade* Italie; *to the* Hunnes, *to fall vpon* Almaine; *and the* Danes, *to enter vpon* Normandy. Charles *the* Bald *by treaſon ſeizeth vpon his Nephew* Pepin, *kills him in a* Cloyſter, Carloman *rebells againſt his Father* Charles *the* Bald, *the Father burnes out the eies of his ſonne* Carloman; Bauire *inuades the Emperour* Lothaire *his Brother,* Lothaire *quits the Emperour, Hee is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conſcience, for his rebellion againſt his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Moneſtarie.* Charles *the* Bald *the Vncle oppreſeth his Nephewes the ſonnes of* Lothaire, *hee vſurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of* Loys *of* Bauire *his elder Brother,* Bauiers *armies and his ſonne* Carloman *are beaten, hee dies of griefe, and the Vſurper* Charles *is poyſoned by* Zedechias *a* Iew *his Phiſitian, his ſonne* Loys le Beque *dies of the ſame drinke* Beque *had* Charles the ſimple, *and two Baſtards,* Loys *and* Carloman, *they rebell againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breakes his Neck, the younger is ſlaine by a wild Bore; the ſonne of* Bauiere *had the ſame ill deſtiny and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in ſporting with his companions* Charles *the* groſſe *becomes Lord of all that the ſonnes of* Debonaire *held in* Germanie, *wherewith not contented, hee inuades* Charles the ſimple, *but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his vnderſtanding, hee dies a diſtracted begger.* Charles the ſimple *is held in Wardſhip by* Eudes Maior *of the Pallace, then by* Robert, *the Brother of* Eudes, *and laſtly being taken by the Earle of* Vermandois, *hee is forced to die in the priſon of* Peron: Loyes *the ſonne of* Charles the ſimple *breakes his Neck in Chaſing a Wolfe, and of the two ſonns of this* Loys, *the one dies of poyſon, the other dies in the priſon of* Orleans, *after whome* Hugh Capet, *of another race, and a ſtranger to the* French, *makes him-ſelfe King.*

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: *who after hee had once apparrelled iniustice with authority, his sonnes and successours tooke vp the fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other prouision, as when the same was torne from their shouldiers, euery man despised them as miserable and naked beggers. The wretched successe they had,* (*saith a learned* French-man) *shewes,* què en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iusticè: that in the death of that Prince, to wit of *Bernard* the sonne of *Pepin*, the true heire of *Charlemaine*, men had more medling, than either GOD, or Iustice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certaine that Francis *the first, One of the worthiest Kings* (*except for that fact*) *that euer the* French men *had, did neuer enioy him-selfe; after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of* Mirandol *and* Cabrieres, *to the Parliament of* Prouence, *which poore people were there-vpon burnt, and murdered; men, woemen, and children. It is true, that the said King* Francis *repented him-selfe of the fact, and gaue Charge to* Henry *his sonne, to doe iustice vpon the Murderers; threatning his sonne with GODS iudgmeuts, if he neglected it. But this vnseasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after* Henry *him-selfe was slaine in sport by* Montgomery; *we all may remember what became of his foure sonnes,* Francis Charles, Henry, *and* Hercules. *Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And not-with-standing their subtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Massacres, vpon those of the religion, and great effusion of bloud; the Crowne was set on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were; and hold to this day more strong citties than euer they had.*

Let vs now see if GOD be not the same GOD in Spaine, *as in* England *and* France. *Towards whom we will looke no further backe than to* Don Pedro *of* Castile: *in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of* Sicil, *our* Richard *the third, and the great* Euan Vasilowick *of* Moscouia, *were but pettie ones: this* Castilian, *of all Christian and Heathen Kings, hauing beene the most merciless For besides those of his owne bloud and Nobility which hee caused to be slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as* Sancho Ruis *the grert Master of* Calatraua, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, *and* Don Iohn *of* Arragon, *whom he cut in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say besides these, and the slaughter of* Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, *and the great commander of* Castile; *He made away the two Infants of* Arragon *his Cosen-germans, his brother* Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzmã, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo.

de Toledo, Guttiere *his great Treasurer, and all his Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after hee had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had liued sixteene yeares, and the other, foureteene; hee murdered them there. Nay hee spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady* Blanch *of* Bourbon. *Lastly as he caused the Archbishop of* Toledo, *and the Deane, to bee killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death* Mahomet Aben Alhamar *King of* Barbary, *with seauen and thirty of his Nobilitie; that came vnto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to leuy (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needs assist the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope* Vrban *declared him an enemie both to* GOD *and Man. But what was his end? Hauing beene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the* English Nation, *led by the famous Duke of* Lancaster: *He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of* Astramara, *who dispossest all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer beene in danger of any such thing.*

Histo. of Spaine

If we can parallell any man with this King, it must bee Duke Iohn *of* Burgoigne: *who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of* Orleans, *caused the Constable of* Armagnac, *the Chancelour of* France, *the Bishops of* Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, *and other religious and reuerend Church-men, the Earle of* gran Prè, Hector *of* Chartres, *and (in effect) all the Officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasuries, and Request, (with sixteene hundred others to accompany them) to bee suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to gouerne, and to haue maistred* France: *He was soone after strucken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the* Dauphin; *and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine.* These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and miserie found them out.

French Inuent. in Anno. 1418.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, *which liued both with* Henry *the seuenth,* Henry *the eight,* Queene Mary, *and* Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand *of* Arragon *was the first: and the first that layd the foundation of the present* Austrian *greatnesse. For this King did not content himselfe to hold* Arragon *by the vsurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thereunto the Kingdome of* Castile *and* Leon, *which* Isabel *his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last* Henry: *but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of* Nauarre; *and, contrarie to faith, and the promise that hee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no meanes left for any army to inuade it. This King I say, that betrayed also* Ferdinand *and* Frederick

Kings

Kings of Naples, *Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tied vnto him; ſold them to the* French: *and with the ſame Army, ſent for their ſuccour vnder* Gonſaluo, *caſt them out; and ſhared their Kingdome with the* French, *whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.*

This wiſe and politique King, who ſold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make his ſonne, the Prince of Spaine, *the greateſt Monarch of the world: ſaw him die in the flower of his yeares, and his wife great with childe, with her vntimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldeſt daughter married vnto* Don Alphonſo *Prince of* Portugall, *beheld her firſt husband breake his neck in her preſence, and being with childe by her ſecond, dyed with it. A iuſt iudgement of* GOD *vpon the race of* Iohn, *father to* Alphonſo, *now wholly extinguiſhed: who had not onely left many diſconſolate Mothers in* Portugall, *by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlaine with his owne hand, the ſonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady* Beatrix, *Ducheſſe of* Viſeo. *The ſecond Daughter of* Ferdinand, *married to the Arch-duke* Philip, *turned foole; and died mad and depriued. His third daughter, beſtowed on King* Henry *the eight, He ſaw caſt off by the King: the mother of many troubles in* England; *and the mother of a Daughter, that in her vnhappy zeale ſhed a world of innocent bloud; loſt* Callice *to the* French; *and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude: all thoſe Kingdomes of* Ferdinand *haue maiſters of a new name; and, by a ſtrange family are gouerned and poſſeſt.*

Charles *the fift, ſonne to the Arch-duke* Philip, *in whoſe vaine enterpriſes vpon the* French, *vpon the* Almans, *and other Princes and States, ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian ſouldiers, and renowned Captaines, were conſumed: who gaue the while a moſt perilous entrance to the Turkes, and ſuffered* Rhodes, *the Key of Chriſtendome, to be taken; was in concluſion chaced out of* France, *and in a ſort out of* Germany; *and left to the* French, Mentz, Toule, *and* Verdun, *places belonging to the Empire; ſtole away from* Inſpurg, *and ſcaled the* Alpes *by torch-light, purſued by Duke* Maurice, *hauing hoped to ſwallow vp all thoſe dominions, wherein hee concolied nothing ſaue his owne diſgraces. And hauing, after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyſter, and made himſelfe a Penſioner of an hundred thouſand Duckets by the yeare to his ſonne* Philip; *from whom he very ſlowly receiued his meane and ordinary maintenance.* Nether. Hiſt. l. 7. fol. 313.

His ſonne againe King Philip *the ſecond, not ſatisfied to hold* Holland *and* Zeland, *(wreſted by his anceſtors from* Iaqueline *their lawfull Princeſſe) and to poſſeſſe in peace many other Prouinces of the* Netherlands: *perſwaded by that miſchieuous* Cardinall *of* Granuile, *and other* Romiſh *Tyrants; not onely forgot the moſt remarkable ſeruices, done to his Father the Emperour by the Nobilitie of thoſe countries; not*

Hiſt: of the Netherlands.

onely forgot the preſent, made him vpon his entrie, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot, that hee had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preſerue their auncient rights, priuiledges, and cuſtomes, which they had enioyed vnder their thirty and fiue Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of thoſe Prouinces: but beginning firſt to conſtraine them, and enthrall them by the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and then to impoueriſh them by many new deuiſed and intollerable impoſitions; Hee laſtly, by ſtrong hand and maine force, attempted to make him-ſelfe not onely an abſolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priuiledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtained from the Pope a Diſpenſation of his former Oathes (which Diſpenſation was the true cauſe of all the warre and bloudſhed ſince then) and after he had tryed what hee could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobilitie, vnder the gouernment of his baſe ſiſter, Margaret of Auſtria, and the Cardinall Granuile; Hee employed that moſt mercileſſe Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo, Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of ſtrange Nations: by whom he firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gauare; and Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, and the Marquis of Bergues; and cut off in thoſe ſixe yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen and others, eighteene thouſand and ſixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, beſides all his other barbarous murders and maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtry when hee could not yet brings his affaires to their wiſhed ends, hauing it in his hope to worke that by ſubtlety, which hee had failed to performe by force: Hee ſent for gouernour his baſtard brother Don Iohn of Auſtria, a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe people. But hee, vſing the ſame Papall aduantage that his predeceſſors had done: made no ſcruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangeliſts, to obſerue the treaty made with the Generall States; and to diſcharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other ſtrangers, therein garriſond. Towards whoſe Pay and Paſport, the Netherlands ſtrained them-ſelues to make payment of ſixe hundred thouſand pounds. Which monies receiued, He ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadells of Antwerp and Nemeures: not doubting (being vnſuſpected by the States) to haue poſſeſt him-ſelfe of all the maiſtring places of thoſe Prouinces. For whatſoeuer hee ouertly pretended: He held in ſecret a contrary councell with the Secretary Eſcouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Miniſters of the Spaniſh tyranny, formerly practiſed, and now againe intended. But let vs now ſee the effect and end of this periurie, and of all other the Dukes cruelties. Firſt, for him-ſelfe; after hee had murdered ſo many of the Nobilitie; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteene thouſand ſixe hundred

in sixe yeares; and most cruelly slaine Man, Women, and Childe, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden, *and other places: and after hee had consumed sixe and thirty millions of treasure in sixe yeares; notwithstanding his Spanish vaunt, That hee would suffocate the* Hollanders *in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: He departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leauing his Maisters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arriuall. For* Don Iohn, *whose haughty conceipe of him-selfe ouer-came the greatest difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers iealousie and distrust; with the vntimely death that seized him, euen in the floore of his youth. And for* Escouedo *his sharpe-witted Secretarie; who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Maister both* England *and the* Netherlands, *being sent into* Spaine *vpon some new proiect, He was at the first arriuall, and before any accesse to the King, by certaine Ruffians appointed by* Anthony Peres *(though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of* Spaines *carriage, his counsaile, and successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkeable. For hee hath paid aboue an hundred Millions, and the liues of aboue foure hundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; and for reuenue, did equall his* VVest Indies: *for the losse of a nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despight of all his forces become free Estate, and farre more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first beganne to impouerish and oppresse them.*

Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poysonings, and vnder what reasons of State, and politique subteltie, haue these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD *vpon them-selues, vpon theirs, and vpon their prudent ministers! and in the end haue brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could neuer haue hoped for themselues; and the other neuer haue succeeded; if no such opposition had euer beene made. GOD hath said it and performed it euer:* Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdome of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the liuing, the fal and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; & the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we haue we hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for euer; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for.

For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our ſelues; or perſwade our ſelues, that GOD *hath giuen vs letters patents to purſue all our irreligious affections, with a* non obſtante: *ſo wee neither looke behinde vs what hath beene, nor before vs what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantitie which we haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: wee are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heauens are high, farre off and vnſearchable: we haue ſenſe and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts are alſo earthlie, and it is leſſe to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſſe men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe vnderſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet* Eſai *cryed out long agone,* Lord, who hath beleeued our reports? *And out of doubt, as* Eſai *complained then for him ſelfe and others: ſo are they leſſe beleeued, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in euery mans mouth, yea in the diſcourſe of euery woman, who for the greateſt number are but* Idols of vanitie: *what is it other than an vniuerſall diſſimulation? Wee profeſſe that wee know* GOD, *but by workes wee deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Diuells know them better than men.* Beatitudo non eſt diuinorum cognitio, ſed vita diuina. *And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the priuate contention, the paſſionate diſpute, the perſonall hatred, and the perpetuall warre, maſſacres, and murders, for Religion among* Chriſtians: *the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well neare driuen the practiſe thereof out of the world. Who would not ſoone reſolue, that tooke knowledge but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their liues which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchaſe of Heauen; and that the World it ſelfe were but vſed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repoſe our ſelues in paſſing on towards our celeſtiall habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the ſoule hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in geſture and voice, diuine vertues, in all the courſe of our liues wee renounce our Perſons, and the parts wee play. For Charitie, Iuſtice, and Truth, haue but their being* in termes, *like the Philoſophers* Materia prima.

Paul to Titus Ch. 1. ve. 10.

Neither is it that wiſdome, which Salomon *defineth to be the* Schoole-Miſtreſſe of the knowledge of God, *that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word; but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſeruice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly; by which we purchaſe and obtaine honour, with the many reſpects which attend it.*

Theſe

These indeed be the markes, which (when wee haue bent our consciences to the highest) wee all shoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne, the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future; and yet when wee haue gathered the greatest abundance, wee our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, Hee that had the greatest wisdome, and the greatest abilitie that euer man had, hath told vs what his vse. VVhen goods increase (*saith Salomon*) they also increase that eate them; and what good commeth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for those that deuour the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forsake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde, leauing vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Maister* Dannet, *and vse his owne words:* VVhilest the Emperour *Charles* the fift, after the resignation of his Estates, stayed at Vlushing for winde, to carry him his last iourney into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his brother *Ferdinands* Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when *Seldius* should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his seruants, and no bodie answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest a sleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle himselfe, and went before *Seldius* to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that *Seldius* could make. And when Hee was come to the staires foot, He said thus vnto him: *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperour, when hee shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time enuironed with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of souldiors, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea euen of his owne domesticall seruants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.* Eccles. 5. 10.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reuerend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done vnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: prouided, that an inward loue for their iustice and piety, accompany the outward worship giuen to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the outerie of an Heard of Animals, *who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselues with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) haue euer beene applauded; the most vertuous (if vnprosperous) haue euer beene despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her-selfe rides the* Man. *Who, when hee is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and*

Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall liberties.

The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom wee leaue behinde vs. Certainely, *of those which conceiue that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which* Lactantius *spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers,* quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. *For when our spirits immortall shall be once seperate from our mortall bodies, and disposed by* GOD, *there remaineth in them no other ioy of their posteritie which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other sorrow for their pouertie, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vp a Beggars cotage.* Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui, etiam eorum filij, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuentium non intersunt. The dead though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conuersant with their affaires that remaine. *And if wee doubt of Saint* Augustine, *wee cannot of* Iob; *who tels vs,* That wee know not if our sonnes shall be honourable: neither shall we vnderstand concerning them, whether they shalbe of low degree. *Which* Ecclesiastes *also confirmeth:* Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth him-selfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (*saith hee*) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew vnto man, what shall be after him vnder the Sunne? *Hee therefore accompteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world, not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enioy the fruits thereof:* which made mee (*saith hee*) endeauour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. *And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death* GOD *hath reserued? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet* Esai *confesseth of the elect, That* Abraham *is ignorant of vs, and* Israel *knowes vs not. But hereof wee are assured, that the long and darke night of death: (of whose following day we shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer, till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy; nor any returne of foregone and mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether wee shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, If a diuine life retaine any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part thereof on the memory*

Lact. de falsa sap. 3. c. 19.

S. Aug. de cura pro mort.

Iob 1. 14. 21.

Eccl. 9. 5. & 1. 2.

Esai. 63. 16.

of their felicities which remaine in the World. No; be their estates greater than euer the World gaue, wee shall by the difference knowne vnto vs) euen detest their consideration. And whatsoeuer comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised liuing: and in that Pietie, Iustice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of GOD *to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shall wee therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnnecessary and paine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdome of* GOD, *which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees: which hath giuen greater and lesse light and beauty, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differentes betweene beasts and birds: created the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub: and among stones, giuen the faireſt tincture to the Rubie, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posteritie, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing* Siracides *preferreth Death before Beggery: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall vnder the miserable succour of other mens pitty; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Prouided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that wee raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as* Plato *doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly,* Diuitias nulla fraude quæsitas: *so Hieremie cryes,* VVoe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equitie: *and Esai the same,* VVoe to those that spoyle and were not spoyled. *And it was out of the true wisdome of* Salomon, *that hee commandeth vs,* not to drinke the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to swallow them vp aliue, whose riches we couet: for such are the wayes (*saith hee*) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

Sirac. 40. 7. 28

Pla. de leg. 1. 2. & 6. in Gorgia.

Ier. 22. 13.

Prou. 1. 18. 12. Prou. 23. 1. 3. 8. 9. 35. 9. 8.

And if wee could affoord our selues but so much leisure as to consider, That he which hath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for euer: I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of vnderstanding, that wee so much prise the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selues after the world were but mortall.

But let euery man value his owne wisdome, as hee pleaseth. Let the

Rich

Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not trodden downe their opposites; the Politician, all grosse, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when wee once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all windes driue vs; and when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can neuer be weighed againe, the Nauigation of this life takes end: Then it is I say, that our owne cogitations (those sad and seuere cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicitie) returne againe, and pay vs to the vttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that wee crie out to GOD, *for mercie; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty towards others: and it is onely then, that wee are strucken through the soule*
Gala. 6. 7. *with this terrible sentence*, That GOD will not be mockt. *For if*
Pet. 1. 4. *according to Saint* Peter, The righteous scarcely be saued: and that GOD spared not his Angels: *where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to thinke, that the seuere Commandements of the All-powerfull* GOD *were giuen but in sport; and that the short breath, which wee draw when death presseth vs, if wee can but fashion it to the sound of* Mercy (*without any kinde of satisfaction or amends*) *is sufficient?* O quam multi, *saith a reuerend Father,* Cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt: *I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that we ended well: for we all desire (as* Balaam *did*) to die the death of the righteous. *But what shall wee call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of* GOD: *if those men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for* GOD, *to aske him forgiuenesse at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of well-dying, but say vnto* GOD *as followeth? Wee beseech thee* O GOD, *that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a iust* GOD, *that thou wilt loue iniuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdome, and charitie foolishnesse. For I shall preiudice my sonne (which I am resolued not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue beene iniust, (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings haue either found out a new* GOD; *or haue made One, and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as* Lewis *the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which, when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last, which, (as at other times) hee did; when by the practise of a* Cardinall *and a falsified Sacrament, hee caused the Earle of* Armagnack *to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be vsed towards a Leaden, but not towards the*

euer-

euer-liuing GOD. *But of this compoſition are all the deuout louers of the World, that they feare all that is dureleſſe and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practiſes of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings: they feare the opinions of men which beat but vpon ſhadowes: they flatter and forſake the proſperous and vnproſperous, be they friends or Kings: yea they diue vnder water, like Ducks, at euery pebble ſtone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like valour, againſt the terrible iudgements of the All-powerfull* GOD: *yea they ſhew themſelues Gods againſt* GOD, *and ſlaues towards men; towards men whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.*

Now for the reſt: If wee truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom wee call fortunate; and of the poore and oppreſſed, whom wee account wretched: wee ſhall finde the happineſſe of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by GOD *to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubiect to enterchange (witneſſe the ſodaine downefall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedy vpriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certaine, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it ſelfe. For there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that hee may be depriued of either or all, the very next houre or day to come.* Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt, VVhat the euening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet yee cannot tell (*ſaith Saint Iames*) what ſhalbe to morrow. *Iam.* 4. 14. To day hee is ſet vp; and to morrow hee ſhall not be found: for hee is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth. *And although the aire which compaſſeth aduerſitie, be very obſcure: yet therein wee better diſcerne* GOD, *than in that ſhining light which enuironeth worldly glorie; through which, for the cleareneſſe thereof, there is no vanitie which eſcapeth our ſight. And let aduerſitie ſeeme what it will; to happy men, ridiculous, who make them-ſelues merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe vnder the croſſe, grieuous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that wee haue liued many yeares,* and (*according to Salomon*) in them all wee haue reioyced; *or be it that wee haue meaſured the ſame length of daies, and therein haue euer-more ſorrowed: yet looking backe from our preſent being, we finde both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, ſailed out of ſight; and death, which doth purſue vs and hold vs in chace, from our infancie, hath gathered it.* Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet: VVhat-ſo-euer of our age is paſt, death holds it. *So as whoſo-euer hee be, to whom Fortune hath beene a ſeruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee haue no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what it hath reſerued eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath ſaued,*

that it might last, of his deareſt affections, or of what-euer elſe the amorous Spring-time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnualuable; and hee ſhall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heauy, ſecret, and ſad ſighes. Hee ſhall finde nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrowes, which grow vp after our faſt-ſpringing youth; ouer-take it, when it is at a ſtand; and ouer-top it vtterly, when it beginnes to wither: in ſo much as looking backe from the very inſtant time, and from our now being; the poore, diſeaſed, and captiue creature, hath as little ſence of all his former miſeries and paines; as hee, that is moſt bleſt in common opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed pleaſures and delights. For what-ſo-euer is caſt behinde vs, is iuſt nothing: and what is to come, deceiptfull hope hath it. Omnia quæ euentura ſunt, in incerto iacent. *Onely thoſe few blacke Swannes I muſt except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retayning the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſſe glory.*

For my ſelfe, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrowes of this life, are but of two ſorts: whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; *the other, to the World. In the firſt wee complaine to* GOD *againſt our ſelues, for our offences againſt him; and confeſſe,* Et tu iuſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos, And thou O Lord art iuſt in all that hath befallen vs. *In the ſecond wee complaine to our ſelues againſt* GOD: *as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs hauing had them; forgetting that humble and iuſt acknowledgement of* Iob, The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken. *To the firſt of which Saint* Paul *hath promiſed bleſſednesſe; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt hee is either a foole or vngratefull to* GOD, *or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane ſo-euer his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet farre greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how ſharpe ſo-euer his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet farre leſſe, than thoſe which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wiſe man call the aduerſities of the world but* tributa viuendi, the tributes of liuing: *a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them man-like, and reſoluedly; & not as thoſe whining ſouldiors doe,* qui gementes ſequuntur imperatorē, *For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, and appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their diſtribution, beene partiall to the moſt mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto* Darius *the part of the greateſt Emperour, and the part of the moſt miſerable begger, a begger begging water of an Enemie,*

to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet *to play the* Gran Signior *of the* Turkes *in the morning, and in the same day the* Foote-stoole *of* Tamerlane (*both which parts* Valerian *had also plaid, being taken by* Sapores) *that made* Belliſarius *play the moſt victorious Captaine, and laſtly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to reſolue, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of gatments on the leſſe. For when on the one and the other, euery man weares but his owne skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weakneſſe, priſe the paſſages of this world otherwiſe (for ſaith* Petrarch, Magni ingenij eſt reuocare mentem a ſenſibus) *it is by reaſon of that vnhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miſeries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is ſubiect: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Aduerſitie worke all that they worke. For ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoeuer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a fooliſh madneſſe in the ſhip-wracke of worldly things, where all ſinkes but the Sorrow, to ſaue it. That were, as* Seneca *ſaith,* Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato, to fall vnder Fortune, of all other the moſt miſerable deſtinie.

But it is now time to ſound a retrait; and to deſire to be excuſed of this long purſuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued me to draw the picture of time paſt (which wee call Hiſtorie) *in ſo large a table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.*

The examples of diuine prouidence, euery where found (the firſt diuine Hiſtories being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) haue perſwaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though theſe two glorious actions of the Almightie be ſo neare, and (as it were) linked together, that the one neceſſarily implyeth the other: Creation, inferring Prouidence (for what father forſaketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Prouidence preſuppoſing Creation) Yet many of thoſe that haue ſeemed to excell in worldly wiſedome, haue gone about to diſioyne this coherence; the Epicure *denying both Creation and Prouidence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the* Ariſtotelian *granting Prouidence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.*

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by Faith we vnderſtand, that the world was made by the word of God) *be too weighty a worke for* Ariſtotles *rotten ground to beare vp, vpon which he hath (notwithſtanding) founded the Defences & Fortreſſes of all his* Verball *Doctrine: Yet that the neceſſity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impoſſibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Naturall reaſon, wherein hee beleeued, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be*

maruailed at. And it is no leſſe ſtrange, that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledge (ſeeing Ariſtotle *hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than* termes *in the reſt) haue ſo retrencht their mindes from the following and ouertaking of truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubiected them-ſelues to the law of thoſe Philoſophicall principles, as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes, they haue condemned either for phantaſticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or that* ipſi dixerunt, *doth make them to be ſuch? certainely no. But this is true, That where naturall reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelfe, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſaile it, much leſſe batter it downe: the ſame in euery queſtion of Nature, and finite power, may be approued for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For ſaith* Charron *in his booke of wiſdome,* Tout propoſition humaine a autant d'authorité que l'autre, ſi la raiſon n'on fait la difference; Euery humane propoſition hath equall authoritie, if reaſon make not the difference, *the reſt being but the fables of principles. But hereof how ſhall the vpright and vnpartiall iudgement of man giue a ſentence, where oppoſition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpoſe it was well ſaid of* Lactantius, Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine vllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab alijs pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wiſdome, who without any iudgement approue the inuention of thoſe that fore-went them; and ſuffer them-ſelues, after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them. *By the aduantage of which ſlouth and dulneſſe, ignorance is now become ſo powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath ſet true Philoſophie, Phiſick, and Diuinity, in a Pillory; and written ouer the firſt,* Contra negantem Principia; *ouer the ſecond,* Vertus ſpecifica; *and ouer the third,* Eccleſia Romana.

Charron de Sageſſe.

Lact. de orig: Erroris. l. 2. c. 8.

But for my ſelfe, I ſhall neuer be perſwaded, that GOD *hath ſhut vp all light of Learning within the lantherne of* Ariſtotles *braines: or that it was euer ſaid vnto him, as vnto* Eſdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: *that* GOD *hath giuen inuention but to the Heathen; and that they onely haue inuaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottome thereof; the ſame Nature hauing conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe and theſe be the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reaſon: and ſo hath experience, without Art. The Cheeſe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneſſe doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophie, to ſatisfie this and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man to couer his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot giue a true reaſon*

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for the Grasse vnder his feete, why it should be greene rather then red, or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discouer the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himselfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens themselues: Man (*saith Salomon*) that can hardly discerne the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; *that hath so short a time in the world, as hee no sooner beginnes to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderstanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if* Aristotle *be hee) could neuer so much as define, but by the Action and effect, telling vs what it workes (which all men know as well as hee) but not what it is, which neither hee, nor any else, doth know, but* GOD *that created it;* (for though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, *saith* Iob.) *Man I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of* GOD *in creating the World; of* GOD, *who (saith Iob)* is so excellent as wee know him not; *and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Man-kinde had a beginning of being. Hee will disable* GODS *power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the mothes of the Aire for a cause; cast the worke on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the* Matter, *the other of the* Forme; *and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternall: which latter opinion* Aristotle, *to make him-selfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours haue maintained it;* parati ac coniurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who liued at once with, or soone after,* Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus) *found in the necessitie of inuincible reason,* One eternal and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the vniuersall.* Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnam esse consentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Æther, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex; idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (*saith Lactantius*) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence; whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance; that it is the same which we call GOD. *Certainly, as all the Riuers in the world, though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they some-times hide them-selues for a while vnder ground, and seeme to be lost in Sea-like*

Salomon 1.9.

Iob 26.

Lact. 5.

Lakes; doe at laſt finde, and fall into the great Ocean: *ſo after all the ſearches that humaine capacitie hath; and after all Philoſophicall contemplation and curioſitie; in the neceſsitie of this infinite power, all the reaſon of man ends and diſſolues it ſelfe.*

As for others; and firſt touching thoſe, which conceiue the matter *of the World to haue been* eternall, *and that God did not create the World* ex nihilo, *but* ex materiâ præexiſtente: *the Suppoſition is ſo weake, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For (ſaith* Euſebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They ſeeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, and part to Fortune: *inſomuch as if God had not found this* firſt matter *by chance, Hee had neither beene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuerſall. For were the* Matter *or* Chaos, *eternall, it then followes, That either this ſuppoſed* Matter *did fit it ſelfe to God; or God, accommodate himſelfe to the* matter. *For the firſt; it is impoſsible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelues to the Workmans will. For the ſecond, it were horrible to conceiue of God, That as an Artificer he applyed himſelfe, according to the proportion of* Matter *which he lighted vpon.*

Euſeb: de prep. Euang. l. 7. c. 8.

But let it be ſuppoſed, That this matter *had beene made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe: I would gladly learne how it came to paſſe, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wiſe; and no more, nor no leſſe, than ſerued to receiue the forme of the Vniuerſall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God created* out of nothing *ſo much of new* matter, *as ſerued to finiſh the worke of the World: Or had there beene more of this matter, than ſufficed; then God did diſſolue and annihilate whatſoeuer remained and was ſuperfluous. And this muſt euery reaſonable ſoule confeſſe, That it is the ſame worke of God alone, to create any thing* out of nothing, *And by the ſame art and power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternall* matter, *be againe changed into Nothing; by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.*

Againe, to ſay that this matter *was the cauſe of it ſelfe; this, of all other, were the greateſt idiotiſme. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelfe at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelfe was not: at which time of not being, it is eaſie enough to conceiue, that it could neither produce it ſelfe, nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impoſsible.* Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neq; ſeipſum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth præcede it ſelfe, neither doe bodies compound themſelues.

For the reſt; Thoſe that faine this matter to be eternall, muſt of neceſsitie confeſſe, that Infinite cannot be ſeparate from Eternitie. *And then had* infi-

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nite matter *left no place for* infinite forme, *but that the* firſt matter was finite, *the* forme *which it receiued proues it*. *For concluſion of this part; who-ſo-euer will make choyce, rather to beleeue in eternall deformitie, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madneſſe of that kinde, as wanteth tearmes to expreſſe it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which wee can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow,* quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) *hath any thing wanting in it ſelfe, either for* matter *or* forme; *yea for as many worlds (if ſuch had beene* GODS *will) as the* Sea *hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation; the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reaſon it ſelfe findes it more eaſie for infinite power, to deliuer from it ſelfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and duſt, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are* Dionyſius *his words*, Deus in vna exiſtentia omnia præhabet: *and againe*, Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod nõ vides; *to wit*, cauſaliter, *or in better tearmes*, non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa vniuerſalis. *Neither hath the world vniuerſall cloſed vp all of* GOD: For the moſt parts of his workes (*ſaith Siracides*) are hid. *Neither can the depth of his wiſdome be opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes; That we ſeldome entitle* GOD *the* all-ſhewing, *or the* all-willing; *but the* all-mighty, *that is, infinitely able.* *Cap.* 16. *v.* 21.

But now for thoſe, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, *inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not ſo ſaluage therein, as thoſe are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word* (nothing) *be taken in the affirmatiue; and the* making, *impoſed vpon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made*. *But ſeeing their great Doctor* Ariſtotle *him-ſelfe confeſſeth*, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quaſi quoddam rerum principium, ipſumq; infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kinde of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite: *and a little after, more largely and plainely*, Principium eius eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: *it is ſtrange that this Philoſopher, with his followers, ſhould rather make choyce out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolue truly. For if wee compare the world Vniuerſall, and all the vnmeaſurable Orbes of Heauen, and thoſe mercilous bodies of the* Sunne, Moone, *and* Starres, *with* ipſum infinitum: *it may truly be ſaid of them all, which him-ſelfe affirmeth of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and there-* *Stenc. Eug. l. 3. c. 9. ex Ariſt. Phyſ. 3. 20.*

fore

fore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui deſtruit omnem proportionem) *is no wonder in* GODS *power. And therefore* Anaximander, Meliſſus, *and* Empedocles, *call the world vniuerſall, but* particulam Vniuerſitatis *and* infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuerſalitie and the infinitie it ſelfe; *and* Plato, *but a* ſhadow of GOD. *But the other*, to proue *the worlds eternitie, vrgeth this* Maxime, *That*, A ſufficient and effectuall cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted: *inferring, that* GOD *being for euer a ſufficient and effectuall cauſe of the world, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo haue beene for euer; to wit, the world vniuerſall. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a Maiſter, to confeſſe a ſufficient and effectuall cauſe of the world, (to wit, an almighty* GOD) *in his Antecedent; and the ſame* GOD *to be a* GOD *reſtrained in his concluſion; to make* GOD *free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choyce of the time when? For this were impiouſly to reſolue of* GOD, *as of naturall neceſſitie; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor vnderſtanding; which cannot but worke matter being preſent; as fire, to burne things combuſtible.*

Againe he thus diſputeth, That euery Agent which can worke, and doth not worke: if it after-ward worke, it is either thereto moued by it ſelfe, or by ſome-what elſe; and ſo it paſſeth from power to Act. But GOD (*ſaith he*) *is immouable, and is neither moued by him-ſelfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the ſame, doth alwaies worke: Whence he concludeth, if the world were cauſed by* GOD, *that hee was for euer the cauſe thereof; and therefore eternall. The anſwer to this is very eaſie, For that* GODS *performing in due time that, which hee euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancie in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the world for euer, did alſo with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwere, in it ſelfe ſufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be ſaid to be eternall: which the* Platonicks *call*, ſpiritualem mundum; *and doe in this ſort diſtinguiſh the* Idæa *and* Creation in time. Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto; fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit ſemper, retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus. That repreſentatiue, or the intentionall world (*ſay they*) the ſampler of this viſible world, the firſt worke of GOD, was æqually ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and euer ſhalbe. This materiall world, the ſecond worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlaſting, and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for euer to come.

Mor. Ficin. de immort. Anima. l. 18. c. 1.

The

The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they vnderstand no other-wise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shalbe a new Heauen and a new Earth; without any new creation of matter. *But of these things wee need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not vnworthy the propounding; in this consideration, of an eternall and vnchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point* Proclus *the* Platonist *disputeth, That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, and knit to the Diuine Being, by an indiuiduall and inseperable power, flowing from diuine vnitie; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of* GOD *sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodnesse and vnderstanding diuine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserue the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith hee) is not capable of, but receiueth it from the diuine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successiuely euery moment by little and little; euen as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the same small degrees succeed; as the shadow of a tree in a Riuer, seemeth to haue continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renued, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.*

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall denie that euer it shall haue any end; and to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer seene, no not by any reason perceiued, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the Elder by continuance; or in any sort other-wise than they were; which had they beene subiect to finall corruption, some change would haue beene discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceiued, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long; than that they will continue for euer as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receiue answer by coniectures; it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were grossely mistaken; or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes heat; neither were the Seas, vnder the Equinoctiall, nauigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, ouer which wee Nauigate, passable enough. Wee read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *diuers places in the world were burnt vp, by the Sunnes violent heat.*

Arist. Met. 2.
Plin. l. 2 c. 8.
Strab. l. 3.
Beda de rationem. l. 1 c. 32.
Thom. 1. p. q. 102. art. 2.

But in a Word, this obſeruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine, That ſtone-wals, of matter moldring and friable, haue ſtood two, or three thouſand yeares: that many things haue beene digged vp out of the earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to haue beene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of ſubſtance or figure, yea it is beleiued, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes, and Rockes, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times haue not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration ſhould wee looke for in Celeſtiall and quinteſſentiall bodies? And yet wee haue reaſon to thinke, that the Sunne, by whoſe helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in theſe latter Ages aſſiſt Nature, as here-to-fore. We haue neither Gyants, ſuch as the eldeſt world had: nor mighty men, ſuch as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of leſſe vertue, which from the Heauens receiue vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger diſcourſe, wee might eaſily fetch ſtore of proofe; as that this world ſhall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I ſee no good anſwer that can bee made to this obiection: If the World were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no firſt, *no* cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible wiſedome, *but that euery* Nature *had beene a-like eternall; and Man more rationall than euery other* Nature: *Why had not the eternall reaſon of Man, prouided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall: why not equall conditions to all? why ſhould heauenly bodies liue for euer; and the bodies of Men rot and die?*

Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gaue Order that it ſhould hang in the Aire: that the Sunne *ſhould trauaile betweene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed thoſe bounds, nor faile to performe that Progreſſe once in euery yeare: the* Moone *to liue by borrowed light: the firſt Starres (according to common opinion) to be faſtned like Nailes in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleaſure? Or if none of theſe had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the* Sunne *by his perpetuall trauaile within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, giuen light vnto, and releiued all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the* Sunne *haue of his owne accord kept this courſe in all eternitie: He may iuſtly be called eternall Charity, and euerlaſting Loue. The ſame may be ſaid of all the Starres: who being all of them moſt large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may alſo be called eternall vertues: the Earth*

may

may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleiue againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than euer Hesiodus *dreampt of. But in steed of this mad follie, wee see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discerne it better; That the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselues they haue not constrained,* nor *could.* Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of* Aristotle *hath both commended many errours vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the gouerning of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of* Aristotles physicks, *or* primo de Cælo, *or out of the fifth of his* Metaphysicks; *I say that the best is but nominall, and serue onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion, from Artificiall: which yet the* Academicks *open better, when they call it* A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the VVorld: *but giue the first place to* Prouidence, *the second to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Prouidentia (*by which they vnderstand* GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura postremum. *But be it what hee will, or be it any of these* (GOD *excepted*) *or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderstanding* (*both which are necessarily in the cause of all things*) *no man hath avowed. For this is vnanswerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam; Hee onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truely expresst by Ficinus: Potest vbique Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materijs, diuersa facere: sublata vero mediorum materiarumque diuersitate, vel vnicum vel similimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. *Now if* Nature *made choice of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth, it had then both vnderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne; reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish; and power to gouerne: without which, all things had beene but one and the same: all of the matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant* Nature *this will, and this vnderstanding,* Ficin: in Plat.

this counſaile, reaſon, and power: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould wee then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the firſt and higheſt place to Diuine power*: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omneſq; ſummum locum diuino cuidam numini aſſignant. *And this I ſay in ſhort; that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: *True Philoſophy, is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for euer the ſame.*

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10.

Ariſt. l. 1. de Cœlo. c. 3. T. 22.

For the reſt, I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety monſtrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only diſpoſeth of all things according to his owne will; and maketh of one Earth, Veſſels *of* honor and diſhonor. *It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good vnto all, knowing and louing the good hee doth: It is Nature, that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelfe: Nature, nothing in it ſelfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it ſelfe it exiſteth not. For ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the earth, that heauy things fall towards it? Shall wee call it Reaſon, which doth conduct euery Riuer into the ſalt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge in theſe: by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore ſeeing all things worke as they doe, (call it by* forme, *by* Nature, *or by what you pleaſe) yet becauſe they worke by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſepremeſt power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lyes the wonder: and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, and ſuch a faculty, as neither knowing it ſelfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet worke all things to their laſt and vttermoſt perfection. And therefore euery reaſonable man, taking to himſelfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinit, and eternall (which alſo neceſsity doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith; and Reaſon, without the force of Authoritie) all things doe as eaſily follow which haue beene deliuered by diuine letters, as the waters of a running Riuer doe ſucceſsiuely purſue each other from the firſt fountaines.*

This

This much I ſay it is, that Reaſon it ſelfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur: quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion followes: becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience* Plato *calleth,* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The ſcience of the abſolute good: and another,* ſcientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (ſaith* Iſidore) *is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſwaded:* fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur. *I confeſſe it, That to enquire further, as of the eſſence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world: Or of his ſecret iudgement, and the cauſes; is not an effect of Reaſon:* Sed cum ratione inſaniunt, *but they grow mad with reaſon, that inquire after it: For as it is no ſhame nor diſhonor (ſaith a French Author)* de faire arreſt au but qu'on naſceu ſurpaſſer, *For a man to reſt himſelfe there, where he finds it impoſſible to paſſe on further: ſo whatſoeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reaſon, It acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as vnderſtanding it ſelfe not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that beſt knowes the end of his own Art. For ſeeing both Reaſon and Neceſsity teach vs (Reaſon, which is* pars diuini ſpiritus in corpus humanũ merſi) *that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and ſeeing the ſame Reaſon and Neceſsity make vs know, that the ſame infinit power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleefe hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthened, by our ignorance; becauſe it is the ſame Reaſon that tels vs, That ſuch a Nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceiued by man.*

Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de vera Sapientia.

Iſaac de defin.

Quod eſt infinitum & non ſecundum naturam terminatũ, non continetur à ſcientia. Ariſt. poſter.

I haue beene already ouer-long, to make any large diſcourſe either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuſe: eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage; ſeeing the whole is exceeding weake and defectiue. Among the groſeſt, the vnſutable diuiſion of the bookes, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not beene directed to inlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the firſt part finiſhed. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euenly of thoſe things, which are ſubiect to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which ſpeake too much, and yet ſay little; Ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur, *We are ſtollen away from our ſelues, ſetting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on me, becauſe I beleeue as hee doth; that who ſo thinkes himſelfe the wiſeſt man, is but a poore and miſerable ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt men of war, againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the World, doe alwaies keepe the ſtrongeſt guards againſt themſelues, to defend them from themſelues, from ſelfe loue, ſelfe eſtimation, and ſelfe opinion.*

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counſaile from the Argument. For of the Aſſyrians, *which after the downefall of* Babel *take vp the firſt part, and were the firſt great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of poſteritie: ſome few enterpriſes, greater in fame than faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis *excepted.*

It was the ſtory of the Hebrewes, *of all before the* Olympiads, *that ouercame the conſuming diſeaſe of time; and preſerued it ſelfe, from the very cradle and beginning to this day: and yet not ſo entire, but that the large diſcourſes thereof (to which in many Scriptures wee are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of thoſe Kings and Princes which ſhot vp here and there in the ſame time, I am driuen to relate by way of digreſſion: of which we may ſay with* Virgil.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto;
They appeare here and there floting in the great gulfe of time.

To the ſame firſt Ages doe belong the report of many Inuentions therein found, and from them deriued to vs; though moſt of the Authors Names, haue periſhed in ſo long a Nauigation. For thoſe Ages had their Lawes; they had diuerſity of Gouernment; they had Kingly rule; Nobilitie, Pollicie in warre; Nauigation; and all, or the moſt of needfull Trades. To ſpeake therefore of theſe (ſeeing in a generall Hiſtorie we ſhould haue left a great deale of Nakednesſe, by their omiſſion) it cannot properly be called a digreſſion. True it is that I haue alſo made many others: which if they ſhall be layd to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heape of humane error. For ſeeing wee digreſſe in all the wayes of our liues: yea, ſeeing the life of man is nothing elſe but digreſſion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their liues and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Hiſtorie, and of the Kindes.

The ſame hath beene taught by many; but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. *Chriſtian Lawes are alſo taught vs by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and euery day preacht vnto vs. But wee ſtill make large digreſſions: yea the teachers themſelues doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.*

For the reſt; after ſuch time as the Perſians *had wreſted the Empire from the* Chaldæans, *and had raiſed a great Monarchie, producing Actions of more importance then were elſe-where to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whileſt it ſo floriſhed, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference there-vnto. The like obſeruance was to be vſed towards the fortunes of* Greece, *when they againe began to get ground vpon the* Perſians, *as alſo towards the affaires of*

Rome

Rome, *when the* Romans *grew more mighty then the* Greekes.

As for the Medes, *the* Macedonians, *the* Sicilians, *the* Carthaginians, *and other* Nations, *who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was knowne of them from their ſeuerall beginnings, in ſuch times and places, as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies; which in the end ſwallowed them vp. And herein I haue followed the beſt Geographers: who ſeldome giue names to thoſe ſmall brookes, whereof many, ioyned together, make great Riuers; till ſuch time as they become vnited, and runne in a maine ſtreame to the Ocean* Sea. *If the Phraſe be weake, and the Stile not euery-where like it ſelfe: the firſt, ſhewes their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelfe vpon the Variety of Matter. For* Virgil, *who wrote his* Eclogues, gracili auena, *vſed ſtronger pipes, when he ſounded the warres of* Aeneas. *It may alſo be layd to my charge that I vſe diuers* Hebrew *words in my firſt booke, and elſe-where: in which language others may thinke, and I my-ſelfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that ſome of them I finde in* Montanus; *others in lattaine Carecter in* S. Senenſis, *and of the reſt I haue borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my learned friends. But ſay I had beene beholding to neyther, yet were it not to be wondred at, hauing had a eleuen yeares leaſure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; How-ſoeuer, I know that it will be ſaid by many, That I might haue beene more pleaſing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, hauing beene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I anſwere, that who-ſo-euer in writing a moderne Hiſtory, ſhall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may happily ſtrike out his teeth. There is no Miſtreſſe or Guide, that hath led her followers and ſeruants into greater miſeries. Hee that goes after her too farre off, looſeth her ſight, and looſeth him-ſelfe: and hee that walkes after her at a midle diſtance; I know not whether I ſhould call that kinde of courſe Temper or Baſeneſſe. It is true, that I neuer trauailed after mens opinions, when I might haue made the beſt vſe of them: and I haue now too few dayes remaining, to imitate thoſe, that eyther out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardiſe, or both, do yet, (when death hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the world, betweene the bed and the graue. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt times: wherein alſo why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent, and taxe the vices of thoſe that are yet liuing, in their perſons that are long ſince dead; and haue it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainely if there be any, that finding themſelues ſpotted like the Tigers of old time, ſhall finde fault with me for painting them ouer a new; they ſhall therein accuſe themſelues iuſtly, and me falſly.*

For

For I proteſt before the Maieſty of GOD, *That I malice no man vnder the Sunne. Impoſſible I know it is to pleaſe all: ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelues, or ſo aſſured of themſelues, by reaſon of their ſubiection to their priuate paſſions; but that they ſeeme diuers perſons in one and the ſame day.* Seneca *hath ſaid it, and ſo doe I:* Vnus mihi pro populo erat: *and to the ſame effect* Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis ſed tibi; *or (as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an ancient Philoſopher,* Satis eſt vnus, Satis eſt nullus. *For it was for the ſeruice of that ineſtimable Prince* Henry, *the ſucceſſiue hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I vndertooke this Worke. It pleaſed him to pervſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſſe. It is now left to the world without a Maiſter: from which all that is preſented, hath receiued both blowes and thankes.* Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis iudicij, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur. *But theſe diſcourſes are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably: ſo againſt thoſe,* qui gloriantur in malitia, *my preſent aduerſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore haue not farre to fall: and for riſing againe, as in the Naturall priuation there is no receſſion to habit; ſo it is ſeldome ſeene in the priuation politique. I doe therefore for-beare to ſtile my Readers* Gentle, Courteous, *and* Friendly, *thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promiſe a ſecond and third volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with neuer ſo many courteous phraſes; yet ſhall wee euer-more be thought fooles, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion; all the hope I haue lies in this, That I haue already found more vngentle and vncourteous Readers of my Loue towards them, and well-deſeruing of them, than euer I ſhall doe againe. For had it beene otherwiſe, I ſhould hardly haue had this leiſure, to haue made my ſelfe a foole in print.*

THE

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The answere to one of the obiections proposed, shewing that Abraham *made but one iourney out of* Mesopotamia *into* Canaan ; *and it, after his Fathers death.*

§. IIII.

The answere to another of the obiections proposed, shewing that it was not vnlikely, that Terah *should beget* Abraham *in his hundred and thirtieth yeere.*

§. V.

The answere to two more of the obiections, shewing that we may haue certayntie of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldest sonne : and that there was great cause, why in the storie of* Abraham *his two brethren should be respected.*

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *first of the three Brethren,* Gen. 11. *v.* 26 *doth not proue that hee was the eldest : together with diuers reasons, prouing that* Abraham *was not the eldest sonne of* Terah.

§. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides : with an admonition, that they which shorten the times, make all ancient stories the more vnprobable.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.
A computation of the times of the Assyrians *and others, grounded vpon the times noted in the storie of* Abraham.

§. IX.
That Amraphel, *one of the foure Kings whom* Abraham *ouerthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to haue beene* Ninias *the sonne of* Ninus.

§. X.
Of Arioch, *another of the foure Kings: and that* Ellas, *whereof hee is said to haue beene King, lyes betweene* Cœlesyria, *and* Arabia Petræa.

§. XI.
Of Tidal, *another of the foure Kings.*

§. XII.
That Chedorlaomer, *the chiefe of the foure Kings, was not of* Assyria, *but of* Persia: *and that the* Assyrian *Empire at this time was much impayred.*

§. XIII.
That it is not vnprobable, that the foure Kings had no Dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselues, and so retayned the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not to say that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our selues with many other difficulties.*

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt *from the first peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the deliuery of the Israelites from thence.*

§. I.
A *Briefe of the Names and Times of the first Kings of* Ægypt: *with a note of the causes of difficultie in resoluing of the truth in these points.*

§. II.
That by the account of the Ægyptian *Dynasties, & otherwise, it appeares that* Chams *reigne in* Ægypt *began in the yeere after the Floud* 191.

§. III.
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§. IIII.
Of Cham, *and his sonne* Mizraim, *or* Osiris.

§. V.
Of the time when Osiris *reigne ended: and that* Iacob *came into* Ægypt *in the time of* Orus, *the sonne of* Osiris.

§. VI.
Of Typhon, Hercules Ægyptius, Orus, *and the two* Sesostres, *succeßiuely reigning after* Mizraim: *and of diuers errors about the former* Sesostres.

§. VII.
Of Busiris, *the first Oppressor of the* Israelites: *and of his successor Queene* Thermutis, *that tooke vp* Moses *out of the Water.*

§. VIII.
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Of the deliuery of Israel *out of* Ægypt.

§. I.
O*F the time of* Moses *birth: and how long the* Israelites *were oppressed in* Ægypt.

§. II.
Of diuers Cities and Places in Ægypt, *mentioned in this storie or elsewhere in the Scripture.*

§. III.

§. III.

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§. IIII.

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§. V.

Of Pharaohs *pursuit of the* Israelites: *and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farre as* Succoth.

§. VI.

Of the Solarie and Lunarie yeeres: and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

§. VII.

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§. VIII.

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§. IX.

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Of the iournying of the Israelites *from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a discourse of Lawes.*

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A Transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, vntill the Amalekites *met with the* Israelites.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, *and* Kenites, *vpon occasion of the battell with the* Amalekites, *and* Iethro's *comming, who being a* Kenite, *was Priest of* Madian.

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Of the time when the Law was giuen: with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

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§. V.

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Of the Law of Nature.

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

§. VIII.

Of the vnwritten Law of God, giuen to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

§. IX.

Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law: with a Note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

§. X.

A proposall of nine other points to be considered; with a touch of the fiue first.

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§. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

§. XIII.

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§. XIIII.

If there were not any Religion, nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue *were most necessarie to be obserued.*

§. XV.

Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.

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That only the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what sort.

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The storie of the Israelites, *from the receiuing of the Law, to the death of* Moses.

§. I.

OF the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, *for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a Note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their Troupes.*

§. II.

The Offerings of the twelue Princes: The Passeouer of the second yeere: The departing of Iethro.

§. III.

The Voyage from Horeb *to* Kades: *the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the Red Sea.*

§. IIII.

Of their vnwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof: and of diuers accidents in the returne.

§. V.

Of Moses *arriuall at* Zin Kades: *and the accidents while they abode there.*

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa, *and trauailing to* Arnon *the border of* Moab.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

§. VIII.

Of Moses *his sparing the issue of* Lot: *and of the Gyants in those parts: and of* Sehon *and* Og.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, *and of* Moses *his death.*

§. X.

Obseruations out of the storie of Moses, *How God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.*

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§. I.

HOw the Nations, with whom the Israelites *were to haue warre, were diuers wayes (as it were) prepared to be their Enemies.*

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Of the Kings of the Canaanites *and* Madianites, *mentioned in the ancient warres of the* Israelites.

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Of the instauration of ciuilitie in Europe *about these times; and of* Prometheus *and* Atlas.

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Of Hermes Trismegistus.

§. VII.

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§. VIII.

A Briefe of the Historie of Iosua: *and of the space betweene him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the* Canaanites: *with a Note of some Contemporaries to* Iosua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

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§. I.

THe Proeme to the deſcription of the whole Land of Canaan; *with an expoſition of the name of* Syria.

§. II.

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§. III.

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†. I.

THe bounds of the Tribe of Aſher.

†. II.

Of Zidon.

†. III.

Of Sarepta: *with a briefe hiſtory of* Tyre *in the ſame Coaſt.*

†. IIII.

Of Ptolomais *or* Acon.

†. V.

Of the Caſtle of Saint George.

†. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, *and others.*

†. VII.

Of Thoron, Giſcala, *and ſome other places.*

†. VIII.

Of the Riuers and Mountaines of Aſſer.

§. IIII.

The Tribe of Nephtalim.

†. I.

OF the bounds of Nephtalim: *and of* Heliopolis, *and* Abila.

†. II.

Of Hazor.

†. III.

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§. IIII.

Of Capernaum, *and the Cities of* Decapolis.

†. V.

Of Hamath.

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The Tribe of Zabulon.

§. VI.

The Tribe of Iſachar.

§. VII.

The halfe of the Tribe of Manaſſe.

†. I.

OF the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, *and others.*

†. II.

Of Cæſarea Palæſtinæ, *and ſome other Townes.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

§. I.

THe bounds and Chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdome: and of the inuention of Letters aſcribed to them.

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

§. III.

Of Bozius *his conceit, that the* Edumæans, *inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the* Tyrians; *and that the* Tyrians *from them receiued and brought into* Phœnicia *the knowledge of the true God.*

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Of the Tribe of Ephraim: *and of the Kings of the Ten Tribes, whose head was* Ephraim.

¶. I.

OF *the memorable places in the Tribe of* Ephraim.

¶. II.

Of the Kings of the Tenne Tribes, from Ieroboam *to* Achab.

¶. III.

Of Achab, *and his Successours: with the Captiuitie of the Tenne Tribes.*

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Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Iuda, Ruben, Gad, *and the other halfe of* Manasse.

¶. I.

OF Dan: *where of* Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, *and other Townes.*

¶. II.

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¶. III.

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†. I.

THe *seats and bounds of* Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon; *part whereof the* Reubenites *wanne from* Sehon *King of* Hesbon.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

†. III.

Of diuers places bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

†. IIII.

Of the Dead Sea.

†. V.

Of the Kings of Moab; *much of whose Countrie within* Arnon, Reuben *possest.*

¶. V.

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Of the Ammonites; *part of whose Territories the* Gadites *wanne from* Og, *the King of* Basan.

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§. I.

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§. II.

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§. III.

Of the latter Kings, and decay and ouerthrow of their power.

§. IIII.

Of other leſſer Kingdomes of the Syrians, *which being brought vnder the* Aſſyrians, *neuer recouered themſelues againe.*

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Beniamin, *and of* Ieruſalem.

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OF *diuers memorable places in the Tribe of* Beniamin, *where, of* Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitſpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, *and* Gibha.

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Of diuers memorable things concerning Hieruſalem.

§. III.

Of the deſtruction of Hieruſalem *by the* Romans.

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Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Ioſua *to the Warre of* Troy: *which was about the time of* Iephtha.

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§. II.

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§. V.

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§. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonautes.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholah, *and* Iair: *and of the* Lapythæ, *and of* Theseus, Hyppolitus, &c. *and of the Warre of* Thebes *which was in this Age.*

§. VIII.

Of Iephta: *and how the three hundred yeeres which he speaketh of,* Iudges 11. vers. 28. *are to bee reconciled with the places,* Act. 13. 20. 1. Reg. 6. 1. *together with some other things touching Chronologie about these times.*

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§. II.

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§. III.

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§. IIII.

Of the Acts of the Græcians *at the siege.*

§. V.

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§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes, *returning from* Troy.

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Of Samuel; *and of his Gouernment.*

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§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Gouernment into a Kingdome.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

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§. IIII.
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§. VI.
Of ſuch as lined with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen *and* Hercules, *and of their iſſues, vpon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponeſus *about this time.*
§. VII.
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§. II.
Of the beginning of Dauids *Raigne: and the Warre made by* Abner *for* Iſboſeth.
§. III.
Of the death of Abner *ſlaine by* Ioab: *and of* Iſboſeth, *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.
§. IIII.
Of the flouriſhing time of Dauids *Kingdome: the taking of* Ieruſalem; *with two ouerthrowes giuen to the* Philiſtims: *and the conduction of the* Arke *to the Citie of* Dauid.
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§. VIII.
Of the laſt acts of Dauid: Adoniah's *Faction: the reuenge vpon* Ioab *and* Shimei.
§. IX.
Of the Treaſures of Dauid *and* Salomon.
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Of the Philiſtims, *whom* Dauid *abſolutely maſtered: and of ſundry other Contemporaries with* Dauid.

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§. I.
OF *the eſtabliſhing of* Salomon: *of birth-right: and of the cauſe of* Adoniah's *death: and of* Salomons *wiſedome.*
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Of Salomons *buildings and glorie.*
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OF Rehoboam *his beginnings: the defection of the tenne Tribes: of* Ieroboams *Idolatrie.*

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Of Rehoboam *his impiety, for which he was punished by* Sesac: *of his end and contemporaries.*

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Of the great battaile betweene Ieroboam *and* Abia: *with a Corolarie of the Examples of Gods Iudgements.*

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§. V.

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A coniecture of the causes, hindering the reunion of Israel *with* Iuda, *which might haue beene effected by these troubles.*

§. VII.

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§. I.

THat Iehoram *was made King sundry times.*

§. II.

Probable coniectures of the motiues inducing the old King Iehosaphat *to change his purpose often, in making his sonne* Iehoram *King.*

§. III.

The doings of Iehoram *when he raigned alone: and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

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Of the miseries falling vpon Iehoram: *and of his death.*

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Of the raigne of Ahazia: *and his businesse with the King of* Israel.

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How Ahazia *perished with the house of* Ahab: *and how that Family was destroyed by* Iehu.

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OF Athalia *her vsurping the Kingdome: and what pretences she might forge.*

§. II.

How Iehu *spent his time in* Israel, *so that he could not molest* Athalia.

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Of Athalia's *Gouernment.*

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†. I.
WHether Ioas *may bee thought likely to haue beene the sonne of* Ahazia.

†. II.
That Ioas *did not descend from* Nathan.

†. III.
That Ioas *may probably bee thought to haue beene the sonne of* Iehoram.

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Vpon what reasons Athalia *might seeke to destroy* Ioas, *if hee were her owne Grandchild.*

§. VI.
A digression, wherein is maintained the libertie of vsing coniecture in Histories.

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§. VIII.
The death of Athalia; *with a comparison of her and* Iezabel.

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Of Ioas *and* Amasia: *with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of* Carthage.

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§. II.
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§. III.
The causes and times of the Syrians *inuading* Iuda *in the dayes of* Ioas.

§. IIII.
How Zacharia *was murdered by* Ioas.

§. V.
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§. VI.
Of the Princes liuing in the time of Ioas: *Of the time, when* Carthage *was built: and of* Dido.

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The beginning of Amazia *his Raigne. Of* Ioas *King of* Israel, *and* Elisha *the Prophet.*

§. VIII.
Of Amazia *his Warre against* Edom: *his Apostasie: and ouerthrow by* Ioas.

§. IX.
A discourse of the reasons hindering Ioas *from vniting* Iuda *to the Crowne of* Israel, *when hee had wonne* Hierusalem, *and held* Amazia *Prisoner. The end of* Ioas *his Raigne.*

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Of the Inter-regnum, *or Vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of* Iuda *after the death of* Amazia.

§. XII.
Of Princes contemporarie with Amazia: *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

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CHAP. XXIII.

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THe *prosperitie of* Vzzia, *and of* Ieroboam *the second, who reigned with him in* Israel: *Of the* Anarchie *that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Ieroboam: *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem, *and* Pekahia.

§. II.

The end of Vzzia, *his reigne and life.*

§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of Vzzia: *and of Princes then ruling in* Ægypt, *and in some other Countries.*

§. IIII.

Of the Assyrian *Kings descending from* Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Belosus *were one person, or Heads of sundrie Families, that reigned apart in* Niniue *and* Babylon.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, *and the time when they beganne.*

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Of Iotham, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. VII.

Of Achaz, *and his Contemporaries.*

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§. I.

OF *the old Inhabitants: and of the name of* Italie.

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Of the Aborigines, *and other Inhabitants of* Latium: *and of the reason of the names of* Latini *and* Latium.

§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines *vntill* Æneas *his comming.*

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§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome: *and of* Romulus *birth and death.*

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§. I.

OF *the beginning of* Ezekias: *and of the agreeing of* Ptolemies Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the Historie of the Bible.*

§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of Iudæa *from* Sennacherib.

§. III.

Of Ezekias *his sickenesse & recouery: and of the* Babylonian *King that cõgratulated him*

§. IIII.

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Philip *making prouiſion for warre againſt the* Romans, *deales hardly with many of his owne ſubiects. His negotiation with the* Baſtarnæ. *His crueltie. He ſuſpecteth his ſonne* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his brother* Perſeus; *and ſhortly after ſlaine, by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his ſonnes death, whom hee findeth to haue beene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on* Perſeus, *he dyeth.*

§. IIII.

How the Baſtarnæ *fell vpon* Dardania. *The behauiour of* Perſeus *in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the* Romans: *and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa, *cruelly to oppreſſe the* Carthaginians. *They quarrell with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leaue obtayned. The treaſon of* Callicrates; *whereby all* Greece *became more obnoxious to* Rome, *than in former times. Further quarrells to* Perſeus. *He ſeeks friendſhip of the* Achæans, *and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The* Romans *diſcouer their intent of warring vpon him.*

§. V.

How Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was buſied, with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuſeth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honors him greatly, and contemnes his Enemies the* Rhodians; *with the cauſes thereof. The vnuſuall ſtoutneſſe of the* Macedonian *Embaſſadors.* Perſeus *his attempt vpon* Eumenes. *The brotherly loue betweene* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perſeus *his deuice to poiſon ſome of the* Roman *Senators: wherupon they decree warre againſt him, and ſend him defiance. Other things concerning the iuſtice of this warre.*

§. VI.

The Romans *ſolicit the* Greekes *to ioyne with them in the warre againſt* Perſeus. *How the* Greekes *ſtood affected in that warre. The timorouſnes of* Perſeus. Martius *a* Roman *Embaſſador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and winnes part of* Theſſalie. *The forces of* Licinius *the* Roman *Conſul: and what aſſiſtants the* Romans *had in this warre. Of* Tempe *in* Theſſalie; *and what aduantages the* Macedonian *had or might haue had, but loſt by his fear.* Perſeus *braues the* Romans, *fights with them, knowes not how to vſe his victorie, ſues for peace, and is denyed it by the vanquiſhed.* Perſeus *hauing the worſe in a skirmiſh, forſakes all the Countrie lying without* Tempe. *The* Bœotians *rebell againſt the* Romans, *and are rigorouſly puniſhed. The* Roman *Commanders vnfortunate in the warre againſt* Perſeus. *They vexe the* Greekes *their friends; for whoſe eaſe the Senate makes prouiſion; hauing heard their complaints. The flattering* Alabanders.

§. VII.

Q. Martius *the* Roman *Conſul, with extreme difficultie & danger, enters into* Tempe. *The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Towne of* Dium *quitted by* Martius, *repayred and fortified by the King. The* Romans *attempt many places, with ill ſucceſſe. Their affaires in hard eſtate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *ſent Embaſſador to* Martius *from the* Achæans. Polybius *his honeſt wiſedome beneficiall to the* Achæans. *King* Eumenes *growes auerſe from the* Romans. Perſeus *negotiates with* Antiochus *and* Eumenes. *His falſe dealing with* Gentius *King of* Illyria, *whom hee drawes into the* Roman *war. He ſends Embaſſadors to the* Rhodians, *who vainely take vpon them to bee Arbitrators betweene Him and*

and the Romans. Perſeus *loſeth a mightie ſuccour of the* Baſtarnæ, *by his wretched parſimonie.*

§. VIII.

Of L. Æmylius Paulus, *the Conſul. His iourney. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcampe. He will not hazzard battaile with any diſaduantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moone.* Æmylius *his ſuperſtition. The battaile of* Pydna. Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdom: which haſtily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at* Samothrace. *Hee yeelds himſelfe to the* Roman *Admirall; and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

§. IX.

Gentius *King of the* Illyrians, *taken by the* Romans.

§. X.

How the Romans *behaued themſelues in* Greece *and* Macedon, *after their victorie ouer* Perſeus.

§. XI.

The warre of Antiochus *vpon* Ægypt, *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadors.*

§. XII.

How the Romans *were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Pruſias, Maſaniſſa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perſeus *and his children. The inſtabilitie of Kingly Eſtates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octauius: *With the Concluſion of the worke.*

and the Romans. Perseus loseth a multitude of the Ballarne, by his wretchednesse.

§ VIII.

Of L. Æmylius Paulus, the Consul. His bravery. He forceth Perseus to disadvantage. He will not be drawn to battle with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone. Æmylius his Superstition. The Sacrifice of Pydna. Perseus his flight. He forsaketh his Kingdome, which hastily yeelds to Æmylius. Perseus at Samothrace. Hee yeelds himself to the Roman Admirall, and is sent prisoner to Æmylius.

§ IX.

Genius King of the Illyrians, &c.

ken by the Romans.

§ X.

How the Romans subdued themselves in Greece and Macedon, after their victorie over Perseus.

§ XI.

The warre of Antiochus upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadors.

§ XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings. Their dominion towards Carthage, Prusias, Nicomedes, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The triumphs of Æmylius, Anicius, and Octavius. With the ceremonies of the tryals.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD: INTREATING OF THE Beginning, and first ages of the same, *from the Creation, vnto* ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preseruation of the World.

§. I.

That the inuisible God is seene in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to bee a Power vnessable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity inuisible, an Vnderstanding, which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spirituall, of absolute pureness and simplicitie, was, and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which hee imbraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) wee behold the Image of that glorie, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall Nature, which cannot bee defined. In the glorious Lights of Heauen, wee perceiue a shadow of his diuine Countenance; in his mercifull prouision for all that liue, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in creating and making existent the world vniuersall, by the absolute art of his owne word, his Power and almightinesse, which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisedome, and Goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, wee in all admire, and in part discerne *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition order, and varietie of celestiall and terrestriall bodies: terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diuersities; celestiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuall & contrary

trarie motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, wee approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almightie Mouer.

In these more then wonderfull workes, God (saith *Hugo*) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that liue, witnesse in themselues; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: for according to S. *Gregorie*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quòd rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*: Euery man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Iob*) which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominationem illius conspicere in creaturis, to discerne him in his prouidence by his creatures.* That God hath beene otherwise seene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstanding, grounded on these places of S. *Iohn*, and S. *Paul*, *Yee haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue ye seene his shape.* And againe, *Whom neuer man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am sure agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicitie, of which S. *Augustine*, *ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, idipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*, That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoeuer name that is to be called which is God, whatsoeuer that be, the same cannot be corporally perceiued. And of this opinion were *Origen*, *Cyrill*, *Chrysostome*, *Gregorie Nazianzenus*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Gregorie* the Great, *Euaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne word, and by this visible world, is God perceiued of men, which is also the vnderstood language of the Almightie, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the vnnumbred Starres, the Sunne & Moone, written on these large volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those liuing Creatures, and plants, which inhabite and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cusanus*, *Mundus vniuersus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*, The world vniuersall, is nothing else but God expresst. And the inuisible things of God (saith S. *Paul*) are seene by creation of the world, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, then his owne will, no other matter then his owne power, no other workman then his owne word, no other consideration, then his owne infinite goodnesse. The example & patterne of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged will mooued, by his high wisedome disposed, and by his almightie power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to loue God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his word, and by the effects of the worlds creation: *Neq; enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ facie sunt, queque fiunt & gubernantur obseruatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo.* For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith *Montanus*) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things, which hee hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the word of God himselfe.

Hugo *super Eccles. Hom. 8.* *Greg. in Mor.* *Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Vnus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifestus, omnia autem manifestans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solùm generatorum est, nihil apparitio quàm generatio.* *Iohn. 5. 3.* *1. Tim. 6. 16.* *Origen. lib. 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν.* *cap. 22.* *Cyril. & Chrysost. in Iohn, Hom. 14.* *Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog.* *Hier. in Esaiam.* *Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12. & 13.* *Greg. Magn. l. 18. mor.* *Euar. Epist. 1. Decret.* *Alcuin. l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D.* *Areop. c. 4. Cæl. Hierar.* *Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi.* *Deus, qui natura inuisibilis est, vt à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit, quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, vt per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur.* *Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1:* *Cusan. de gen. dialog.* *Rom. 1. 20.* *A. Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7.*

§. II.

That the wisest, of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, haue acknowledged the world to haue beene created by GOD.

THis worke and creation of the world, did most of the ancient & learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, and in a different maner expresst, I meane al those who are entitled by S. *Augustine*, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest iudgement and vnderstanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium vniuersorum*, The originall

Herm. in Pœmandro, & in sermone sacro.

of

of the vniuersall: to whom he giueth also the attributes of *Mens, natura, actus, necessitas, finis, & renouatio.* And wherein hee truely, with S. *Paul*, casteth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty word, and not by hands: *verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus.* ZOROASTER (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) tooke the word *Fire*, to expresse God by (as in *Deuteronomie*, and in S. *Paul* it is vsed) *Omnia ex vno igne genita sunt; All things* (saith he) *are* Deut. 4. 24. Hebr. 12. 29. *caused, or produced out of one fire.*

So did *Orpheus* plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most High God; whose remarkeable words are thus conuerted: *Cum abscondisset omnia* IVPITER *summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceiue this sense; *When great* IVPITER *had hidden all things in himselfe; working out of the loue of his sacred heart, he sent thence*, or brought forth *into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had fore-thought.* Orph. de sum. loue.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to bee the Father and Creator of all things; *Vnus Deus Pater Creator summus.* *Plato* calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vniuersall; *totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But heereof more at large heereafter. Vid. cap. 6.

Now, although the curiositie of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Diuinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forraine testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples heerein; so S. *Paul* himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, & profitable, to remember whatsoeuer he found agreeable to the word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in his Epistle to *Titus*, he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*, and in the seuenteenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus*, &c. for Truth (saith S. *Ambrose*) by whomsoeuer vttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kinde of men learne this rule; *Quæ sacris seruiunt, prophana non sunt; Nothing is prophane that serueth to the vse of holy things.*

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio *Genes.* 1. 1.

THis visible World of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things beganne to bee. This word *beginning* (in which the *Hebrewes* seeke some hidden mysterie, and which in the *Iewes Targum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men haue conceiued, both which are subsequent; but onely to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to bee informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the eternall. Nature was not, nor the next parent of time begotten, time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of matter already in being, then as the word *beginning* could not bee referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of matter proceeded from a greater power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such a one (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potencie: for it is an act of more excellencie to make, then to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning: except we faine a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibilitie whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum; There cannot bee more infinites then one; for one of them would limit the other.* Cusan. de mente lib. 3.

§. IIII.

Of the meaning of the words Heauen and Earth.

Geneſis 2. 1.

THe vniuerſall matter of the world (which *Moyſes* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers diuerſly vnderſtood: for there are that conceiue, that by thoſe wordes, was meant the firſt matter, as the *Peripatetikes* vnderſtand it, to which, S. *Auguſtine* and *Iſidore* ſeeme to adhere. *Feciſti mundum* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *de materia informi, quam feciſti de nulla re, penè nullam rem*: (that is) *Thou haſt made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exiſt without forme. *Peter Lombard, the Schoole-men, Beda, Lyranus, Comeſtor, Toſtatus* and others, affirme, that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the Empyrean Heauen: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith *Beda* and *Strabo*) hee filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heauen *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Diuine claritie, and vncreated*: an errour, for which hee is ſharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceiue) he rather failed in the ſubſequent, when he made it to be a place, and the ſeate of Angels, & iuſt Soules; then in the former affirmation: for of the firſt, That God liueth in eternall light, it is written; *My ſoule, praiſe thou the Lord, that couereth himſelfe with light*: and in the Reuelation; *And the Citie hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein alſo *Iohn Mercer* vpon *Geneſis* differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by Heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuiſible or ſuperceleſtiall, ſo in his iudgement, becauſe it was in all eternity, the glorious ſeat of God himſelfe, it was not neceſſary to be created; *Quem mundum ſupercæleſtem meo iudicio creari* (ſaith MERCER) *non erat neceſſe.*

Beda. Hex. Strabo ſuper Geneſ. Eug. Coſ. & de nat. inc orp.

Pſal. 104. 12. Claritas diuina non eſt lux falſa, ſed ſapientia Dei, non creata, ſed nata. Apoc. 21. 23. Mercer. in Gen. cap. 7. verſ. 7.

But as *Moſes* forbare to ſpeake of Angels, and of things inuiſible, and incorporate, for the weakenes of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of thoſe things, which were more manifeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their forefathers: but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceiueable Vniuerſall; ſo on the other ſide I dare not thinke, that any ſuperceleſtiall Heauen, or whatſoeuer elſe (not himſelfe) was increate and eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wiſedome of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the ſeate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it ſelfe can be limited: for his place is in himſelfe, whom no magnitude elſe can containe: *How great is the Houſe of God* (ſaith BARVCH) *how large is the place of his poſſeſſions! it is great, and hath no end, it is high and vnmeaſurable.*

Bar. 3. 24. 25.

But leauing multiplicitie of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the wordes, *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, aſwell of all the Heauens, and Orbes ſupernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia, Chaos, poſſibilitas, ſine poſſe fieri*. Which matter (ſaith *Caluin*) was ſo called, *quòd totius mundi ſemen fuerit*; *Becauſe it was the ſeed of the Vniuerſall*: an opinion of ancient Philoſophers long before.

Cuſan. in compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Caluin. in Gen.

§. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by MOSES *vnderstood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of vnformed and voide, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.*

MOSES first nameth Heauen and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth, but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as *Basil* saith) *præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulnesse.*

For vnder the word *Heauen*, was the matter of all heauenly bodies, and natures expresst: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoeuer is vnder the Moone, and subiect to alteration. Corrupt seedes bring foorth corrupt plants; to which the pure heauens are not subiect, though subiect to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith Dauid) *and the heauens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters vnder the heauens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appeare*: which prooueth that the dry land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seede of the Earth, much lesse of the Vniuersall. *Initio tu Domine terram fundasti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *Dauid*. And if by naturall arguments it may be prooued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and so on the contrary, *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam conuertit, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into water*. For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Cælum verò & terra in statu creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licèt multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrewes call *Maim*, is not to be vnderstood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifical water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit. For Maim* (saith he) *is a double liquor*, (that is, of diuers natures) *and this name or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plural, Aquas, Waters.*

This Masse, or indigested matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters: *And the earth was voide*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters*, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retayneth, then did *the earth budde forth the hearbe, which seedeth seede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kinde, and God saw that it was good*; which attribute was not giuen to the Earth, while it was confused, nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. *God saw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera, The workes of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lumpe of imperfect matter had the ancient Poets their inuention of *Demogorgon*: HESIODVS *and* ANAXAGORAS the knowledge of that Chaos, of which *Ouid*:

Ante

Psal. 102. 26. Esai 11. Gen. 1. v. 9. Psal. 104. 6. Zeno. Gul. Paris. 600. A. Mont. denat. Gen. 1. 2. 12.

Ouid. Metam. lib.1.

Ante mare, & terras, & (quod tegit omnia) cælum,
Vnus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaq; moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,
In all the world one only face of nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

§. VI.

How it is to be vnderstood that the Spirit of God mooued vpon the waters, and that this is not to be searched curiously.

AFter the creation of Heauen and Earth, then voide and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters. The *Seuenty Interpreters* vse the word *super-ferebatur*, mooued vpon or ouer: *incubabat*, or *fouebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recenseo* (saith *Basil*) which wordes *incubare* or *fouere* importing warmth, hatching, or quickening, haue a speciall likenesse. *Verbum translatum est ab auibus pullitiei suæ incubantibus, quàmuis spirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; *The word is taken of birds hatching their yong, not corporally, but in a spirituall and vnexpressible manner.*

Basil. Hexam.

Iunius.

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*, *The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldæan Paraphraft in this sense, *ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat*, or as other vnderstand the Chaldæan, *flabat, pellebat, remouebat*: *the wind from the face of God did blow vnder, driue, or remoue*, or *did blow vpon*, according to the 147. *Psalme*. *He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase*: *but there was yet no winde nor exhalation*: *Arias Montanus* in these wordes, *Et spiritus Elohim Meracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confouens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; *The Spirit of God effectually and often mouing, keeping warme, and cherishing, quickning and stirring vpon the face of this double liquor*. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passiue and materiall, to wit, *causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse: *Iehi*, which is, *fiat, siue erit, let it be*, or *it shall be*. *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: *which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was vttered by the word of God*. The third *Spiritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, id est, vis quædam diuina, agilis ac præsens per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*, that is, *a certaine diuine power, or strength euery where, actiue and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things*. The fourth hee calleth *Maim, id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *matter apt to become euery thing*. For my selfe I am resolued *(Cùm Deus sit superrationale omni ratione, Seeing God is in all reason aboue reason)* that although the effects which follow his wonderfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceiued by mans vnderstanding, yet the manner and first operation of his diuine power cannot bee conceiued by any minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit*: *For my thoughts* (sayth the Lord in *Esay*) *are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes*. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes (according to S. *Paul*) *past finding out*. *O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee*, saith CHRIST. And therfore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were by incubation, or how else, the maner is onely knowne to God, *Quemadmodum in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; *For how God* (sayth S. *Augustine*, speaking of his Vbiquitie) *is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend*. *Nihil inter Deum hominemq; distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius maiestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana*: *There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans vnderstanding could conceiue the counsels*

Psal. 147. 18.
Ar. Mont. vt sup.
Eugub. in Cos. fol. 13.

Ar. Mont. de natura, pag. 149.

Esay. 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 20. in Iohan. 17. 25.

Lact. in Præfat.

counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiestie; and therefore to be ouer-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the creation of the World or his all-piercing and operatiue Spirit distinguishing, gaue forme to the matter of the Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne and safe foord, will presume to passe ouer the greatest Riuer in all parts, where hee is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his vnderstanding. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neere the fire; but if we seeke to outface the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blinde or burnt.

But to eschew curiositie: this is true, that the English word (moued) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoeuer is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeede be truely called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *vis causæ efficientis*, *The force of the efficient cause*, Saint *Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a winde or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, *vnder the name of a Spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, *for a created virtuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or winde: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, *a pure or thinne intelligible spirit*: ANAXAGORAS, *mentem*: TOSTATVS, *voluntatem & mentem Dei*, *The will and minde of God*; which *mens*, *Plato in Timæo*, maketh *animam mundi*, *The soule of the world*: and in his sixt Booke *de Republica*, he calleth it *the law of Heauen*; in his Epistles, *the leader of things to come*, *and the presence of things past*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of CHRIST our Sauiour, *Mens deficit*, *vox silet*, *& non mea tantùm*, *sed etiam Angelorum*: *My minde faileth*, *my voice is silent*, *and not mine onely*, *but euen the voice of Angels*: so may al men else say in the vnderstanding, and vtterance of the wayes and workes of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid eius est, & quicquid est*, *Whatsoeuer attribute of him there is*, *and whatsoeuer he is*, *it is the very same substance that himselfe is*. *Nazian. lib. 2. Theol.*

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or winde, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth, and giueth continuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it *which maintaineth all things*, saith SALOMON. *If thou send forth thy Spirit*, (saith DAVID) *they are created*: And GREGORIE, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent vniuersa*; *God giueth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then, as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanish into nothing*. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expreste excellently: *Wisd. cap. 1. Vers. 7.*

Principio cœlum ac terras, campos q; liquentes,
Lucentem q; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totam q; infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

Virg. Aeneid. lib. 8. 724.

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian,
A Spirit within maintaines: and their whole Masse,
A Minde, which through each part infus'd doth passe,
Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Vniuerse.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heauens*, sayth *Iob*. So *Iob c. 26. v. 13.*

then

then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their ſpiritualitie, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rariſaction, and ſubtilitie of parts. By this Spirit, (which gaue heat and motion, and thereby, operation to euery nature, while it moued vpon the waters, which were in one indigeſted lump, and Chaos, diſpoſed to all formes alike) was begotten ayre: an element ſuperior, as lighter then the waters, through whoſe vaſt, open, ſubtile, diaphanicke, or tranſparent body, the light afterwards created might eaſily tranſpierce: light, for the excellencie thereof, being the firſt creature which God called good, whoſe creation immediatly followed. This Spirit *Chryſoſtome* calleth a vitall Operation, *aquis à Deo inſitam, ex qua aquæ non ſolùm motionem, ſed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, *A vitall Operation giuen by God vnto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but alſo power to procreate or bring foorth liuing creatures.*

Gen.1.5.

§. VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall ſubſtance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficultie of knowledge of it: and of the excellencie and vſe of it: and of motion, and heat annexed vnto it.

THeſe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnited, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and inſtrument of created light. For this firſt and diſperſed light did not (as I conceiue) diſtinguiſh the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vniting of the diſperſed light therein. This is proued by theſe words, *Let there be lights in the firmament, to ſeparate the day from the night*: which lights in the firmament of heauen were alſo made for ſignes, and for ſeaſons, and for dayes, and for yeeres, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which dayes and yeeres are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the meaſure of motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three dayes which preceded the Suns creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to bee meaſured, and the day named in the fift verſe, was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of ayre, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters, and of the Seas, and creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beaſts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: ſo may light (for expreſſion ſake) be called the Chaos, or materiall ſubſtance of the Sunne, and other lights of heauen: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing ſenſible, is that light it ſelfe, *quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum, which is the cauſe that things are lightſome* (though it make it ſelfe and all things elſe viſible) but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greekes* call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our ayre. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium cæleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum: The conducter, and preſeruer or nouriſher of all Celeſtiall vertues and impreſſions*, nothing deſcending of heauenly influences, but by the *medium*, or meanes of light. *Ariſtotle* calleth light, a qualitie, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualitas inhærens Diaphano*: but this may be better auouched of the heat, which it tranſporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (ſay the Platonickes) *abeunte lumine reſidet in ſubiecto, the light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubiect*, as warmth in the aire, though the ſame bee depriued of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academikes* make incorporal, and ſo doth MONTANVS, *Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium: Which neither hardneſſe reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaueth.*

Ariſtotle findeth corporalitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith *Picolomineus. Democritus, Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, giue

Lux dicitur, quæ ſe, & omnia viſibilia facit. Cuſan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5.

Ficin. lib. de Lumine. cap. 11.

Pic. definit.

giue materiality to light it ſelfe, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant, from the Heauen to the Earth, nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſſe, becauſe it pierceth through the ſolid body of glaſſe, or other Criſtalline matter; and whereas it is withſtood by vncleane, and vnpure earthy ſubſtances, leſſe hard, and more eaſie to inuade then the former, the ſame is, *Quòd obſtaculum naturâ terreum atq; ſordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem: Becauſe an obſtacle, by nature earthie and foule, doth not receiue the pure clearenеſſe of light*: alluding to that moſt diuine light, which onely ſhineth on thoſe mindes, which are purged from all worldly droſſe, and humane vncleanneſſe. *Plotin.*

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I maruaile at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philoſophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them vnderſtood either it or themſelues therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) haue diſputed heereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in re'uting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others: ſo is his owne iudgement heerein, as weake as any mans; and moſt of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing vpon the parts of doctrine already laid down, then diſcouerers of any thing hidden, either in Philoſophie or Diuinitie: of whom it may be truly ſaid, *Nihil ſapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio: Nothing is more odious to true wiſedome, then too acute ſharpneſſe.* Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men, (which the ſame time hath brought forth and deuoured) reſolued vs, whether this light be ſubſtantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they ſay it cannot be, becauſe then it could neither pierce the Aire, nor thoſe hard, ſolid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet euery day we ſee the Aire illightened: incorporal it cannot be, becauſe it is ſenſible: ſenſible it is, becauſe it ſomtime affecteth the ſight of the eye with offence, and therefore by moſt of the Fathers ſo eſteemed: others ſay, (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, becauſe no forme ſo excellent as it ſelfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not ſeparable without the deſtruction of the ſubiect: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in exiſtence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both muſt be one of theſe, Lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous or tranſparent; but darkeneſſe cannot bee parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darkeneſſe, but capable of either) cannot be the cauſe of either, and therefore muſt the matter, or forme, or both, be Lucide and ſhining. Lucide and ſhining obtaine their ſo being of the light; and therefore, if we deriue this being of light from a former, then would the progreſſe goe on infinitely, and againſt nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediatly of it ſelfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all Lucide and ſhining bodies: but what is taught heereby, let others iudge.

Lucida corpora ſunt plena ſuæ luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca ſunt plena ſuis tenebris alieno lumine. Tranſparentia ſeu Diaphana carent ſuis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur.

But in my vnderſtanding *lumen*, (which may be Engliſhed by the word Shine) is an intentionall Species of that, which may bee Engliſhed by Light, and ſo, this ſhining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heauen, or from any other light, is an image, or intentionall Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be vnderſtood by the example of a red, or greene colour, occaſioned by the ſhining of the Sunne through red or greene glaſſe: for then wee perceiue the ſame colour caſt vpon any thing oppoſite; which redneſſe or other colour, we cal the *intentionall Species* of the colour in that glaſſe. And againe, as this light, touching his ſimple nature, is no way yet vnderſtood: ſo it is diſputed, whether this light firſt created, bee the ſame, which the Sunne inholdeth and caſteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer, then till the Sunnes creation. *Scal. ſubt. ex. 71.*

But by the moſt wiſe and vnchanged order, which God obſerued in the worke of the world, I gather, that the light, in the firſt day created, was the ſubſtance of the Sunne: for *Moſes* repeateth twiſe the maine parts of the vniuerſall; firſt, as they were created in matter; ſecondly, as they were adorned with forme: firſt, naming the *Geneſ.* 1. *Verſ.* 12. 9.

Heauens,

Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry land, and the Heauens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated, and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertuall formes: so the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day vnited, and set in the Firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day, God gaue no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisedome of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from waters) began to budde forth the budde of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite euery part of the inferiour world; by his heat to stirre vp the fire of generation, and to giue actiuity to the seedes of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to bee erected, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerfull word he approued, and approuing it, disposed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future Creatures.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

But in that it pleased God to aske of IOB, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* wee thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enioy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the treasure of God* (saith ESDRAS.) *And those which inhabite the Heauens, doe onely know the essence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing vnknowne in Heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth.* *Res veræ sunt in mundo inuisibili, in mundo visibili vmbræ rerum: Things themselues are in the inuisible world, in the world visible, but their shadowes*; Surely, if this light be not spirituall, yet it approcheth neerest vnto spirituality; and if it haue any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoeuer, it is of all things seene, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men, and other creatures, all celestiall influences; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrowes, which the darkenesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discouereth vnto vs the glorious workes of God, and carrieth vp with an Angelicall swiftnesse, our eyes vnto Heauen, that by the sight thereof, our mindes being informed of his visible maruailes, may continually trauaile to surmount these perceiued Heauens, and to finde out their omnipotent cause and Creatour. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, vt cætera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cùm suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the light,* (saith S. AMBROSE) *that maketh the other part of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodnesse and beauty vnto all:* of which *Ouid* out of *Orpheus*:

Iob 38. 24. 9.

Esd. l. 2. c. 6. 40.

Herm.

Ficin.

Ouid. Met. l. 1.

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

The world discernes it selfe, while I the world behold,
By me the longest yeeres, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Lastly,

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre-off-dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may be perceiued. Therefore was God called *lux ipsa*, and the light, by *Hermes* named *lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Sauiour said to bee *that Light, which lighteneth euery man that commeth into the world.* Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profectò non mens est, at verò vt sit mens causa est, nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit.* God (saith HERMES in PŒMANDRO) *certainely is not a minde, but the cause that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which euery spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.* *Iob.* 1. 9. & 14. 46.

So then the *Masse* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operatiue Spirit of God, pierced and quickened, and the Waters hauing now receiued Spirit & motion, resolued their thinner parts into Aire, which God illightned: the Earth also by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the same diuine vertue) brought foorth the budde of the herbe that seedeth seede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operatiue vertue might bee continued, God appointed the light to be vnited, and gaue it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those seuerall *species*, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begate the time and times succeeding. *Gen.* 1. 16.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters aboue the Firmament: and whether there bee any cristalline Heauen, or any Primum mobile.

AFter that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there bee a Firmament in the middest of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters*: that is, those waters which by rarifaction and euaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate aboue this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, for *expansum* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius* turne it) are not the cristalline Heauens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fancie. For the waters aboue the Firmament, are the waters in the Aire aboue vs, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the nether waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the wordes *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamaÿm*, being indifferently taken for the Heauen & for Aire, and more properly for the Aire & *æther*, then for the Heauens, as the best Hæbricians vnderstand them; *quo suprema & tenuia ab infimis crassis deducta, interfectaq; distarent*, for that *whereby the supreme and thinne bodies were placed in distance, being seuered and cut off from low and grosse matters*: and the waters aboue the Firmament, expresst in the word *Maÿm*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters aboue the Aire, or in the vppermost Region of the same. *Mont. nat. hist. fol.* 152.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the Aire, the Scriptures euery-where witnesse, as in the blessings of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalme. **By these springs shall the fowle of the Heauen dwell*; and [a] *vpon Sodome and Gomorrha it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heauen*; and in *Isaacs* blessing to IACOB, *God giue thee therefore of the dew of Heauen*; and in *Deuteronomie* the 11. *But the land whither you goe to possesse it, is a land, that drinketh water of the raine of Heauen*; and in IOB, *Who hath ingendred the frosts of Heauen*; and in S. MATTHEVV, *Behold the Fowles of Heauen, for they sowe not.* *Gen.* 49. 25. * *Psal.* 104. 12. [a] *Gen.* 19. 24. *Cap.* 27. 28. *Deut.* 11. 11. *Iob.* 38. 29. *Matt.* 6. 26.

So

So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great heighth, as; *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose toppe may reach to Heauen, &c.* And in this very place *Basil* auoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne wordes be these; *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum cælum. Hæc appellatio alij quidem propriè accommodatur; huic autem nunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation* (saith *Basil*) *is properly applyed to another* (that is, to the Starry Heauen) *but to this*, (that is, to the Firmament diuiding the waters) *it is imposed by similitude*: and if there were no other proofe, that by the Firmament was meant the Aire, and not the Heauen, the wordes of MOSES in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse, makes it manifest: for in the eighth Verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which diuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse hee calleth the Firmament of Heauen, Aire, in these words: *And let the fowle flie vpon the earth in the open firmament of Heauen*: and what vse there should bee of this ycie, or cristalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beleefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man ought to be held to impossibilities*; and faith it selfe (which surmounteth the heighth of all humane reason) hath for a forcible Conducter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the light of all reason and vnderstanding*. Now that this supposed first Moueable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleeue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I can not: but of these many Heauens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilius Magnus* in his *Hexam. fol.* 40. 41. *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, his second Booke, and sixt Chapter. For my selfe, I am perswaded, that the waters, called, The waters aboue the Heauens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendred in the vppermost Aire.

Gen. 11. 4.

§. IX.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may bee gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise GOD in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things: and in the first three daies he distinguished & gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, diuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the Firmament into one place. In the last three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and repleni shed the world: he set in the Firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giuing to all that haue life, a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kindes, to Creatures vegetatiue and growing, their seeds in themselues; for *hee created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preserued.*

Wisd. 1. 14.

§. X.

§. X.

That Nature is no Principium per ſe; *nor forme the giuer of being: and of our ignorance, how ſecond cauſes ſhould haue any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working power, which wee call Nature, the beginning of motion and reſt, according to *Ariſtotle*, the ſame is nothing elſe, but the ſtrength and facultie, which God hath infuſed into euery creature, hauing no other ſelfe-abilitie, then a Clocke, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. Theſe therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any firſt or ſole power, haue therein no other vnderſtanding, then ſuch a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth aſcribe ſome abſolute vertue to the piece of wood, without all conſideration of the hand, that guides it, or of the iudgement, which alſo directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all elſe, that by the vertue of the firſt act, all Agents worke whatſoeuer they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the minde of man ſeeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute ſight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde only, that giueth abilitie, life, and motion to all theſe his inſtruments and Organs; ſo God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infuſed properties, and by men, as by ſeuerall organs, ſeueral effects; all ſecond cauſes whatſoeuer, being but inſtruments, conduits, and pipes, which carrie and diſperſe what they haue receiued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuerſall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euery-where-preſence (compaſſing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to bee made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: ſo all ſecond and inſtrumentall cauſes, together with Nature it ſelfe, without that operatiue facultie which God gaue them, would become altogether ſilent, vertueleſſe, and dead: of which excellently ORPHEVS; *Per te vireſcunt omnia, All things by thee ſpring forth in youthfull greene.* I enforce not theſe things, thereby to annihilate thoſe variable vertues, which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heauenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayſe him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philoſophers, and thoſe that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I ſay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expreſſe it, euer enrich his own vnderſtanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not fooliſh by ſelfe-flatterie) therein. For (ſayth *Lactantius*, ſpeaking of the wiſedome of the Philoſophers) *ſi facultas inueniendæ veritatis huic ſtudio ſubiaceret, aliquandò eſſet inuenta; cùm verò tot temporibus, tot ingenijs in eius inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam; If in this ſtudie* (ſayth hee) *were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this beene found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits haue beene worne out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſedome there to be had. Nam ſi de vnâ re præciſa ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſariò haberetur: If the preciſe knowledge of any one thing were to bee had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to bee had.* And as the Philoſophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: ſo were they more curious, then knowing, in their firſt matter and Phyſicall forme. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neyther a ſubſtance pefect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſtance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not beene taught, neyther are theſe formes (ſayth a learned Authour) any thing, *ſi ex ea exprimantur potentia,*

Natura enim remota prouidentia & poteſtate diuina, prorſus nihil eſt. Lact. de falſ. Sapientia, l. 3. cap. 28.

Cyprian. de mente, lib. 3.

potentia, quæ nihil est. Againe, how this first matter should bee *subiectum formarum*, and passiue, which is vnderstood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceiue: for to make forme which is the cause, to bee subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, diuine and humane: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter & forme, then betweene heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rationall consideration. Leauing therefore these Riddles to their Louers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and peruert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to prooue a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre safer to affirme with Saint AVGVSTINE, *That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoeuer is naturall proceedeth, of what kind or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seeds of all formes, and the formes of all seeds and their motions*; *A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscunq; generis est, cuiuscunq; æstimationis est, à quo sunt semina formarum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Auerrois* is forced to confesse. *For all formes* (sayth he) *are in primo motore*; which is also the opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* vpon *Dionysius*.

12. *Metaph.*

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diuersly be preuented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be safely receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an ineuitable necessitie, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull then it is, by giuing it Dominion ouer the mind of man, and ouer his will; of which *Ouid* and *Iuuenal*.

Iuuen. sat. 7. 201

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Seruis regna dabunt, captiuis Fata triumphos.

'Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile.
Kingdomes to Slaues, by Destinie,
To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Basil. Esa. 4. Aug. de hæres. 70. c. 35. Thom. cont. Gent. 3. cap. 83. Ficin. in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.

An errour of the *Chaldeans*, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* haue obserued: but, that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Plotinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestial Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolomie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the *Stoicks*, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessitie; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de vnoquoq; nostrûm fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-set: it being manifest, that the diuersitie of seasons, the Winters and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so vncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the Starres haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot denie, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs, and Fountaines,

taines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the baseſt liuing creatures, why ſhould wee rob the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for ſeeing they are many in number and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treaſury of his wiſedome who is infinite, there can bee wanting (euen for euery Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe, plant, fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the Earth hath the like. For as theſe were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer and ſhadow her duſtie face, but otherwiſe for the vſe of man and beaſt, to feed them and cure them: ſo were not thoſe vncountable glorious bodies ſet in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorne it, but for inſtruments and organs of his diuine prouidence, ſo far as it hath pleaſed his iuſt will to determine. *Origen* vpon this place of *Geneſis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament, &c.* affirmeth that the Starres are not cauſes (meaning perchance binding cauſes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and ſet downe all things whatſoeuer to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wiſedome: which latter part I beleeue well, and this ſaying of *Syracides* withall: *That there are hid yet greater things then theſe bee, and wee haue ſeene but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacitie of men, we know ſomewhat, yet in the true and vttermoſt vertues of herbes and plants, which our ſelues ſow and ſet, and which grow vnder our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celeſtiall bodies: for *hardly* (ſayth SALOMON) *can we diſcerne the things that are vpon the earth, and with great labour find we out thoſe things that are before vs: who can then inueſtigate the things that are in Heauen? Multum eſt de rebus cœleſtibus aliquid cognoſcere*: *It is much to know a little of heauenly things.* But in this queſtion of Fate, the middle courſe is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not bind God to his creatures, in this ſuppoſed neceſſitie of deſtinie, ſo on the contrary we doe not rob thoſe beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of theſe ſecond cauſes deſpoyled God of his prerogatiue, or had God himſelfe conſtrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celeſtiall inforcements, then ſure the impious excuſe of ſome were iuſtifiable; of whom Saint AVGVSTINE: *Impiâ peruerſitate in malis factis rectiſſimè reprehendendis ingerunt accuſandum potius auctorum ſyderum, quàm commiſſorem ſcelerum. Where wee reprehend them of euill deeds, they againe with wicked peruerſeneſſe vrge, that rather the Authour and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accuſed.*

Genes. 1. 15.

Eccl. 43. c. 32.

Wiſd. 9. 16.

Ariſtotle.

Aug. 2. ſuper Gen. ad lit.

But that the Stars and other celeſtiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the ſenſitiue appetite, which is alſo ſtirred by the conſtitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœleſtia* (ſayth DAMASCENE) *conſtituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & diſpoſitiones, The heauenly bodies* (ſayth he) *make in vs habits, complexions, and diſpoſitions*: for the bodie (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the minde, eſpecially bodies ſtrong in humour, and mindes weake in vertues: for thoſe of cholericke complexion are ſubiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof, by which they ſuffer themſelues to be tranſported, where the minde hath not reaſon to remember, that paſſions ought to be her Vaſſals, not her Maſters. And that they wholly direct the reaſonleſſe minde I am reſolued: For all thoſe which were created mortall, as birds beaſts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celeſtiall bodies (as inſtruments and Executioners of Gods prouidence) haue abſolute dominion. What we ſhould iudge of men, who little differ from beaſts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth againſt thoſe inforcements, may eaſily maſter or reſiſt them: ſo whoſoeuer ſhall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himſelfe altogether vnder the power of his ſenſuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum ſi reſiſtas, vincit ſi contempſeris: Fate will be ouercome, if thou reſiſt it, if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

5.

Gal. l. mor. an. ſeq. temp.

Quint.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the minds of men immediately, it is abſurd to thinke, other then as aforeſaid, as the ſame by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen ſolis ad generationem ſenſibilium corporum confert, &*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 5.

ad vitam ipſam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne (ſayth Saint AVGVSTINE) *helpeth the generation of ſenſible bodies, moueth them to life, and nouriſheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them:* yet ſtill as a Miniſter, not as a Maſter: *Bonus quidem eſt Sol, in miniſterio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to ſerue, not to ſway* (ſaith S. *Ambroſe.*) And Saint AVGVSTINE: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per ſuperiora; God ruleth the bodies below by thoſe aboue,* but he auoucheth not, that ſuperiour bodies haue rule ouer mens minds, which are incorporeall.

Hex. lib. 4. de-term. 3.

But howſoeuer wee are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the ſame, and weaken their operation: and *Ariſtotle* himſelfe confeſſeth, that the Heauens doe not alwayes worke their effects in inferiour bodies, no more then the ſignes of raine and wind doe alwaies come to paſſe. And it is diuers times ſeene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to theſe inclinations. *Eſt in Iuuencis patrum virtus; In the young off-ſpring the Fathers vertue is,* and ſo the contrary, *patrum vitia:* and herein alſo there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill conſtellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.

Hor. lib. 4. Od. 4. 30.

Egregia eſt ſoboles, ſceleratо nata parente.

A worthy ſonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reſerued power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing vp may faſhion anew, and reforme them; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the reines being let looſe) the continuall fellowſhip and familiaritie, and the examples of diſſolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Veſſels will euer retaine a ſauour of their firſt liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to clenſe the mind once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſauour of vertue firſt receiued, when the mind was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a fauourable conſtellation (allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrary in both, therby it is that men are found ſo exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heauen and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the ſeedes of vertue may by the art and huſbandry of Chriſtian counſaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the ſtrength of ſelfe-nature and kind could haue yeelded them; ſo the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themſelues into weedes, by being ſet in a ſoyle futable, and like themſelues, are made more vnſauoury and filled with poyſon. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adiuuabit opus aſtrorum, quemadmodum agricola terræ naturam; A wiſe man aſſiſteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the ſoile.* And *Ptolomie* himſelfe confeſſeth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina ſapientis medici dominabuntur aſtris, A wiſeman, and the ominous art of a wiſe Phyſician ſhall preuaile againſt the Starres.* Laſtly, wee ought all to know, that GOD created the Starres, as he did the reſt of the Vniuerſall, whoſe influences may be called his reſerued and vnwritten Lawes. But let vs conſider how they bind: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the world haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a murderer ſhall ſuffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magiſtrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet theſe Lawes doe not depriue Kings of their naturall or religious compaſſion, or bind them without prerogatiue, to ſuch a ſeuere execution, as that there ſhould bee nothing left of libertie to iudgement, power, or conſcience: the Law in his owne nature being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe ſometimes for cauſes to themſelues knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelues, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himſelfe,

which

which his Subſtitutes enioy; God being mercy, goodneſſe, and charitie it ſelfe. Otherwiſe that example of Prayer by our Sauiour taught; *And let vs not bee led vnto temptation, but deliuer vs from euill,* had beene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truely) hath aſſured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble Prayers and deſires may not make fruſtrate, and breake aſunder: for were it (as the *Stoicks* conceiue) that Fate or Deſtinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himſelfe ſhould in a kind haue ſhut vp himſelfe therein: *How miſerable then were the condition of men* (ſayth Saint AVGVSTINE) *left altogether without hope!* Mat.6.13.

And if this ſtrength of the Starres were ſo transfer'd, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo beleeueth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other would thereby be deſpoyled of all worſhip, reuerence, or reſpect.

And ceatainely, GOD which hath promiſed vs the reward of wel-doing, which Chriſt himſelfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I haue finiſhed the worke which thou gaueſt mee to doe.*) And the ſame God, who hath threatned vnto vs the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be ſo vniuſt, as to bind vs ineuitably to the Deſtinies, or influences of the Starres, or ſubiect our ſoules to any impoſed neceſſitie. But it was well ſayd of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were ſignificant, but not efficient, giuing them yet ſomething leſſe then their due: and therefore as I doe not conſent with thoſe, who would make thoſe glorious creatures of God vertueleſſe: ſo I think that we derogate from his eternal and abſolute power and prouidence, to aſcribe to them the ſame dominion ouer our immortall ſoules, which they haue ouer all bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures: for the ſoules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it ſelfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Stars is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow. *Lumen eſt vmbra Dei, & Deus eſt lumen luminis*; *Light is the ſhadow of Gods brightneſſe, who is the light of light*: But to end this queſtion, becauſe this Deſtinie, together with Prouidence, Preſcience, and Predeſtination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for euery man hath not obſerued it, though all learned men haue. Ioh.18.4. Plat.pol.6. Ficin. in l.7. pol.

§. XII.

Of Preſcience.

PReſcience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognoſis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Prouidence: for God fore-knew all things, before hee had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatſoeuer our ſelues fore-know, except the ſame be to ſucceede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preſcience of God (as it is Preſcience onely) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impoſe any neceſſity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will riſe, and ſet; that all men borne in the world ſhall die againe; that after Winter, the Spring ſhall come; after the Spring Summer and Harueſt, and that according to the ſeuerall ſeedes that we ſow, we ſhall reape ſeuerall ſorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neither doth the knowledge in vs binde or conſtraine the Sunne to riſe and ſet, or men to die; for the cauſes (as men perſwade themſelues) are otherwiſe manifeſt and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith BOETIVS) *beholdeth thoſe things ſubiect to*

sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is a horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they bee in their owne natures. And againe out of the same Authour; *Diuina prouidentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quid si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret; Diuine prouidence* (sayth he) *imposeth no necessitie vpon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessitie, there should neyther be reward of good, nor punishment of euill.*

Boëtius de consol.

§. XIII.

Of Prouidence.

NOw Prouidence (which the *Greekes* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philosophers (saith Saint *Augustine*) is deuided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future; and we our selues account such a man for prouident, as, remembring things past, and obseruing things present, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures euery-where teach vs, *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure vs hereof; and, besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: yea, the *Turkes* themselues are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any perill whatsoeuer, though death therein doe manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture prooving Prouidence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place. *Sing vnto God* (sayth DAVID) *which couereth the Heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the grasse to grow vpon the Mountaines, which giueth to beasts their food, and feedeth the young Rauen that cryes: all these wait vpon thee, that thou maiest giue them food in due season. And thou shalt drinke of the Riuer Cheareth* (sayth God to ELIAH) *and I haue commanded the Rauens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they sow not, nor reape, and yet your heauenly Father feedeth them: againe, are not two Sparrowes sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the haires of your head are numbred:* And Saint PETER, *Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you; And his iudgements are written* (sayth DAVID.)

Psal. 147. 8. 9. Psal. 104. 27. 145. 15. 1. Reg. 17. 4. Mat. 6. 26. Luke 12. 6. 7. 1. Pet. 5. 7. Psal. 36. 6.

God therefore, who is euery-where present, *who filleth the Heauens and the Earth, whose eyes are vpon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called, *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not giue my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euery-where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuersall Prouidence is seene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beasts and birds and all liuings for their young ones. If Prouidence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuersall: and if there be a naturall louing care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuersall: *Amor diuinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniuersi* (saith PLATO.) *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq; eius immobile sustentaculum, ac*

Jer. 23. 24. Esai. 42. 8.

vniuersæ

vniuerſæ machinæ fundamentum; The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chayne of the world, and the immoueable piller of euery part thereof, and the Baſis and foundation of the vniuerſall. God therefore who could only be the cauſe of all, can onely prouide for all, and ſuſtayne all; ſo as to abſolute power; to euery-where preſence; to perfect goodneſſe; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute and tranſcendent habilitie of Prouidence is only proper and belonging. *Ioh.ep.1.c.4.v.8* God is loue.

§. XIIII.

Of Predeſtination.

NOw for Predeſtination; we can difference it no otherwiſe, from Prouidence and Preſcience, then in this, that Preſcience only fore-ſeeth: Prouidence fore-ſeeth and careth for, and hath reſpect to al creatures, euen from the brighteſt Angels of heauen, to the vnworthieſt wormes of the earth, and Predeſtination (as it is vſed ſpecially by Diuines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their ſaluation properly, in the common vſe of Diuines, or perdition, as ſome haue vſed it. Yet *Peter Lombard*, *Thomas*, *Bernenſis Theologus*, and others, take the word Predeſtination more ſtrictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: diuers of the Fathers take it more largely ſometimes: among whom S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of two Cities, and two Societies, vſeth theſe wordes, *Quarum eſt vna, quæ prædeſtinata eſt in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum ſupplicium ſubire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predeſtinated to raigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe euerlaſting torment with the Deuill*: for according to NONIVS MARCELLVS, *deſtinare eſt præparare*; and of the ſame opinion are many Proteſtant writers, as *Caluin*, *Beza*, *Buchanus*, *Danæus*, and ſuch like: and as for the manifold queſtions hereof ariſing, I leaue them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleaſed God to create ſome veſſels of honor, and ſome of diſhonor, I will anſwere with *Gregorie*, who ſaith, *Qui in facti is Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem ſuam conſiderans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that ſeeth no reaſon in the actions of God, by conſideration of his owne infirmitie perceiueth the reaſon of his blindneſſe.* And againe with S. AVGVSTINE, *Occulta eſſe cauſa poteſt, iniuſta eſſe non poteſt; Hidden the cauſe of his Predeſtination may be, vniuſt it cannot be.*

Rom.8.& 9.

Lomb.l.1.diſt.39
Thom.part.1. diſt.23.
Bern.in Probl.de p.d.

Aug.l.15.c.1.de Ciuit.Dei.

Cal. in cap.9. ad Rom. v.11.
Bez.in magn.annot.in cap.9.ad Rom.
Danæus, l. 3. de Salut.
Greg.Magn. Iob 9.
Aug. ad Polin. ep.59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reaſon of ſome things that ſeeme to be by fortune, and againſt Reaſon and Prouidence.

LAſtly, ſeeing Deſtinie or Neceſſitie is ſubſequent to Gods prouidence, and ſeeing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before ſpoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificioſam Dei Organum; The art, or artificiall Organ of God*: and CVSANVS, *Diuini præcepti inſtrumentum; The inſtrument of the diuine precept*: we may then with better reaſon reiect that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of fooles, called *Fortune* or Chance: a Goddeſſe, the moſt reuerenced, and the moſt reuiled of all other, but not ancient; for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pauſanias* witneſſeth in his *Meſſeniacks*. The *Greekes* call her τύχη, ſignifying a relatiue being, or betiding, ſo as before *Homers* time this great Lady was ſcarce heard of; and *Heſiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all theſe counterfait gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*: yet afterward ſhee grew ſo great and omnipotent, as from Kings

Sen.ep.91.

Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggers and Cottages, she ordered all things, resisting the wisdome of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, insomuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her pastimes: of which PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ est*; *The life of man is the play of Fortune:* and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels haue equall successe to those by the best iudgement conducted, therefore had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience: whereof *Athenæus*:

Aur.vict.de pertinace Sen.ep.74 Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great & often changes of his Fortune, is said to haue vsed to

cry out vpon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verse of Æschylus, *Tu me extulisti, eadem me is (sentio) perditum.*

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen simillima.

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre,
And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbeare to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endeuours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be giuen, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non præcesserit*; *Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sunne, of which there was not a iust preceding cause.* But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoeuer may be obiected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, *besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior*; *Præter intentionem inferioris, sed non præter intentionem superioris*, (to wit) the ordinance of God; and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) *Quod Poeta fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; *Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God*, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the law of Murder. *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death, and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath these wordes, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, if he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomie* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby another is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: and in the *Prouerbs* the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth most casuall and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his Sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academikes* to this effect, That the same power which they called *animam mundi*; *The soule of the world*, was no other then that incomprehensible wisdome, which we expresse by the name of God, gouerning euery being aswell in heauen as in earth; to which wisedome and power they sometime gaue the title of Necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by inexuitable ordinance: sometime, the stile of Fortune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh S. *Augustine* in his questions vpon *Genesis* the first Booke: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatsoeuer* (saith he) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by diuers termes, according as he vseth, and exerciseth his power diuersly.*

Te facimus Fortunam Deam, cœlog, locamus. Sat.10.366.

Exod.21.12.13.

Vers.5.

Vers.33.

Cic.ac.quæst.l.1.

Senec.l.4.c.7.

But it may be obiected, that if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe, how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend vpon so many vnworthy and

and emptie-headed fooles; that riches and honor are giuen to externall men, and without kernell: and ſo many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and deiected eſtates. In a word there is nō other inferior, or apparent cauſe, beſide the partialitie of mans affection, but the faſhioning and not faſhioning of our ſelues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue, for whoſoeuer is moſt able, and beſt ſufficient to diſcerne, and hath withall an honeſt and open heart and louing truth, if Princes, or thoſe that gouerne, endure nō other diſcourſe then their owne flatteries, then I ſay ſuch an one, whoſe vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be baſe and a diſſembler, ſhall euermore hang vnder the wheele, which kind of deſeruing well and receiuing ill, we alwayes falſly charge Fortune withall. For whoſoeuer ſhall tell any great Man or Magiſtrate, that he is not iuſt, the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire, ſhall neuer be made a Counſeller, a Captayne, or a Courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iuſt with him that is iuſt, for ſuch a one hath no eſtate in his proſperitie; but he muſt alſo change with the ſucceſſor, if he be of contrary qualities, ſaile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Eſtate or the Eſtates Maſter changeth: Otherwiſe how were it poſſible, that the moſt baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, could ſo often attayne to honor and riches, but by ſuch an obſeruant ſlauiſh courſe? Theſe men hauing nothing elſe to value themſelues by, but a counterfait kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleeue that all their vices are vertues, and all their duſtie actions criſtalline, haue yet in all ages proſpered equally with the moſt vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis inſipiens arrogantia & plauſibus capitur*; *Euery foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applauſe*: ſo as whoſoeuer will liue altogether out of himſelfe, and ſtudie other mens humours, and obſerue them, ſhall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liueth be of all theſe, and of all ſorts of goodneſſe fruitfull) ſhall neuer proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a worldly wiſe man, not to warre or contend in vaine againſt the nature of times wherein he liueth: for ſuch a one is often the authour of his owne miſerie, but beſt it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Biſhops of that age, out of *Ouid*, while the Arian Hereſie raged:

Dùm furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori. *Ouid. rem. am. lib. 1.*

While furie gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop ſtay.

And if *Cicero* (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counſaile of his brother QVINTVS, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith PETRARCH) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadauere ſepeliri*; *He might then haue dyed the death of nature, and beene with an vntorne and vndiſſeuered body buryed*; for as *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth: *Quid ſtultius quàm deſperantem (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari*; *What more fooliſh then for him that deſpaires, eſpecially of the effect, to be entangled with endleſſe contentions?* Whoſoeuer therefore will ſet before him MACHIAVELS *two markes to ſhoote at* (to wit) riches, and glorie, muſt ſet on and take off a back of yron to a weake woodden Bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble: for as he, that firſt deuiſed to adde ſayles to rowing veſſells, did either ſo proportion them, as being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his Maſt, he might abide all windes and ſtormes, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his owne inuention: ſo that man which prizeth vertue for it ſelfe, & cannot endure to hoiſe and ſtrike his ſailes, as the diuers natures of calmes & ſtormes require, muſt cut his ſailes, and his cloth, of meane length and breadth, and content himſelfe with a ſlow and ſure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of Fortune, and the

the rest, or of whatsoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolue with *S. Paul*, who hath taught vs, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord, Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

1.Cor.8.v.6.
Cap.12. vers.6.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

THE creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth repleniſhed, GOD said, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likenesse.*

Gen.1.26.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, *ingens miraculum homo, Man is the greatest wonder* (saith PLATO out of MERCVRIVS:) *Naturæ ardentissimæ artificium, The artificiall worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellencie externall, but in respect of his internal forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Trism. Ascl.2. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg.l.1.

Sanctius his animal mentisq; capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cætera posset,
Natus homo est.

Sanctum, quia pars potior immortalis, animal, quia mortali. In locum Ouid. Met.l.1.76.

More holy then the rest, and vnderstanding more
A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before,
So man began to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire & Dominion, as *S. Chrysostome, Ambrose*, and some others: which Saint *Ambrose* denyeth to the woman in these wordes, *Vt sicut Deus vnus, ab eo fieret homo vnus, & quomodò ex Deo vno omnia, ità ex vno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terræ: Vnus igitur vnum fecit, qui vnitatis eius haberet imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be vpon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one made one, that should haue the Image of his vnitie.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following wordes of the same

ſame Verſe, that man was after the image of God in reſpect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plurall number, *and let them rule ouer the fiſh in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is ſaid to be after the image of God in reſpect of his immortall ſoule only, becauſe as God is inuiſible, ſo the ſoule of man is inuiſible, as God is immortall and incorporall, ſo is the ſoule of man immortall and incorporall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, ſo but one ſoule which gouerneth the body of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, ſo is the ſoule of man wholly in euery part of the body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; *The ſoule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in euery part thereof*, according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe then potentially true, all the *Ariſtotelians* in the world ſhall neuer proue. Theſe and the like arguments doe the *Iewes* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men reſemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the Minde there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties, (to wit) Memorie, Vnderſtanding, and Will, and yet all theſe, being of reall differences, are but one minde: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they diſtinguiſh betweene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and ſpinne into ſmall threds, with ſubtile diſtinctions, many times the plaineneſſe, and ſinceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth through and diſſolueth the pureſt gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the image of God to be ſubſtantiall, but not the ſimilitude: *ſed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declaratiuum*; *A word-declaring qualitie in the ſubſtance*. Out of which wordes, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and ſimilitude doe greatly differ: ſo the ſinnefull ſoule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God; but it hath not his ſimilitude, except it be holy and righteous. *S. Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by ſinne, the perfection of this image is loſt in man, and in his Retractations maintayneth the ſame opinion, and alſo affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howſoeuer the Schoole-men and others diſtinguiſh, or whatſoeuer the Fathers conceiue, ſure I am that *S. Paul* maketh the ſame ſenſe of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the ſimilitude, who ſaith: *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, ſo ſhall we beare the image of the heauenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the wordes image and ſimilitude were vſed but in one ſenſe, and in this place the better to expreſſe each other; whatſoeuer *Lombard* hath ſaid to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himſelfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, or *Apoſtles*, euer conceiued. Now as *S. Paul* vſeth the word (image) for both: ſo *S. Iames* vſeth the word (ſimilitude) for both in theſe wordes: *Therewith bleſſe we God euen the Father, and therewith curſe we Men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God*: Howſoeuer therefore *S. Auguſtine* ſeemeth, out of a kinde of elegancy in writing, to make ſome difference, as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, ſimilitudinem in moribus inueniri*; *We confeſſe that this image is found in eternitie, but his ſimilitude in manners*, that is, in the ſpirituall diſpoſitions and qualities of the minde, yet thus he elſewhere ſpeaketh plainely: *Quaſi verò poſſit eſſe imago aliqua in qua ſimilitudo non ſit: ſi enim omninò ſimilis non eſt, procùl dubio nec imago eſt*; *As if* (ſaith he) *there could be any image, where the ſimilitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeneſſe, there is no image*. The very wordes of the Text make this moſt manifeſt, as, *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeneſſe*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verſe following, God himſelfe maketh it plaine, for there he vſeth the word (image) only, as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all diſpute or ambiguitie, in the

1. Cor. 15. 49.

Iam. 3. 9.

Vt ſupra.

Aug. vt ſup.

first

first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, *In the day that God created* ADAM, *in the likenesse of God made he him.* And this simi-
*Vers.*10. litude S. *Paul Colos.* the third, calleth the image. *Put on* (saith he) *the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him.* And in *Siracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may beleeue S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. *Paul* vseth both the words directly in one sense. *For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the*
*Rom.*1.23. *image of a corruptible man.*

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and minde: *Nulla pars in homine quæ non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps, No*
*Zanch. de op. Dei l.*3. *c.*1. *part in a man* (saith he) *which was not participating Gods image: for God said, Let vs make man according to our owne image.* But the soule alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole man compounded of body and soule. The body of man (saith he) *is the Image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne obiection seemeth to me sufficient, where he alleageth, that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body only: so when God said, Let vs make man after our image, he meant the soule of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui deitatem ad ho-*
In Gen. *minis lineamenta refert* (saith S. AVGVSTINE,) *Cursed is he that referreth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans body. Deus enim non est humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum diuinæ* (saith PHILO,) *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme diuine:* The *Hebrew* word for image is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shaddow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo; Man passeth away in a shaddow:* Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his Nature & his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, against the very essence and Maiestie of God.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding then these grosse Heretikes: *Ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura; The vertue which is in man* (saith he) *came neerer the similitude of God, then the figure.* For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God: God is Mercifull: God is Charitie it selfe, and (in a word) Goodnesse it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherin can man be said to resemble his vnexcogitable
*Eph.*6.12. power and perfectnesse? certainely, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to
*Io.*18.36. be the Prince of this world, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortall soule, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils
Plat. in Cratyl. are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called *Dæmones*, because *scientes* of Knowledge, and subtility; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne
*Osorius de Iust. lib.*5. the opinion of S. *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanyed with Iustice and Pietie: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Gouernor ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the Field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the abilitie of Vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Irenæus* did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was

animal

animal rationale only; but that he vnderstood it better, with SYBILLA: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens: Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God*, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey: and therefore said Saint *Augustine* (who herein came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne Image and similitude*; and REYNERIVS; *Homo, quòd habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei, Man was made after the Image of God, in minde*, or *in that he had a minde*. Reyn. de ment.

§. II.

Of the intellectuall mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by sinne.

BVT *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is *forma, vel natura hominis*: *The forme or nature of man*; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi, the principall strength of the minde*, or soule, *cuius actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whose act*, exercise, or office, *is the perpetuall contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is also called *intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatiuus, & anima contemplatiua, A diuine vnderstanding, and an intellect or minde contemplatiue. Est autem mens nostra* (saith CVSANVS) *vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde* (saith hee) *is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kind powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension*: vnto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the errour of the *Manichees* and others) and no otherwise separate from God (sayth hee) then the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (sayth MERCVRIVS) *est Deus in hominibus: Is God in men*, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and facultie of our soules the purest; or the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animæ, The soule of the soule*, or with S. *Augustine*, the eye of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *quæ amorem sapientiæ tanquàm ducem sequitur, Which followeth after the loue of sapience as her guide* (saith *Philo*) betweene which and reason, betweene which and the minde, called *anima*, betweene which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which wee iudge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, viuificat; anima, or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giueth it life*: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (sayth *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which wee will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which calleth this *Mens*, or diuine vnderstanding, *perspicacem animæ partem, the perceiuing part of the minde*, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet, In men that sleep it is this (mens) or vnderstanding, and not the minde or soule, which resteth*, during which time it is but habituall in wise men, *and in mad men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the Soule*: for mad men doe liue, though distract. Pamander. De mente. Idiota. l. 3. Sen. Ep. 65. f. & 31. f.

Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abusiuely to mad men, when wee say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding, which word (mind) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this mind,

or that minde: and ſometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, hee is of an honeſt minde, or, a man of a iuſt minde: ſometimes for affection, as I doe this for my mindes ſake; and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes vſeth this word *(Mens)* for the phantaſie, which is the ſtrength of the imagination: ſometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without diſcourſe: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is vſed in the proper ſignification, including both the vnderſtanding agent & poſſible, it is deſcribed to be a pure, ſimple, ſubſtantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that, which is intelligible, as to his firſt obiect: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderſtand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paſſion comming from without, and apt to bee diſſeuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently MERCVRIVS: *Anima eſt imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præeſt, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soule* (meaning that which giueth life) *is the Image of this vnderſtanding*, or *Mens, and this (Mens)* or *vnderſtanding is the Image of God. God is Preſident or Ruler ouer this vnderſtanding, this vnderſtanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the bodie.* This diuiſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonikes* and *Peripatetikes*, I leaue to the Reader to iudge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marſilius Ficinus* in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortalitie laboureth to proue. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words, for (ſayth hee) *ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquàm medio, per quod intelligat, quanquàm eget obiecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: hoc autem obiectum ſunt phantaſmata, ſeù rerum à ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata, To exerciſe the facultie of vnderſtanding, the mind of man* (ſayth hee) *needeth no inſtrument, as a meane, by which it may vnderſtand: but it needeth an obiect, whereon to looke, and whence to conceiue the act of vnderſtanding. This obiect are the phantaſmes, or the reſemblances of things receiued from the ſenſe, and carried to the phantaſie:* But in effect his concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrarie ſenſe, when he maketh the Phantaſie, in repreſenting the obiect to the vnderſtanding, to be a corporall *Organum*; neither can it be vnderſtood to be an *Organum* of any thing; but of the vnderſtanding. And he addeth that the reſemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his vnderſtanding and minde, as colours are to the ſight: whence it ſo followeth, that the imagination or phantaſie it ſelfe is to the facultie of vnderſtanding, as the eye is to the facultie of ſeeing, and as this is an *Organum*: ſo that. Of this queſtion, How the Mind in all her actions maketh vſe of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a moſt graue and learned Diſcourſe in the laſt Reply of Maſter Doctor *Bilſon*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, vnto *Henry Iacob*. Howſoeuer the Truth be determined, wee muſt conclude, that it is neither in reſpect of reaſon alone, by which wee diſcourſe, nor in reſpect of the minde it ſelfe, by which we liue, nor in reſpect of our ſoules ſimply, by which we are immortall, that we are made after the Image of God. But moſt ſafely may wee reſemble our ſelues to God, *in mente*, and in reſpect of that pure facultie which is neuer ſeparate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infuſion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, eſſence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whoſe words are theſe: *Non propterea imago Dei eſt, quia ſui meminit Mens, ſeq; intelligit & diligit* (which was alſo the opinion of Saint AVGVSTINE) *ſed quia poteſt meminiſſe, intelligere ac diligere eum à quo facta eſt*, (that is) *The minde* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, becauſe it remembreth, vnderſtandeth, and loueth it ſelfe, but becauſe it can remember, vnderſtand, and loue God, who created it.* And, that this Image may bee deformed and made vnprofitable, heare BASIL: *Homo ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem Dei factus eſt, peccatum verò imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit: & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiſcentiæ affectibus immerſit: Man was made after the Image and ſimilitude of* GOD, *but Sinne hath deformed the beautie of this Image, and made it*

Lib.9.cap.5

Zanch.de oper. Dei.part.3.lib.1. cap.2.

Pag.185.& ſequent.

Ad imaginem Dei creauit illum, id eſt, ſapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui ſeſe intuitus Creatorem agnoſceret ſuum, atq; imitari, proq; ingenij, proq; auctoritatis, ſibi conceſſa ratione ſtuderet. Exana.

it vnprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortalitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which wee resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and vnderstanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the mind and Soule of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that wee were printed with the seale of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which ioyned to the soule is a part of the Essentiall constitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and contriued within the Truncke of Dust and Clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne Iustice, Pietie, and Righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerfull retaine the Image of God, as acording to his Commandements they exercise the Office of Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retaine this Image, as they feare, loue, and serue God truely, (that is) for the loue of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his Seale by the waight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sinnes. For the vniust minde cannot bee after the Image of God, seeing God is Iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is Charitie, and mercie it selfe: Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with GOD; and to bee short, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darkenesse, betweene beautie and deformitie, or betweene righteousnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderstanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receiue this Image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and dureleſse pleasures of this Stage-play World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods wisedome, and the liberalitie of his mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impuritie of our flesh, behold the Highest Heauens, and thence bring Knowledge and Obiect to the Mind and Soule, to contemplate the euer-during glory, and termeleſse ioy, prepared for those, which retaine the Image and similitude of their Creatour, preseruing vndefiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of GOD, is created in Righteousnesse, and true Holinesse, as saith Saint *Paul*. Now, whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by Saint *Augustine*, with whom Saint *Ambrose* ioyneth, that, by sinne, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it selfe; both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for eyther it is considered, according to naturall gifts, and consisteth therein: namely to haue a reasonable and vnderstanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sinne, then the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost: (or sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of Diuine grace, and heauenly glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God, is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

Gen. 5. 22.

2. Cor. 6. 14.

2. Cor. 3. 9. *S. Ambrose.* *Eph. 4. 24*

§. III.

Of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

THE externall man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, *Adam* of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguissima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or dust God formed and made flesh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156.

That Man was formed of Earth and Dust, did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue *Sodome: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speake, I, that am but dust and ashes: And in these houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabite*, according to *Iob*, and though our owne eyes doe euerywhere behold the sudden and resistlesse assaults of Death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the Earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our Bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Minds the Hiues of vnnumbred cares, sorrowes, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) wee are but those painted posts, against which Enuie and Fortune direct their Darts; yet such is the true vnhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance, which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that wee only prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassall and Slaue of Death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neyther dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods Iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-liuing subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great accompt? neuer while wee haue one vanitie left vs to spend: we plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches, while our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while wee can reuenge; and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with *Iob*, that *wee must goe the way from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for vs in the darke*; And then I say, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues, we behold therein the feareful Images of our actions past, and withall, this terrible inscription: *That God will bring euerie worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sunne.*

Gen. 18. 27. *Iob.* 4. v. 19. *Iob.* 10. 21. 17. 13. *Eccl.* 12. 14.

But what examples haue euer moued vs? what perswasions reformeds vs? or what threatnings made vs afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, wee heare what is promised and threatned: but the worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which we only see) doe neither looke vp towards termelesse ioyes, nor downe towards endlesse sorrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*.

Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, ijsq; periclis
Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur vnquam,
Sub vitijs nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, famine, enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But

But let vs not flatter our immortall ſoules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, caſting our hopes on the Peace, which we truſt to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious preſumption, and (that which is the worſt of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to ſcorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Fruſtrà ſperant, qui ſic de miſericordia Dei ſibi blandiuntur; They hope in vaine,* ſayth BERNARD, *which in this ſort flatter themſelues with Gods mercie.* Bern. in Pſ. Qui habitat.

§. IIII.

Of the Spirit of life, which God breathed into man, in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcaſſe God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing ſoule: (that is) God gaue to a Body of earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule ſpirituall and incorruptible; not that GOD had any ſuch bodily inſtruments as men vſe, but God breathed the Spirit of life and immortalitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into ſuch as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God* (ſaith ELIHV in IOB) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almightie hath giuen me life: In qua ſententia* (ſaith RABANVS) *vitanda eſt paupertas ſenſus carnalis, nè forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formaſſe corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs ſuis inſpirâſſe in faciem formati, vt viuere poſſit, & ſpiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cùm ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id eſt) iuxta conſuetudinem, qua ſolent homines operari, loquutus eſt: In which ſentence* (ſaith he) *the beggerlineſſe of carnall ſenſe is to bee auoided, leſt perhaps we ſhould thinke, eyther that God with bodily hands made mans body of ſlime, or breathed with iawes or lips vpon his face (being formed) that hee might liue, and haue the ſpirit of life: for the Prophet alſo when he ſaith; Thy hands haue made me, ſpake this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the cuſtome which men vſe in working. Quantum eſt periculi hijs, qui Scripturas ſenſu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnall ſenſe?* By this breath was infuſed into man both life and ſoule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philoſophers call *Animam, quæ viuificat corpus, & animat, Which doth animate, & giue life to the body. The inſpiration of the Almighty gineth vnderſtanding,* ſaith *Iob*; and this ſpirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reaſonable ſoule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Eccleſiaſtes: And duſt ſhall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the ſpirit ſhall returne to God that gaue it.* Neither is this word (ſpirit) vſually otherwiſe taken in the Scriptures, then for the ſoule; as when *Stephen* cryed vnto God: *Domine, ſuſcipe ſpiritum meum; Lord Ieſus, receiue my ſpirit:* and in Saint IOHN, *And Ieſus bowed his head, and gaue vp the Ghoſt,* or ſpirit, (which was) that his life and ſoule left his body dead. And that the immortall ſoule of man differeth from the ſoules of beaſts, the manner of the creation maketh it manifeſt: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in aboundance euery creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kind, the beaſt of the Earth, &c.* But of Man it is written, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were thoſe creatures brought forth, and thence receiued life: ſo ſhall they againe be diſſolued into the ſame firſt matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euerlaſting, which God breathed into man, ſhall according to *Eccleſiaſtes, returne againe to God that gaue it,*

Iob.33.4. Eccleſ.12.7. Acts 7.59. Iob.19.30. Gen.1.20. 24. 26. Gen.2.7. Eccl.12.7.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortalitie.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuersall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderstanding, by which he might contemplate and serue his Creatour, after whose Image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas GOD created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beasts a sensuall nature, hee vouchsafed vnto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man; and therefore (saith GREGORY NAZIANZENE:) *Homo est vtriusq; naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures:* and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in breui magnum, atq; exiguo totum, in terris statuit, God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom hee had made, as it were another World, the great and large World in the small and little World:* for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of Man, and therefore heauie and lumpish; the bones of his body wee may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which *Ouid:*

Arist. Phys. lib. 8. cap. 2.
l. 17. s.
Greg. Nazianz. Epist.
Omnis in homine creatura, & cœlum & terra.
Aug. l. qu. 83. 4.
67. retr. l. 1. c. 2.

Ouid Met. l. 1.

Inde genus durum sumus, experiensq; laborum,
Et documenta damus, qua simus origine nati:

From thence our kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approuing, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His bloud, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the bodie, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brookes and riuers ouer all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth, which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moisture, Oile, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haires of mans bodie, which adornes or ouer-shadowes it, to the grasse, which couereth the vpper face and skin of the Earth; our generatiue power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandring and vnstable clouds, carried euery where with vncertaine winds; our eies, to the light of the Sun and Moone, and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Suns heat dry vp, and wither away, or the fierce puffes of wind blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwaies looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwaies present with God; and lastly, our immortall soules while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his owne Image and similitude: And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, or righteous: for *in Angelis deprehensa est stultitia, Behold, hee found folly in his Angels,* (saith *Iob*) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betweene the substance, and the shadow, there may bee found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the Image and similitude of his own righteousnes.

Iob. 4. 18.

In

In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Vniuersall (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the foure Complexions resemble the foure Elements, and the seuen Ages of man the seuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which wee seeme onely to liue and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of loue, desire, and vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seeke honor and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Iupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, iudge of our selues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and seuenth to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and ouer-cast, and in which we finde by deare and lamentable experience, and by the losse which can neuer be repayred, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made vnsociable to others, we become a burthen to our selues: being of no other vse, then to hold the riches we haue, from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe on vnto, with many sighes, grones, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workemanship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwayes trauaile both sleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honor and riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the promises of glorious entertainments; but by what crooked path soeuer we walke, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death: whose dores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but neuer floweth againe: our Leafe once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leaues and Flowers.

Aristot. 10. Metaph. c. 1. f.

Redditur arboribus florens reuirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.

To which I giue this sense,

The plants and trees made poore and old
By Winter enuious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Couers againe, from shame and cold:
But neuer Man repayr'd againe
His youth and beautie lost,
Though arte, and care, and cost,
Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

And of which

CATVLLVS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cùm semel occidit breuis lux,
Nox est perpetua vna dormienda.

The Sunne may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleepe after our short light
One euerlasting night.

For if there were any bayting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academickes*, the same might also perpetually be main-

maintayned; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall liuing things, and as the ſap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preſerued, doth euermore aſcend or deſcend: ſo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either encreaſing towards ripeneſſe and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſſe and diſſolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to diſpoſe of himſelfe.

THeſe be the miſeries which our firſt Parents brought on all mankinde, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconſtrayned will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberall choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to trie his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a Nature celeſtiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himſelfe, to be his owne guide, his owne workeman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or deſcribe vnto himſelfe what he pleaſed, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (ſaith SIRACIDES) *and left him in the hands of his owne counſaile.* Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſſe brought with them into the world (ſaith *Lucilius*) and that euen when they firſt fell from the bodies of their Dammes, the nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or ſoone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforeſaid) God gaue vnto man all kinde of ſeedes and grafts of life (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the ſenſuall of Beaſts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels, wherof which ſoeuer he tooke pleaſure to plant and cultiue, the ſame ſhould futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedome of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt Father, was ænigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius Athenienſis* (ſaith *Mirandula*) in the perſon and fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fayned, that men were transformed into diuers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from Reaſon to Brutalitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meekneſſe to Crueltie, and from Iuſtice to Oppreſſion. For by the liuely image of other creatures did thoſe *Ancients* repreſent the variable paſſions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents, were ſignified Deceiuers; by Lyons, Oppreſſors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men giuen ouer to luſt and ſenſualitie; by Wolues, rauening and greedie Men; which alſo S. *Matthew* reſembleth to falſe prophets, *Which come to you in ſheepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues*, by the images of ſtones and ſtocks, fooliſh and ignorant men, by Vipers, vngratefull men: of which S. IOHN BAPTIST, *O yee generation of Vipers, &c.*

Eccleſ.15.14.

Matth.7.15.

Matth.3.7.

§. VII.

Of Gods ceaſing to create any more: and of the cauſe thereof, becauſe the Vniuerſall created was exceeding good.

IN this worke of Man, God finiſhed the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reſted: for God commanded, and it was finiſhed, *Cui voluiſſe eſt feciſſe*; *With whom, to will is to make*, ſaith *Beda*. Neither did God ſo reſt, that he left the world made, and the creatures therein to themſelues: for *my Father worketh to this day* (ſaith *Chriſt*) *and I worke*; but God

Iohn 5.17.

God rested, (that is) he created no new *species* or kindes of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gaue vnto man a power generatiue, and so to the rest of liuing creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their seedes in themselues; and commanded man to multiply and fill the earth; and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their seuerall kindes: all which being finished, God saw that his workes were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made euery Plant of the field before it was in the Earth, but he gaue to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceede no impure or imperfect effect. For man hauing a free will and liberall choyce, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first age destroied: but the righteous man *Noah*, and his familie, with those creatures which the Arke contayned, reserued by God to repleniſh the earth. *Gen.* 1. 28. 22. 24.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

That the seate of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no maruaile that men should erre.

ONCERNING the first habitation of man we reade, that *the Lord God planted a Garden, Eastward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made*, GEN. 2. 6. Of this seate and place of *Paradise*, all ages haue held dispute; and the opinions and iudgements haue been in effect, as diuers, among those that haue written vpon this part of *Genesis*, as vpon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: some there are, that haue conceiued the being of the terrestriall *Paradise*, without all regard of the worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heauens) the way how to finde out and iudge, in what Region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respectiue and precise. Others, by being themselues ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first interpretation, or trusting to their owne iudgements, vnderstood one place for another; and one error is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof be not timely restrayned. And thirdly, those Writers which gaue themselues to follow and imitate others, were in all things so obseruant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and beleeued in, as they thought it safer to condemne their owne vnderstanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *Magnos errores (magnorum virorum auctoritate persuasi) transmittimus; We passe ouer many grosse errors, by the authoritie of great men led and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vnderstanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their learning

learning and their pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proude of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselues their owne weakenesse: *Nulli vnquam dedit omnia Deus*; *God neuer gaue the knowledge of all things to any one.* S. *Paul* confest that he knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Iude*) who is only wise. *Sapientia vbi inuenitur?* (saith Iob) *but where is wisedome found? and where is the place of vnderstanding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the liuing.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens iudgements (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our saluation dependeth not.

2. Cor. 12. 2.
Matt. 24. 36.
Iude Ep. v. 27.
Iob 28. 12. 13. 4. 18.

§. II.

A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradise.

NOw as touching *Paradise*, first it is to be enquired, whether there were a *Paradise*, or no? or whether *Moses* description were altogether mysticall, and allegoricall? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others haue affirmed, and that vnder the names of those foure Riuers, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Hidekel*, and *Perath*. *The tree of life*, *and the tree of Knowledge*, there were deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Riuers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, *Iustice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*, or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Honny. This Allegoricall vnderstanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* diuulged, was againe by *Franciscus Georgius* receiued (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) whose friuolous imaginations *Sixtus* himselfe doth fully and learnedly answere, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke, *fol.* 338. the last Edition.

Bartas. sem. 2. l. 1. 143.

S. *Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the Allegoricall construction, and set *Paradise* in the third heauen, and in the vertues of the minde, *& in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceiue it, *in mente*, or in our soules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of *Paradise*, was meant the soule or minde; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or Vnderstanding; by *Eue*, the Sense; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and euill, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the *Corinthians*, *cap.* 6. he in direct wordes alloweth both of a celestiall and terrestriall *Paradise*; the one, into which S. *Paul* was rapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamensis* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not onely defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

Amb. de Parad.

The *Manichees* also vnderstood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceiue his wordes in two seuerall places. First, vpon this: *Fill the earth*, GEN. 10. Of which he giueth this iudgement. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuersis animantibus, subijcite terram, clarissimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (vt tum erat) fructibus constitam, sedem & hortum illud* ADAE, *& posteritatis futuræ fuisse*; *These wordes* (saith he) *in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule ouer euery creature, doe cleerely shew, that the Vniuersall earth set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and seate of* ADAM, *and of his future posteritie.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts* the 17. *Apostolus ex vno sanguine*

Vers. 26.

guine omne genus humanum adeò factum docet, vt habitarent ſuper vniuerſam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradiſus ille erat; *The Apoſtle* (ſaith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (ſaith he) *was that Paradiſe*. Which coniectures I will anſwere in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was firſt planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth neere the Riuer of *Aceſines*, in the confines of *India*.

Tertullian, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradiſe* vnder the *Æquinoctiall*, and *Poſtellus*, quite contrarie, vnder the *North* pole: the *Chaldeans* alſo for the moſt part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradiſe* a figure, or Sacrament only, or elſe would haue it ſeated out of this ſenſible world, or rayſed into ſome high and remote Region of the Aire. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, were both ſicke of this vanitie, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: ſo was our venerable *Beda*, and *Pet. Comeſtor*, and *Moſes Barcephas* the *Syrian*, tranſlated by *Maſius*. But as *Hopkins* ſayes of *Philo Iudæus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus*; *By what euill Angell he was blowne vp into this error*: ſo can I not but greatly maruaile at theſe learned men, who ſo groſly and blindly wandred; ſeeing *Moſes*, and after him the *Prophets*, doe ſo plainely deſcribe this place, by the Region, in which it was planted, by the Kingdomes and Prouinces bordering it, by the Riuers which watered it, and by the points of the Compaſſe vpon which it lay, in reſpect of *Iudæa*, or *Canaan*.

Bart. 16. 17. 6.

Bed. Pet. cap. Moſes Par.

Noniomagus alſo, vpon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, beleeueth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradiſe*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (ſaith he) hath the ſame beautie adſcribed to *Paradiſe*. He addeth, that the *Ocean* was that Fountayne, from whence the foure Riuers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it poſſible, that theſe Riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ranne through *India*, the other through *Ægypt*, and the other two through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*) could riſe out of one Fountayne, were it not out of the Fountayne of the *Ocean*.

§. III.

That there was a true locall Paradiſe Eaſtward, in the Countrie of Eden.

TO the firſt therefore, that ſuch a place there was vpon the earth, the words of *Moſes* make it manifeſt, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made*. And howſoeuer the vulgar tranſlation, called *Hieromes* tranſlation, hath conuerted this place thus, *Plantauerat Dominus Deus Paradiſum voluptatis à principio*; *The Lord God planted a Paradiſe of pleaſure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleaſure*) for *Eden*, and (*from the beginning*) for *Eaſtward*: It is manifeſt, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For what ſenſe hath this tranſlation (ſaith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe*) that he planted a garden in pleaſure, or that a Riuer went out of pleaſure to water the garden? But the ſeuentie Interpreters call it *Paradiſum Edenis*, the *Paradiſe of Eden*, and ſo doth the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* truely take it for the proper name of a place, and for a *Noune* appellatiue; which Region in reſpect of the fertilitie of the ſoile, of the many beautifull Riuers, and goodly Woods, & that the trees (as in the *Indies*) doe alwaies keepe their leaues, was called *Eden*, which ſignifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleaſantneſſe or delicacie, as the *Spaniards* call the Countrie, oppoſite to the *Iſle of Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the miſtaking, which may end the diſpute, as touching the double ſenſe of the word, that as *Florida* was a Countrie, ſo called for the flouriſhing beautie thereof, ſo was *Eden* a Region called pleaſure, or delicacie, for the pleaſure, or delicacie: and as *Florida* ſignifieth flouriſhing: ſo *Eden* ſignifieth pleaſure, and yet both are the proper names

Gen. cap. 2.

names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choice seate of all that Region, *Paradise* was truely the Garden of *Eden*, and truely the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrarie to the translation of the Seuentie; to the ancient *Greeke* Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Gregorie*; and to the *Rabbines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Salomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the *Latines*, *Seuerinus*, *Damascenus*, &c. who plainely take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word *(Eastward)* for *ab initio*: for *Damascens* owne wordes are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus*; *Paradise is a place, marualiously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of later times, doe both vnderstand these words of *Eden*, and of the *East*, contrarie to the vulgar translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne wordes: *After this I will beginne to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Posthac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantâsse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then *Senensis*; MOSES *enim clarissimè prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. vbi legimus* CHAM *habitâsse ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; *For* MOSES (saith he) *doth shew most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that* CHAM *dwelt on the East border of Heden.* PERERIVS endeuoureth to qualifie this translation: for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleaging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better iudgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. *Hierome* (if that be his translation) aduiseth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, conuerting the word *(Eden)* by *(ante)* and not *(à principio)* as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocauit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin*; *He set on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin.* BECANVS affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word *(Be)* signifieth (with) aswell as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde *Paradise* vpon the Riuer of *Acesines*: for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good, and euill, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answere hereafter.

Vers.16.

Iohn 8.44.

Gen.3.24.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custome of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldæans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sunne riseth in *March*, which is directly ouer *Paradise* (saith *Damascenus*:) affirming, that we alwayes pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Salomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselues in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwayes toward the West, thereby to auoid the superstition of the *Ægyptians* and *Chaldæans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from *Iudæa*, yet it was West from *Persia*) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray

turning

turning our ſelues towards the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by *Adams* fall we haue loſt the *Paradiſe* on Earth: ſo by Chriſts death and paſſion we may be made partakers of the *Paradiſe* celeſtiall, and the Kingdome of Heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other myſterie in adding the word (Eaſt) to *Eden* by *Moſes*, then to ſhew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradiſe* was, lay Eaſtward from *Iudæa* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of thoſe Nations, the Sonnes of the Eaſt, which inhabited *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, and *Perſia*: of which *Ouid*:

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabatæaq; regna receſſit,
Perſidaq; & radijs iuga ſubdita matutinis.

The Eaſt wind with *Aurora* hath abiding
Among th' *Arabian*, and the *Perſian* Hils,
Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his vp-riſing.

And if it be obiected, that *Hieremie* the Prophet threatning the deſtruction of *Hieruſalem*, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to bee noted, that the North is there named, in reſpect of thoſe Nations that followed *Nabuchodonoſor*, and of whom the greateſt part of his Armie was compounded; not that *Babylon* it ſelfe ſtood North from *Hieruſalem*, though inclining from the Eaſt toward the North.

Now to the difference of this Tranſlation, *Peter Comeſtor* giueth beſt ſatisfaction: for he vſeth the word, *From the beginning, that is, from the firſt part of the World, (à principio) id eſt* (ſayth hee) *à prima orbis parte*, and afterward hee affirmeth, that *(à principio*, and *ad Orientem)* haue the ſame ſignification; *From the beginning and Eaſtward is all one, à principio idem eſt quod ad Orientem.*

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the ſecond Chapter and ninth Verſe, in theſe words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow euery Tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for meate, &c.* ſo as firſt it appeared that God created *Adam* elſewhere, as in the World at large, and then, *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expreſt: *that hee might dreſſe it and keepe it*; *Paradiſe* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that *Paradiſe* was a terreſtriall Garden, garniſhed with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall conſtruction, hee affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expreſſing alſo the Region, out of which this Riuer ſprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is alſo a Countrie neere vnto *Charan* in *Meſopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witneſſeth. *Verſe* 18. *Verſe* 10. *Ezech.* 6. 27. 23.

But to all theſe *Cabaliſts*, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* anſwereth in theſe wordes: *Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons, ſi non eſt fons, non eſt flumen, ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia, non Piſon, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates; non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit* EVA *de arbore, non eſt* ADAM, *non ſunt homines, ſed veritas iam fabula eſt, & omnia ad Allegorias reuocantur: If Paradiſe be not ſenſible, then there was no fountaine, and then no Riuer; if no Riuer, then no ſuch foure heads or branches; and then not any ſuch Riuer as Piſon, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no ſuch Fig-tree, or fruit, or leaues,* EVE *then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any* ADAM, *or any man, the truth was but a Fable, and all things eſteemed are called backe into Allegories.* Words to the ſame effect hath Saint *Hierome* vpon DANIEL: *Contiteſcant eorum deliramenta, qui vmbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur euertere veritatem, vt Paradiſum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus ſe debere ſubruere, Let the dotages of them bee ſilent, who following ſhadowes and Images in the Truth, endeauor to ſubuert the Truth it ſelfe, and thinke that they ought*

to bring Paradise, and the Riuers and the Trees vnder the rules of Allegorie.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For God gaue *Adam* free libertie to eate of euery Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eate; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were Enygmaticall or Mysticall, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel* speaking of the glory of the *Assyrian* Kings vseth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him*, which proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated to bee terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, then in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if he had not described both the Region and the Riuers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the vnbeleeing *Israelites*, and others after them, would haue misconstrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likely, there would haue beene so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had beene an *Vtopia?* For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the fiue principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnaturall sinne purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of *Ægypt* toward *Zoar*; In like manner was *Israel* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonians* wasted it: which proueth plainly, that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and soyle of farre exceeding excellencie.

Ezech.31.9.

Gen.13.10.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his inuention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Iustin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise? Gen.2.* and whence are their prayses of the *Elisian* fields, but out of the Storie of *Paradise?* to which also appertaine those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ouid*:

Ouid.Metam.l.1

Ver erat æternum, placidiq; tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

The ioyfull Spring did euer last,
And *Zephyrus* did breed
Without the helpe of seed
Sweet flowres by his gentle blast.

And it is manifest, that *Orphus*, *Linus*, *Pyndarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and after him, *Ouid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poeticall conuersions, as if they had beene conceiued out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we proue the Riuer that ranne out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Hauila* and *Cush*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote, I then conceiue, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*)

Tres

Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: vna est eorum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantùm (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui vtrog; modo Paradisum accipiunt, (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will haue it altogether corporall: a second of those which conceiue it altogether spirituall, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses*; which third opinion Saint *Augustine* approueth, and of which *Suidas* giueth this allowable iudgement: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum nemus, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum,* (that is) *As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Groue or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21.
Suidas in verbo Paradisus.

§. IIII.

Why it should bee needfull to intreate diligently of the place of Paradise.

BVT it may be obiected, that it is needlesse, and a kind of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answere, that there is nothing written in the Scriptures, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessary, then by the place proued, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceiue that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was sayd to wade through the Sea, and thence to haue come into *Iudæa*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous then the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this feare of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should bee *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Ægypt*, and these two Riuers so far distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be comprized therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Sauiour, were said to haue beene in some such Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had beene performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the minds of men; for times and places are approued witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relye, or giue place to the iudgements of some Writers vpon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the *Græcians* or *Ægyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleeue that there were a piece of the World so set by it selfe and separated, as to hang in the Ayre vnder the Circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceiue, that from thence the foure Riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall downe, and runne vnder all the Ocean, and rise vp againe in this our habitable World, and in those places where they are now found? Which left any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the worst, these are *Peter Comestors* owne words. *Est autem locus amœnissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò eleuatus, vt vsq; ad Lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) *It is a most pleasant place, seuered from our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, eleuated so, that it reacheth to the Globe of the Moone.*

And *Moses Barcephas* vpon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoq; responsum volumus, Paradisum multò sublimiore positum esse regione, atq; hæc nostra extet terra, eoq; fieri, vt illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluuij tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eoq; impetu impulsi præsiq; sub Oceani vada rapiuntur, vnde rursus prosiliant ebulliantq; in hoc à nobis culto orbe:* which haue this sense: *Furthermore*

Barc. conuerted by Masius.

(sayth he) *we giue this for an answere, that Paradise is set in a Region farre raysed aboue this part which wee inhabite; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these Riuers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe arise and boyle vp in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this. *Ephram dicit Paradisum ambire terram, atq; vltra Oceanum ita positum esse, vt totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit,* (which is) *That Paradise doth compasse or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on euery side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone.* To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question vnto Truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of *Paradise, which God in his wisdome* appointed in the very Nauel of this our World, and (as *Melanchton* saies) *in parte terræ meliore, in the best part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Centre; the Vniuersall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, wee shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the Sonnes of *Noah* also disperse themselues after the Floud, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, and out of what Regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstaud the place of our first Ancester, from whence all the streames and branches of Mankind haue followed and beene deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine the seuerall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to prooue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

§. V.

That the Floud hath not vtterly defaced the markes of Paradise, nor caused Hils in the Earth.

AND first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chysamensis*, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any marke or memory thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Floud the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for my owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to bee true. For although I cannot denie, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the Floud withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and seate had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850. yeeres after the Floud, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses* would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it selfe were not then to bee found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the Riuers still remaine the same Riuers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, wee are sure to find in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these Riuers, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, wee are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a Riuer to water the Garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Translation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it selfe,

Gen. 2. 10.

ſelfe, or to *Paradiſe*, yet the diuiſion and branching of thoſe Riuers muſt bee in the North or South ſide of the very Garden (if the Riuers runne as they doe, North and South) and therefore theſe Riuers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifeſtly knowne, there could be no ſuch defacing by the Floud, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be ſo altered as future ages know it not, ſo is there no probability, that eyther theſe Riuers were turned out of their courſes, or new Riuers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high Hils, or deepe Vallies. For what deſcent of waters could there bee in a Spherical and round bodie, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of waters is eyther by the ſtrength of winde, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or floud of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are moſt enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a winde to paſſe vpon the Earth, and the waters ceaſed.* So as it appeareth not, that, vntill the waters ſanke, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſſe, cauſed the winde to blow, to dry vp the abundant ſlime and mudde of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanſe the Ayre of thicke vapours and vnholeſome miſts; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore diſſeuer the violence of outragious winds, and beat downe, and leuell the ſwelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbes and flouds there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one heighth ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfes to receiue a Floud, or any deſcent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the waters rather ſtood in a quiet calme, then that they moued with any raging or ouer-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Floud made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Ioſeph.* auoweth that one of thoſe pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to bee ſeene in his dayes, which Pillars were ſet vp aboue 1426. yeeres before the floud, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeeres old at the erection of them, and *Ioſeph.* himſelfe, to haue liued ſome 40. or 50. yeeres after Chriſt: of whom although there be no cauſe to beleeue all that he wrote, yet that, which hee auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in queſtion. And therefore it may be poſſible, that ſome foundation or ruine thereof might then be ſeene. Now that ſuch Pillars were rayſed by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is alſo written in *Beroſus* (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condeme him in all) that the Citie of *Enoch* built by *Cain*, about the Mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented vpon that inuented Fragment) ſaith, were to be ſeene in his dayes, who liued in the Raigne of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*; and if theſe his words bee not true, then was hee exceeding impudent. For, ſpeaking of this Citie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this ſort: *Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta viſuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ciuitas Cain, vt noſtri mercatores, & peregrini referunt*; *The foundation of which huge Maſſe is now to be ſeene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our ſtrangers and Merchants report.* It is alſo auowed by *Pomponius Mela*, (to whom I giue more credit in theſe things) that the Citie of *Ioppa* was built before the Floud, ouer which *Cepha* was King: whoſe name with his Brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine Altars of ſtone; and it is not vnpoſſible, that the ruines of this other Citie, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be ſeene, though founded in the firſt Age: but it could not be of the firſt Citie of the World, built by *Cain*, the place, rather then the time, denying it. *Gen.4.17.*

And to prooue directly, that the floud was not the cauſe of Mountaines, but that there were Mountains from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of the floud ouerflowed by fifteene Cubits the higheſt Mountaines.* And *Maſius Damaſcenus* ſpeaking of *Gen.8.1.*

the Floud, writeth in this manner. *Et supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (què Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, And vpon Minyada there is an high Mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which (as it is said) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saued themselues thereon.* Now although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saued then eight persons (which *Masius* doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Floud, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; and on which Mountaines it is generally receiued that the *Arke* rested: but vntruely, as I shall prooue heereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was knowne before the Floud: on which the *Thalmudists* report, that many Giants saued themselues also; but (as *Annius* saith) without all authoritie, eyther Diuine or Humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this that, *when* NOAH *sent out the Doue the second time, she returned with an Oliue leafe in her mouth*, which shee had pluckt, and which (vntill the Trees were discouered) shee found not: for otherwise shee might haue found them floting on the water; a manifest proofe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written: *folium Oliuæ, raptum* or *decerptum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrarie) that the Floud made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seene to succeeding Ages, especially vnto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and vnto the Prophets which succedeed him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discouerie.

Gen 8.11.

§. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to bee the fountaine of those foure Riuers.

THIS conceit of *Aug. Chysamensis* being answered, who only giueth *his opinion* for *reason*, I will in a few words examine that of the *Manichies*, of *Nouiomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius Becanus*, and all those that vnderstood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniuersalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply; fill the Earth and subdue it, rule ouer euery Creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts, and hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Gouernour, and all things therin were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of bloud originally; and *Adams* Posteritie inhabited in processe of time ouer all the face of the Earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dresse and cultiue, in which he liued in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choice, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Vniuersall; *Moses* would not then haue sayd, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath nor East nor West, but respectiuely. And to what end had the Angell of God beene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adams* expulsion, if the Vniuersall had beene *Paradise?* for then must *Adam* haue beene chased also out of the World. For if All the Earth were *Paradise*, that place can receiue no better construction then this, That *Adam* was driuen out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should beleeue with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to denie, hee thinkes all one, as to affirme,

Gen.1.28.
Acts 17.26.
Gen.2.8.
3.24.

firme, *That in so large a field, as the vniuersall, there should grow but one thistle.* NOVIOMAGVS vpon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was vnpossible for those three Riuers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World so farre distant) to rise out of one Fountayne, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Riuers, being so vnderstood, there could be no coniecture more probable; but it shall plainely appeare, that *Pison* was falsly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a Riuer by *Hauilah* in *India*, and *Nilus* runne through *Æthiopia*. The *Seuentie* write *Chus* for *Æthiopia*, and thereby the errors of the *Manichees*, and the mistakings of *Noniomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their coniecture farre more probable, then that of *Ephram*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanasius*: That *Paradise* was seated farre beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrie, in which he was created, and was buryed at *Mount Caluary*, in *Hierusalem*. And certainely, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeeres after the floud, yet *Adams* shin-bones must haue contayned a thousand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needes no argument to disproue it.

§. VII.

Of their opinion, which make Paradise as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the ayre.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, *Paradise* to be a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceiued, that *Paradise* was farre in the East, but mounted aboue the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoole-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and wheras *Rupertus* in his Geographie of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neerest heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*; but neither of them (as I conceiue) well vnderstood: who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for heauen it selfe, into which the soules of the blessed were carryed after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Areopagites* (in this and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleeued in plaine termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Iustine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Augustine* gaue this iudgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of *Mount Athos* (called *Acrothonos*) which being aboue all clouds of rayne, or other inconuenience, the people (by reason of their many yeeres) are called *Macrobioi* (that is) *Long-liued*. A further argument is vsed, for proofe of the heighth of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserued from the violence of the floud: approued by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Tertullian* conceiued, that the blessed soules were preserued till the last iudgement; which *Irenæus*, and *Iustine Martyr* also beleeued. But this opinion was of all *Catholike Diuines* reproued, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which S. *Augustine* more modestly gaue this iudgement.

Diog. Laert. in Sco.

Iustin. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug.

iudgement. *Sicut certum est* ENOCH *&* ELIAM *nunc viuere: ita vbi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certayne that* ENOCH *and* ELIAS *doe now liue: so where they now liue, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is vncertayne.* But *Barcephas* giues a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessarie that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and heighth, because the foure Riuers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not haue had sufficient force to haue thrust themselues vnder the great Ocean, and afterwards haue forced their passage through the earth, and haue risen againe in the farre distant Regions of *India*, *Ægypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreames haue beene answered by diuers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins* and *Pererius* writing vpon this subiect; of whose arguments I will repeate these few: for to vse long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be iudged a vanitie in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inuenter.

It is first therefore alleaged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being set so neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heauenly bodies. Secondly, because it must haue beene too ioynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the aire in that Region is so violently moued, and carryed about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolemie* and *Alfraganus*) is seuenteene times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes by a grosse account about one hundred and twentie thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this heighth, must haue the compasse of the whole earth for a *Basis* & foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would depriue vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those falls of waters, are deafe from their infancie, like those which dwell neere the *Catadupæ*, or ouer-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as fayned. For I haue seene in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling neere them, are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which PERERIVS, *Sed ego hac apud* BASILIVM *&* AMBROSIVM *in eorum scriptis, quæ nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; *But I doe not remember* (saith he) *that I euer read those things, either in* BASIL *or* AMBROSE.

Cicero Somn. Scip.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdome. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and bloud, subiect to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heauen, and the seede must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith S. PAVL) *but all shall be changed*: which change, in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almightie. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the floud all perished on the earth, sauing eight persons, and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

1. Cor. 15. 36. 51. *1. Pet. 3. 20.*

For *Tostatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but beleeued that *Paradise* was raysed aboue the middle Region of the aire, and twentie cubits aboue all Mountaines, that the floud did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also beleeued; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouer-whelme it:) this is also contrarie to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any distinction teacheth vs, that *the waters ouer-flowed all the mountaynes vnder heauen*. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell giue credit to *Masius Damascenus*, and the *Thalmudists*, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saued themselues on the Mountayne *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Iordan*; and as the floud was not naturall, so was *Paradise* saued

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 21.

by

by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleeued, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seeme to affirme in wordes, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatiuely, for the delicacie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare auow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, then to resolue, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaynes of *Olympus*, *Atho*, and *Atlas*, ouer-reach and surmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these Mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence washt off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolued vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Plinie* himselfe (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrarie. But were it granted, yet the heighth of these Mountaynes is far vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these selfe Hills the ayre is so thinne (saith S. *Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate Paradise vnder the Æquinoctiall: and of the pleasant habitation vnder those Climates.

THose which come neerer vnto reason, finde *Paradise* vnder the *Æquinoctiall line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus*: iudging, that there-vnder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilitie of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* obiecteth the distemperate heate, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is *(non causa pro causa)* for although *Paradise* could not be vnder the line, because *Eden* is farre from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* vnder it, (*Ganges* being one of the foure Riuers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that euery Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Æquinoctiall*, did so much the more exceede in heate; It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countries which were situated directly vnder it, were of a distemper vninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceiued better, and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discouered. Indeede it hath so pleased God to prouide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconueniences which we contemplate a-farre off, are found by tryall and the witnesse of mens trauailes, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitlesse lump to fashion out the rest. For, *God himselfe* (saith ISAY) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated vnder the *Æquinoctiall line*, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easternely winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*, that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate of *Isay* 45.18.

of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne cannot so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or distemperate heate found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seene, neere the Line and vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountaynes are barr'd from this aire and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soiles we finde also in all other parts of the World. But (for the greatest part) those Regions haue so many goodly Riuers, Fountaynes and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit, both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not vnder ground into the roote, fearing the iniurie of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despise her withered husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vitiosa*; *Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idlenesse bringeth forth no other fruits then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceiued in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoole-men were grosse in this particular.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Cœlesyria, there is a Countrey in Babylon, once of this name, as is proued out of ESA. 37. *and* EZECH. 27.

THese opinions answered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginarie worlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discouer and finde out the seate thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we finde that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* only and few other excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrewes*. The *Gracians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* despised once to remember them in any of their stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places & Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subiected and inthralled.

Now besides those notable markes, *Euphrates* & *Tigris*, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Countrie of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* & *Iudæa*; and that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Iudæa* Eastward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moses* himselfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertilitie could not be *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any such Riuers, as are expreſt to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it selfe, and by the fertilitie, and the Riuers only described, we must

seeke

ſeeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better deſcribed. In the Prophet *Iſay* I finde it coupled and accompanyed with other adjacent Countries, in theſe wordes, ſpoken in the perſon of *Senacherib* by RABSAKEH: *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue deſtroyed, as* GOSAN, *and* HARAN, *and* RESEPH, *and the children of* EDEN, *which were at Telaſſar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophecieth againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants, &c.* *Iſai. 37. v. 12.* *Cap. 27. verſ. 23.*

But to auoid confuſion, we muſt vnderſtand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces, whereof, the firſt he maketh *Syria Damaſcene*, or *Decapolitan*: the ſecond part is that Valley called *Auenis*, otherwiſe *Conuallis*, or the Tract of *Chamath*, where *Aſſyria* is ioyned to *Arabia* the *Deſart*, and where *Ptolemie* placeth the Citie of *Aueria*: and the third is knowne by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœleſyria*, otherwiſe *Vallis cana*, or *the hollow Valley*, becauſe the Mountaynes of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both ſides, and border it: for *Coele* in *Greeke* is *Caua* in *Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we ſeeke: neither doth this Prouince lye Eaſt from *Canaan*, but North, and ſo ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the *Hebrewes*. Yet, becauſe there is a little Citie therein called *Paradiſe*, the *Iewes* beleeued this *Cœleſyria* to be the ſame which *Moſes* deſcribeth. For the ſame cauſe doth *Hopkins* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradiſe*: though to giue *Beroaldus* his right, I conceiue that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, ſauing, That he fayled in diſtinguiſhing theſe two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether miſvnderſtood two of the foure Riuers (to wit) *Piſon* and *Gehon*, as ſhall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moſes* teacheth vs) lay Eaſtward from the Deſarts, where he wrote, after he had paſſed the Red Sea; wee muſt conſider where thoſe other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Iſay* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (ſaith ESAIAH) *Goſan, Haran, and Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar.* Alſo *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with thoſe of *Sheba*, *Aſhur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, which was then (ſaith EZECHIEL) *the Mart of the people for many Iſles.* And it hath euer beene the cuſtome, that the *Perſians* conueyed their merchandiſe to *Babylon*, and to thoſe Cities vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence tranſported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the Citie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Iſicus*, now *Laiazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the deſcription of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the Eaſt, as the onely Mart-towne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and alſo what commodities euery Countrie yeelded: and hauing counted the ſeuerall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exerciſed: *They were thy Merchants* (ſaith the Prophet) *in all ſorts of things, in rayments of blue ſilke, and of broidered workes, fine linnen, corrall and pearle*: and afterwards ſpeaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kindes they traded, he hath theſe wordes: *The Merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fayres, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious ſtones and gold.* Now theſe be indeed the riches which *Perſia* and *Arabia Fœlix* yeeld: and becauſe *Sheba* and *Raama* are thoſe parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Perſian Gulfe*, therefore did thoſe Nations both vent ſuch Spice, ſweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded, and (withall) hauing trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them alſo all ſorts of ſpices, and plentie of gold. The better to conuey theſe commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the Citie of *Terredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara*) thence

Strabo. *Ezech. 27. v. 23.* *verſ. 24.*

thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boate to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three dayes iourney of *Aleppo*, and then ouer Land they past to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth with *Eden*, inhabited farre vp the Riuer, and receiued this trade from *Arabia* & *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselues had, and which they receiued out of *Persia*, which bordered them. S. *Hierome* vnderstandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is seated vpon *Euphrates*, *where it breaketh into foure heads*, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent Citie. *Hierosolymitanus* thinkes it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated downe low vpon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I meane on the East-side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenite* vpon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaueth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, & where the Riuer of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselues from their owne Citie of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as farre as the Citie of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolemie* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whose wordes are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas*; *The Merchants which trauaile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran*, doe much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Vr* in *Chaldæa* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not vpon *Euphrates* it selfe, but vpon the Riuer of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad were thy Merchants.* Wherefore *Charran* which is sometime called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran fluuiorum*, the *Greeke* word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, a Countrie betweene Riuers: for *Meso* in *Greeke*, is *Medius* in *Latine*, and *Potamos*, *fluuius*; and when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the Citie it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from *Vr* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giueth that Tract of Land from the borders of *Cœlesyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabite *Batanea*, and the North part of the *Desarts*, stretching themselues toward the vnhabited Solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth betweene *Syria*, and *Arabia* the *Desart*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were Neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, &c.* But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*: for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witnesse *Appian*;) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next vnto it, (as) *Thelbe-canne*, and *Mann-canne*; the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite vnto it, where these Riuers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are readie to ioyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was, (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is vncertayne: but it is a note aswell of the importance of the place, as of the certayne seate thereof, that so many other Cities did retayne a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference betweene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse *Canne*, or betweene *Canne* the old, and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinarie in all the Regions of the world.

Plin.l.6.c.26.

Strabo l.16.

Gen.11.31.

Now

Now of the other Citie ioyned with *Eden*, as *Haran* or *Charran*, S. *Hierome* on the *Iudges* speaketh thereof in these wordes: *Cumq; reuerterentur, peruenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Niniuen, vndecimo die*; *When they returned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way against Niniue) the eleuenth day.* Iud. 1.

This Citie is by the Martyr *Stephen* named *Charran* (speaking to the high Priest:) *Yee Men, Brethren, and Fathers, harken: The God of glorie appeared to our Father* ABRAHAM, *while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* Act. 7. 1. But the seate of this Citie is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of *Crassus* the *Romane*, who for his vnsatiable greedinesse was called *Gurges auaritiæ*; *The gulfe of auarice.* Whereof *Lucan:*

Assyrius Latio maculauit sanguine Carras, Lucan. l. 1. 105.

With Roman bloud th'Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this Citie *Canne* or *Chalne* is made manifest by *Moses* himselfe, where it is written of NIMROD: *And the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalne, in the Land of Sinaar*, or *Shinar*: where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the *Babylonian* Empire, and what Cities and People were subiect vnto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the said Valley of *Shinar* or neere it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract, afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldæa*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth it selfe. *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem sunt* (saith COMESTOR.) *Three names of one Countrie*: which Region of *Babylonia* tooke name of the Towre *Babel*; and the Towre, of the confusion of tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proued in the eleuenth Chapter of *Genesis*, in these wordes: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode*: in which Playne *Babylon* was built (as aforesaid.) Gen. 10. 10. Vers. 2.

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrods* greatnesse, and before he had subdued any strange, or farre-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proueth, that *Canneh* ioyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth, that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants, which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Esay* in the threats of *Senacherib* against *Hierusalem* (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telassar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it selfe lyeth, it is necessarie to describe those other Countries, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreouer the sonnes of* HAM *were* CVSH, *&c. And the sons of* CVSH *were* SEBA, *and* HAVILAH, *and* SABTAH, *&* RAAMAH, *&c. And the sons of* RAAMAH *were* SHEBA, *&c.* and anon after, CVSH *begat* NIMROD: so as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the sonne of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah*: though some there are that conceiue to the contrarie, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and vnderstanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* tooke that part adioyning to *Shinar*, toward the Sea side and *Persian Gulfe* (called afterward *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sonnes, which possessed it.) For (saith EZECHIEL) *the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupyed in thy Faires with the chiefe of all spices, and all precious stones, and gold.* So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Countrie, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which ioyneth to the Sea where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselues to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrie *Strabo* calleth *Catabaria*, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people haue an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on Vers. 7. Strabo, l. 16.

the East side of the *Persian Gulfe*. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to haue beene the Merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not onely plentie of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For as *Strabo* reporteth out of ERATOSTHENES: *In Persicæ oræ initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi vniones gignantur: in alijs vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* ERATOSTHENES (saith STRABO) affirmeth, that in the *beginning of the Persian Gulfe, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, very cleare and shining stones.* Now, the difference betweene *Sheba*, the sonne of *Raamah*, and *Seba*, the sonne of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*:) but whatsoeuer the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographie, their Countries and habitations are diuers. For *Sheba* is that part which bordereth the *Persian* Sea; and *Saba* (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured the red Sea; and so that place of the 72. *Psalme*, expounded, *Reges Arabum & Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The *Shebans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same riuer, vpon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coast, and vpon it, past vp the Countrie, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being ioined in one maine streame, and so through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandise toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Canneh*, border *Eden* on the West and Northwest: so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-east. *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldæan Paraphrast*, which Countrie by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*:) which change the Hebrewes also often vse.

Thus much of those Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chiefe were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telassar*: for these *Senacharib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telassar* lay most conuenient, both to receiue the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to conuey it ouer into *Syria*, and to *Tyrus*. Now to make these things the more plaine, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacharib*, many parts of the *Babylonian Empire* fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly disioyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esai* the 37. and in the second of Kings, by the threates of *Rabsache*, the while the Armie of *Assyria* lay before *Hierusalem*, that the Cities of *Gosan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telassar*, had resisted the *Assyrians*, though by them (in a sort) mastered and recouered. *Esa.* 37. v. 12. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, whom my Fathers haue destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacharibs* death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subiection: for *Esar-Haddon* held *Assyria*, and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Armie of *Senacharib*, commanded by *Rabsache*, which lay before *Hierusalem* (*Ezechias* then raigning) while *Senacharib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angell of God destroyed: 2. *Kings* 19. 35. the King of *Babel* sent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recouerie of his health, 20. 12. and his victorie obtained ouer the *Assyrians*. After which ouerthrow, *Senacharib* *Esa.* 39. 1. himselfe was slaine by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idoles, *Esar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Assyria*. To the *Babylonian Ambassadours* sent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* *Esa.* 37. 38. shewed all his treasures, aswell proper as consecrate, which inuited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to vndertake their conquest and subuersion. So as, the suspition of warre encreasing betweene *Babylon* and *Assyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the *Esa.* 39. 1. borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Assyria*, were imployed to beare off the incursions of the *Assyrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Telassar*: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Iunius*, signifying as much, as a Bulwarke against the *Assyrians.*

rians. This place *Hieroſolymitanus* takes for *Reſem*; others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the ſame, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Hiſtorie of *Iulian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Perſia*) calleth *Thilutha* in ſtead of *Telaſſar*, who deſcribeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24. Booke: It is ſeated in an *Iſland* of *Euphrates* vpon a ſteepe and vnaſſaultable Rocke, in ſo much as the Emperour *Iulian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garriſon againſt the *Aſſyrians*, being alſo a paſſage out of *Meſopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Countrey adioyning were lodged to defend the ſame. This place *Ptolomie* calleth *Teridata*, hauing *Reſeph* (which he calleth *Reſepha*) on the left hand, and *Canneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-canne*) on the right hand, not far from whence is alſo found the Citie of *Mann-canne* vpon *Tigris*, and all theſe ſeated together, as *Eſay* and *Exechiel* haue ſorted them. *Aſia. Tab. 4.*

But the vnderſtanding of theſe places is the more difficult, becauſe *Aſſyria* (which the *Chaldæans* call *Atturia*) and *Meſopotamia*, were ſo often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Aſſyria & Meſopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen tranſierunt* (ſaith NIGER,) *Aſſyria and Meſopotamia tooke the name of Babylonia.* Laſtly, it appeareth by thoſe adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the world *Eden* is ſeated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: alſo by *Canneh* and *Reſeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in theſe wordes tranſlateth this place: *Plantauerat autem* IEHOVAH *Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*, *The Lord God planted a garden in Eden, Eaſtward*: that is (ſaith he in his Annotations.) *Iuſſerat naſci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Meſopotamiæ, He commanded trees to grow in Eden, an Eaſterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Meſopotamia.* *Coſmog. Aſiæ.*

§. X.

Of diuers other teſtimonies of the land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradiſe.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it ſeemes by the two Epiſtles of the *Neſtorian Chriſtians*, that inhabite *Meſopotamia*, which Epiſtles in the yeere 1552. they ſent to the *Pope* about the confirming of their *Patriarch*, and *Andreas Maſius* hath publiſhed them, tranſlated out of *Syriac* into Latine. By theſe Epiſtles (I ſay) it ſeemes we may haue ſome farther light for the proofe of that, which we haue ſaid about the Region of *Eden* in thoſe parts. For in them both there is mention of the *Iſland* of *Eden* in the Riuer *Tigris*, or at leaſt, *Tigris* in both theſe Epiſtles is called the Riuer of *Eden*. This *Iſland*, as *Maſius* in his *Præface* to theſe Epiſtles ſaith, is commonly called *Gezoria* (as it were, *the Iſland*, by an eminencie) It hath (ſaith he) tenne miles in circuit, and was ſometimes walled round about, which name of the *Iſland Eden* may (doubtleſſe) remaine to this day; though in the reſt of the Region ſo called this name be ſwallowed vp, with the fame of thoſe flouriſhing Kingdomes of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*. This *Iſland* of *Eden* hath vp the Riuer, and not farre beyond it, the Citie of *Haſan-Cepha*, otherwiſe *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Moſal* or *Moſel*, from which (as in that which followeth it ſhall appeare out of *Maſius*) it is not aboue twelue miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that *Moſal* or *Moſel* by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher vp *Tigris*, in theſe wordes. *Iuxta autem Tigrim, Ciuitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur; magna ſanè, &c.* (that is) *By Tigris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta neere vnto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one, &c.* This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I ſay) needes not here to trouble vs: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimonie of *Maſius* informed by the *Chriſtians* that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe *Patriarch* it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated vpon *Tigris*, and in the neighbour- *Vt ſupra.*

hood of *Ninive*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian Christians* in their former Epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum Ciuitatem Mozal (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Niniues*; *Of all the Cities and townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbourhood of Ninive*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon*, a Citie thereabout to be called *Assur* (which is the same as *Attur*, after the *Dialect* of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon* (which is not farre off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Assur*. By this then wee may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the *Ile* of *Eden*, which lyeth in the brest of *Tigris*, is but twelue miles from *Mosal*, and that ancient Citie, which *Ptolomie* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineue*, *Philostratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Mosula*, and *Iohn Leon Mosal*, others *Mosse*, (though it bee not the same with *Mosal*) is set but a little higher vpon the same riuer of *Tigris*, neere *Mosal*: so that wee are like to finde this *Ile* of *Eden* here-about. For the same *Andræas Masius*, which placeth it aboue *Mosal*, makes it to be belowe *Hasan-chepha*, which is vpon the same riuer of *Tigris*.

The onely difficultie is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the *Nestorians* in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in *Tigris*, called the Ile of *Eden*, but of an Ile in *Tigris*, a riuer of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we haue a testimonie from the learned of those parts, that not onely *Euphrates*, but also *Tigris* was a riuer of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath beene subiect to the same change, that all other kingdomes of the world haue beene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which stretcheth ouer *Euphrates*, was after the floud called *Shinar*, and then of the tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris*, betweene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient ÆTHICVS maketh mention, (not that latter ÆTHICVS, disciple of CALLINICVS, otherwise by PLVTARCH and ATHENÆVS called ISTRI, who liued in *Ægypt* in the reigne of PHILADELPHVS, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of Greeke by S. HIEROME. And though by corruption of the ancient copie it bee written in ÆTHICVS, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a riuer of *Phœnicia*, cannot be vnderstood to bee the Region named by ÆTHICVS. For ÆTHICVS makes it a Countrie, and not a riuer, and ioyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of CHVS *Æthiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the Riuer which watereth the Regions (sayth ÆTHICVS) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which Riuer hee calleth *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall: for out of *Eden* came a riuer, or riuers, to water the Garden, both which Riuers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them trauerse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in diuers places, is not vnworthie the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (sayth STRABO) the leaues are alwayes greene, and therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also STEPHANVS *de vrbibus* mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in vse in *Amos* time, though he speake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Celesyria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Riuers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise*, were diuided: whose courses being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Sententie and all

others

others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: *& Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt*: *and all men vnderſtand Hiddekel by Tigris* (ſayth VATABLE.) And becauſe that which I haue ſayd of the Ile of *Eden*, ſhall not bee ſubiect to the cenſure of ſelfe-inuention, I haue heere-vnder ſet downe the words out of the two generall Epiſtles of the *Neſtorians*, as *Maſius* (*ad verbum*) hath conuerted them into *Latine*. The occaſion of thoſe Letters and Supplications to the Pope were, that the *Neſtorian Chriſtians* which inhabit *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, *and Babylonia*, *and haue to this day* (at leaſt in *Queene Maries* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie, called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Moſel* vpon the Riuer of *Tigris*, hauing no ſufficient authoritie to chooſe themſelues a *Patriarch* (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitane Biſhops at leaſt) ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome* in the yeere of Chriſt 1552. (as aforeſaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto ſuch an election as themſelues had made: hauing three hundred yeere before that vpon the like defect, ſent one *Marius* thither to bee confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Biſhop of *Rome* the ſtate of the *Chriſtian Church* in thoſe parts: for vpon the death of their *Patriarch* (who of a couetous deſire to enrich himſelfe had forborne to inſtitute *Metropolitane Biſhops*, when the places fell void) they all aſſembled themſelues together to conſult of the Church-gouernment. And becauſe all the *Patriarchs* for 100. yeeres had beene of one houſe and family to the preiudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Biſhop of the ſame Stocke and Kindred, who aſpired to the ſame dignitie, which his Predeceſſours had held, the reſt of the Profeſſours refuſed to allow him. Vpon which occaſion, and for the choice of a Gouernour more ſufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches aſſembled themſelues. The words of the generall Epiſtle to the Pope are theſe, about the middle of the ſaid Epiſtle: *Verùm nos non acceptauimus neq; proclamauimus ipſum, ſed ſubitò conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & Pagis quæ ſunt circum Ciuitatem Moſel* (*hoc eſt*) *Attur, in vicinia Niniues, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Inſula quæ eſt in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Perſiæ, ex Niſibi, &c.* which is: *But wee did neyther accept of this man, neyther pronounced him: but ſuddenly we aſſembled our ſelues out of all parts of the Eaſt, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Moſel (or Attur) neighbouring Niniue, and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Iland which lyeth in the middle of Tigris, a Riuer of Eden*, or rather, *out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the Riuer Tigris*. And in a ſecond Epiſtle at the ſametime ſent, they vſe theſe words: *Neq; ſuperſunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum eſt ordinare Catholicum, ſed ſoli pauci Epiſcopi, Epiſcopus Arbelæ, Epiſcopus Salmaſti, Epiſcopus Adurbeigan; en è veſtigio conuenimus in Inſulam, quæ eſt intra Tigrim flumen, Eden, fecimuſq; compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) *Neyther are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Biſhops to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Biſhops, as the Biſhop of Arbela, the Biſhop of Salmaſtus, and the Biſhop of Adurbeigan: but loe, we aſſembled ſpeedily in the Iland Eden, which is in Tigris; and agreed betweene our ſelues, &c.*

Now this Iland of *Eden Maſius* deſcribeth with other places; which being well conceiued, the *Neſtorian Epiſtles*, and the ſtate of the Church may bee in thoſe parts (ſayth he) the better vnderſtood. And after hee hath diſtinguiſhed the foure ſorts of Chriſtians in thoſe parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Neſtorians*, *Iacobites*, *Maronita*, and *Cophti*, hee goeth on in theſe wordes: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurriſſe aiebant tumultuario in illam quam modo dixi Tigris Inſulam, quæ duodecim circiter paſſuum millibus ſupra Moſal poſita, decem ferè millia paſſuum ſuo ambitu continet, muris vndiq; cincta, & à paucis alijs quàm Chriſtianis hominibus habitata*: which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch*, (as thoſe that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuouſly together into that Iland of Tigris* or *Eden* before ſpoken of, *which Iland is ſituated about* 12. *miles aboue Moſel, containing very neere ten miles in compaſſe, and euery where inuironed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Chriſtians*. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Chriſtian Churches; among the reſt he addeth the Iſle of *Eden* by the name of *Geſerta*, *Inſula Tigris*: *ſiue Geſerta*.

Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hosan-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tigris Insulam rupi asperæ impositam*; *Aboue the foresaid Iland of Tigris, being seated on a steepe rocke.* Of this Iland of *Geserta*, *Andrew Theuet* maketh mention in his tenth booke of his generall Cosmographie in these wordes: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la riuiere du Tigre, & pense que c'est vne terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie*; *Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the soile the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liueth, and of that *Eden*, which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisond to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as aboue written) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Riuers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

§. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Riuers to rise from one streame.

BVt it may be obiected, that it is written in the Text, *That a Riuer went out of Eden*, and not Riuers, in the Plurall, which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his *Chronologie*: The *Latine* Translation (saith he) hath these wordes: *Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluuius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluuij procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium, & inde diuidebatur, & erat in quatuor capita*: which is, *And a Riuer went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was diuided into foure heads*: which wordes (saith *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: *And a Riuer was going forth of Eden (that is) Riuers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard, and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads.* The *Tigurine* differs from the *Vulgar* or *Latine*, for it conuerts it thus: *Et fluuius egrediebatur de delicijs*; *And a Riuer went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the *Latine* addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis*; *And a Riuer went out of the place of pleasure*: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word *(inde)* and *thence* was diuided, hath reference to the Countrie of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it selfe.

And for the word *(Riuer)* for Riuers, it is vsuall among the *Hebrewes*: for it is
Gen. 1. 11. written: *Let the earth bud forth the bud of the herbe, that seedeth seede, the fruitfull tree,*
3. 2. *&c.* Here the *Hebrew* vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; and againe, we eate of the fruit of the tree, in stead of (trees:) And thirdly,
8. *The man and his wife hid themselues from the presence of God*; *In medio ligni Paradisi*; *In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for *(trees.)* And of this opinion is *Dauid Kimhi*, and *Vatablus*, who vpon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrewes* doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *vnumquodq; illorum*, and he giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as, *A Riuer* (for *Riuers*) *went out of Eden.*

And this answere out of diuers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the obiection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one Riuer, from which the heads should diuide themselues. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable passages into famous

mous Countries. And ſo we may take the word (Riuer) Verſe the tenth for one Riuer (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the braneches thereof. For this Riuer, after he is paſt the place, where we ſuppoſe *Paradiſe* to haue beene, diuides it ſelfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable paſſages into ſeuerall Countries, though not all the way downe ſtreame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the Riuer downward, there is conueyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Aſſyria*) were vp *Tigris*.

To this end the Text ſpeaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riſeth from the Riuer of *Eden*, doth not ſay it compaſſeth or waſheth the whole Region of *Aſſyria*, (as it had vſed this phraſe of *Piſon* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward *Aſſyria*. The firſt branch *Piſon*, is *Nahar-malcha*, (by interpretation) *Baſilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* vnder *Apamia*, whence ariſeth the name of *Paſi-tigris*, (as it were) *Piſo-tigris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Hauila* or *Suſiana*. The ſecond branch *Gehon*, is that which in Hiſtorians is *Nabarſares*, or *Narragas*, for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names ſignifie *flumen deriuatum* (a Riuer deriued) alſo *Acracanus*, *quaſi Ranoſus*, by reaſon of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the firſt ſeate of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldæa* and *Arabia*, and it is loſt at length in the Lakes of *Chaldæa*. The third branch, *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper ſtreame of *Piſon*, or *Baſilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel* properly ſo called (that is, into *Tigris*) aboue *Seleucia*, where it ſheweth a paſſage vp *Tigris* into *Aſſyria*: where, becauſe at length it is called *Hiddekel*, or *Tigris*, hauing before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath* or *Euphrates*, ſo called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the Riuer *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*. But, be it a Riuer or Riuers, that come out of *Eden*, ſeeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradiſe* was not farre from theſe Riuers: for that *Perath* in *Moſes* is *Euphrates*, there can be no queſtion; and (indeede) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtwards towards *Aſſur*, as we finde, that *Tigris* is the Riuer of *Aſſyria propriè dicta*, whoſe chiefe Citie was *Niniue*, as in *Geneſis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Aſſur*, and builded *Niniue*, which was the chiefe Citie of *Aſſyria*.

And as for the kinde of ſpeech here vſed in the Text, ſpeaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuers be (properly) their Fountaynes, yet here are they to be vnderſtood, to be ſpoken of the beginning of their diuiſion from the firſt ſtreame. *Caput aquæ* (ſaith VLPIANVS) *illud eſt, vnde aqua naſcitur; ſi ex fonte naſcatur fons; ſi ex flumine, vel ex lacu prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountayne, then is the Fountayne taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a maine Riuer any branch be ſeparate and diuided, then where that branch doth firſt bound it ſelfe with new bankes, there is that part of the Riuer, where the branch forſaketh the mayne ſtreame, called the head of the Riuer.

§. XII.

Of the ſtrange fertilitie and happineſſe of the Babylonian ſoile, as it is certayne that Eden was ſuch.

IT may alſo be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by vs deſcribed, be of ſuch fertilitie and beautie, as *Eden* the ſeate of *Paradiſe* was: which if it be denyed, then muſt we alſo conſider, that there was no part of the earth, that retayned that fertilitie and pleaſure, that it had before the curſe: neither can we aſcribe the ſame fruitfulneſſe to any part of the earth, nor the ſame vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before

before the floud; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrie, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe, for the Ile of *Eden* is but twelue miles or thereabout from *Ninive*, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Vrbs Ninus sita erat. Hac regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not farre from the place where *Ninus* is seated, *This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent*; and he addeth afterward: *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeò ferax est, vt nunquàm non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) *It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold: The leaues of Wheate and Barley being almost foure fingers broade: As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are euen in length like vnto trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulnesse, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Countrie of Babylon. They haue commonly in all the Countrie Palme-trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both meates, and wine, and honny, ordering them as the Fig-trees.* Thus farre *Herodotus*. *Herod. Clia. l. 1.*

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East *India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that *it yeeldeth bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; *Of which these people make bread, wine, honny, and vineger.* But *Antonius* the *Eremite* findeth a fift commoditie, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kind of fine flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East *India* they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the *Eremite*, confesseth, saying: *That he receiued a garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees, which the East *Indies* so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeeldeth no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this vpper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the field. *Sunt etiam* (saith STRABO) *passim per omnem regionem Palmæ sua sponte nascentes*; *There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læua Arabiæ odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam vbere & pingui solo, vt à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*; (that is) *As you trauaile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentie of sweet odors) there lyeth a Champaine Countrie placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to driue their Cattell from the pasture, lest they should perish by satietie. Bis in anno segetes Babylonij secant; The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a yeere* (saith *Niger.*) And as Countries generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northern parts: so we may iudge the excellencie of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of *Armenia*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his wordes be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemq; semper virentibus*; *This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees, alwaies greene*: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and stirrer vp of nature in a perpetuall actiuitie. In briefe, so great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are constrayned twice to mow downe their Corne-fields, and a third time to eate them vp with sheep: which husbandrie the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first fortie yeeres, could not make our kind of Wheat beare seede, but it grew vp as high as the trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes (saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularitie to that soile, That the second yeere the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the seedes againe) yeeldeth them a haruest of Corne without any further labour: his wordes are these: *Vbertatis tantæ sunt, vt sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seges.* *Plin. Nat. hist. l. 18. c. 17.*

§. XIII.

§. XIII.

Of the Riuer Pison, and the land of Hauilah.

AFter the discouerie of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Riuers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both be that riuer or riuers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which riuer or riuers *Moses* witnesseth afterward, diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, then when we finde both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seeke the other two in *India* and *Ægypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Riuers as farre distant, as any of fame knowne or discouered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plaine, that these Riuers were diuided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some apparance of probabilitie, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens mindes, to find some partakers or sectatours, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weake babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the riuer of *Pison*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Hauilah*, from *Hauilah*, which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Susiana*. For *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris* tooke name from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush*; and *Hauilah* in *India*, from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, the one remembred by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his sonnes after the floud. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*, and the sonnes of *Ioctan* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Ioctan*, that *Iland of Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hauilah* adioyning had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous Riuer of the East *India*, and *Hauilah* a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which Riuer is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Hauilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure Riuers, named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous riuer after *Tigris* & *Euphrates*) they chose out this Riuer to make one of the foure. And yet certainely there is another Riuer, whom in these respects they should rather haue chosen then *Ganges*; for the Riuer *Indus* on this side *India*, for beautie, for neerenesse, & for abilitie, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads, seeing *Indus* commeth betweene it and *Tigris*? and betweene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther toward the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie betweene those two proud Riuers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* bee not accounted for any of the foure, because it is remoued from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely whosoeuer readeth the Storie of *Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no riuer in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his

Gen. 10. 7.

10. 29.

a. 11.

his whole Fleete, which was ready to bee ſwallowed vp therein: *Hydaſpis* (as aforeſaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, hauing beſides this, the Riuers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Aceſines*, *Adris*, (otherwiſe *Hirotis*, *Hiſpalis*, and *Zaradrus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed vp with all their children and companions, which being all incorporate and made one ſtreame, it croſſeth athwart *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen.2.15. But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Hauilah*, as alſo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, muſt ſome-where be ioyned with the reſt in one body, or at leaſt be found to proceed out of the ſame Countrey of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, bee *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riſeth in the vttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the Riuer *Ganges* riſeth out of the mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will haue it) *Caucaſus*, which diuides the Northerne *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not farre off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Gordiaan* mountaines, ſo as *Ganges*, who onely trauaileth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Æthiopia* and *Ægypt*, neuer ſaw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themſelues in one Channell, either with themſelues, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence bee ſeparated, or diuided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moſes*.

Therefore the Riuer *Piſon*, which enricheth *Hauilah*, is the ſame which by ioyning it ſelfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piſi-tigris*, or *Piſo-tigris*, of *Piſon* and
Gen.2.v.12. *Tigris*, which Riuer watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Cuſh* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Ioctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the Eaſt. And this *Hauilah* of the *Cuſhites* hath alſo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ſtone. This Bdellium is a tree, of the bigneſſe of an Oliue, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine gumme, ſweete to ſmell to, but bitter in taſte, called alſo Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-ſtone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew ſignifieth Pearle: ſo doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing gumme, or Pearle: *Hauilah*, or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrey of *Suſiana* or *Hauilah* ſtretcheth it ſelfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all that Tract of land Southward, as farre as the *Perſian Gulfe*, on the Eaſt ſide thereof: from which Eaſt ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

Steuch. *Hopk. de Par.* The Greekes had a conceit, that *Piſon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (ſayth *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia* tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont* and all *Aſia* the leſſe, betweene it and *Tigris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retaine ſome ſigne of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embrace each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-tigris*. And it is ſtrange vnto me, that from ſo great antiquitie there ſhould bee found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for *Babylon* it ſelfe, which dwelleth ſo neere
Poſt. Coſmog. *Theuet. Coſmog.* theſe riuers, is by ſome writers knowne by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Poſtellus*, by *Caſtaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Theuet*; and
Aſiæ tab.4. yet all thoſe that haue lately ſeene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this riuer of *Piſon*, *Ptolomie* indeed with many others giue the name of *Baſilius*, or *Regius*; and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-ſares* and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and fountaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixirates*: by *Iunius*, *Puckperah*, out of the Hebrew,
Plin. li. 6. c. 24. (that is) The profuſion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the

da: the Hebrewes *Parath*, (ſayth *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Ioſephus*, *Phorah*; *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilanus*, and *Colinutius* terme it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddikel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Geneſis* conceiueth rightly of theſe riuers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (ſayth he) ſtreame into foure branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other two are called *Piſon* and *Gehon*. The reaſon, why theſe two riuers ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) loſe their names, and are called *Piſi-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguiſhed, is, becauſe the beſt part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, ſinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, not farre from *Vr*, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Perſian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Piſon* doth.

This errour that *Piſon* was *Ganges*, was firſt broched by *Ioſephus*, (whoſe fieldes, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be ſufficient in matter of deſcription, whereupon depended no other important conſequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Piſon* was tranſported into the Eaſt *India*, to find out *Hauilah*: ſo was *Gehon* drawne into *Africa*, to compaſſe *Æthiopia*. But if *Hauilah*, whereof *Moſes* ſpeaketh in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, be found to be a Region, adioining to *Babylon* on the one ſide, and *Cuſh* (which is falſly interpreted *Æthiopia*) faſtened to it on the other ſide, wee ſhall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impoſe vpon men the tranſportation of riuers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vſes) were made to tranſport men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cuſh* the ſonne of *Ham* firſt ſate downe with his ſonnes *Shebah*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, *&c.* and of *Hauilah*, the ſonne of *Cuſh*, did that Region take name, which *Piſon* compaſſeth; and the land (called *Cuſh*) which *Gehon* watereth, tooke name of *Cuſh* himſelfe. For as the ſonnes of *Ioctan*, *Ophir* and *Hauilah*, ſeated themſelues as neere together as they could in *India*, ſo did the ſonnes of *Cuſh* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilah* or *Chauilah* was firſt *Chuſea* of *Cuſh*; then *Chuſa*, *Suſa*, and *Suſiana*.

From this *Hauilah* vnto the Deſarts of *Sur*, did the *Iſraelites* and *Amalechites* poſſeſſe all the interiacent Countries: for *Saul* ſmote the *Amalechites* from *Hauilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* conuerteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the red Sea, to *Hauilah* in the *Eaſt India*, for *Saul* was no ſuch trauailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilah* muſt be found neerer home, where the ſonnes of *Iſmael* inhabited, and which Countrie *Saul* waſted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalechites* poſſeſt that necke of Countrie, between the *Perſian* Sea, and the red Sea; *Hauilah* being the extreme of the one towardes the Eaſt, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the Weſt, leauing that great body of *Arabia fœlix* towards the South, and they ſpred themſelues with the *Midianites* and *Edumeans*, from the Eaſt part, or backe ſide of the Holie Land, to the bankes of *Euphrates*, compriſing the beſt parts of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*.

1. Sam. 15. 7.

§. XIIII.

Of the Riuer Gehon and the Land of Cush: and of the ill translating of the Æthiopia for Cush, 2. CHRON. 21. 16.

NOw, as *Hauilah* in the East *India* drew *Pison* so farre out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the *Seuentie* translated *Æthiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Æthiopia* by the *Greekes*, whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Æthiopians* are, as much, as *blacke or burnt faces*, whose proper Countrie is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Ægypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Æthiopians*, and far South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembred in the *Ægyptian* stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Ægypt*: all which *Æthiopians* are very neere, or else directly vnder the Equinoctiall line, which is very farre from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this Translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two *Æthiopia's*, the East, and the West: and this diuision he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chush Æthiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chush* and the Land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Æthiopia*.

See more of this point, c. 7. § 10.

Now if it be granted, that *Cush* and the Land of the *Chusites*, be that Tract from *Sur* to *Hauilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitauit* ISMAEL *ab Hauilah vsq; Sur, quæ respicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Assyrios*; ISMAEL *dwelt from Hauilah vnto Sur, that is towards Ægypt, as thou goest toward Assyria*; The same sufficeth to proue that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a Riuer which watereth *Cush*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this place of Scripture, *Habitauit* ISMAEL, *&c.* hath this sense: *Ismael* dwelt from *Hauilah*, which is the way of *Assyria*, or the Countrie bordering *Assyria*; and *Sur*, which lyeth toward *Ægypt*, which is as much to say, as, The issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelue Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions betweene the border of *Ægypt* and *Assyria*. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplyed, it well appeared, when *Zerah* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against *Asa* King of *Iuda*. Which Armie came not out of *Æthiopia* beyond *Ægypt*; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, hauing so mightie a King as the King of *Ægypt*, betweene *Palæstina* and *Æthiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalechites*, *Madianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King *Zerah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a Citie of the *Æthiopians*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it: *And* ABRAHAM *departed thence toward the South Countrie, and dwelt betweene Cadesh and Sur, and soiourned in Gerar*: Now *Sur* is that part, vpon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their feete after they passed the Red Sea, where the *Amalechites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had beene wearie, and vnable to resist. Againe, in the storie of *Isaac* it is written: *Wherefore* ISAAC *went to* ABIMELECH, *and the Philistims vnto Gerar*: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistims* were no *Æthiopians*. And lastly, *Moses* himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou commest to Gerar*: for *Sydon* was the Frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the South. But indeede, howsoeuer *Pererius* doth with an honest excuse salue his Translation of *Chus* for *Æthiopia*, yet it appeareth plainely, that the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* did altogether misvnderstand this place. And first, for *Homers* East and West *Æthiopia*, they

Gen 25. 18.

Vers. 16.

2. *Chron.* 14. 9.

Gen. 10. *v.* 11.

Exod. 17. 8.

Gen. 26. 1.

10. 19.

they are both found elsewhere. For *Plinie* in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour, of these two *Æthiopia's*. But the East *Æthiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the South of *Ægypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abyssines*, vnder *Prester Iohn*; And the West *Æthiopia* is that, which ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer *Niger*, which wee call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are these *Æthiopians* called *Perorsi*, *Daratites*, with diuers other names, which *Plinie* numbreth. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the *Desarts* thereof, sayth *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Iuba*; which Regions indeede (I meane that of *Niger*, and that of *Prester Iohn*, and the *Troglodytes*) lye due East and West. But as for *Cush* and the Region of the *Ismaelites*, *&c.* they are extended directly North from that *Æthiopia*, which is beyond *Ægypt*. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which hee hath of *Moses* when he serued *Pharao*, in the warres against the *Æthiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Æthiopia*) hee transporteth *Madian* by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all *Ægypt*, and setteth it in *Æthiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Againe, that *Gehon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greeke* Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* haue conuerted this place of the Prophet HIEREMIE; *And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Ægypt, to drinke the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, vt bibas aquam Gehon?* to this saith PERERIVS, *profectò Hebraicè ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quæ significat nigrum & turbidum*; *Truly* (saith PERERIVS) *the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which signifieth blacke and troubled water.* Plin. l. 5. c. 8. c. 2. v. 18.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Æthiopia*. *Moses* married the Daughter of *Iethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the *Greeke* and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Æthiopissam*, as (with *Iosephus*.) The *Geneua* conuerts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, *that Zipporah* was of the Countrie of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petræa*, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that MOSES *fled from* PHARAO *into the Land of Madian, and sate downe by a Well, &c.* and againe, in the third of *Exodus*; *When* MOSES *kept the sheepe of* IETHRO *his father in law, Priest of Madian, &c.* Indeed, these foure nations are euery where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly togther (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all in one generall word, *Arabians*, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in *Gen.* 37. *v.* 25. 27. *&* 28. that *Ioseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and in the same Chapter, *v.* 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* sold *Ioseph* to *Putiphar*, *Pharao's* Steward. The *Geneuians*, in a marginall note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the *Madianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*, and so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their Camels were loden with Spicery, and Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the Trades of *Arabia fœlix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East *India*, all the World is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their Spices they receiued from the East side of the *Arabian Gulfe*, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chapter it is said: That *Putiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the *Ismaelites*, which the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the sixt of *Iudges*, That when *Israel* had sowen, then came vp the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were *Arabians* of the *Desart*; so as where before in the buying of *Ioseph*, the *Madianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confused, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* only are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, *v.* 24. these Nations are all called *Ismaelites*, Exod. 2. 21. 3. 1. Num. 12. 1. *V.* 15 *V.* 1. Gen. 37. 25. *V.* 1. *V.* 3. *C.* 7.

and neyther *Madianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* desired, that euery man would giue him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written: *For they had golden eare-rings, because they were Ismaelites*. And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and euer in action of warre. *Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (sayth God of ISMAEL) *shall bee against all men, and euery mans hand against him*. Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some Writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Iosephus*) vse poyson vpon their Arrowes, as the *Indians* doe. Towards the South-east are the *Madianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them, towards the *Desarts* of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

c.8.v.24.

Gen.16.12.

Lastly, the ill translation of *Æthiopia* for *Chus*, is among other places, made most apparent, in the second of *Chronicles*, in these wordes: *So the Lord stirred vp against* IEHORAM, *the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Æthiopians*; so *Hierome* reades it: the *Geneua* translation hath it, *which were besides the Æthiopians*. Now, how farre it is off betweene the *Philistines*, and the *Negro's*, or the *Æthiopians*, euery man that looketh in a Map may iudge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* doe mixe and ioyne with the Land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Æthiopia* about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next Neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the *Desarts* of *Sur* and *Pharan*, are betweene them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should haue beene translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred vp against* IEHORAM, *the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border vpon the Chusites*, who indeed are their next Neighbours. * *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in Sacris literis sit Arabiæ propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (sayth STEVCHIVS) *but Æthiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which ioyneth to Arabia*.

Chro.2.c.21.16.

** Steuch. Eugub.in Gen.2.2.*

Now may we thinke is it probable, or possible, that *Moses* could bee ignorant of *Nilus?* No, he knew it, no liuing man so well, and therefore would neuer haue named *Gehon*, for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would haue called the Riuer (into which he was cast vpon Reeds, and preserued by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharao*) a Riuer of *Egypt*, wherein he was borne and bred, and wrought so many Miracles. Besides, the Riuer of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had beene a Riuer of *Paradise*, they might iustly haue thought, that hee had derided them: for they had liued there all dayes of their liues, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except wee shall beleeue the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (sayth *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Oliues in stead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Esay*, and once in the Prophet *Hieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a Riuer of *Æthiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had neuer any communion or affaires with the *Æthiopians*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East-parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North-side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœlesyrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselues, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Hierusalem* it selfe was with-held from *Israel* (from the dayes of *Moses*, euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the *Iebusites*.

Exod.2.

Plin.l.5.c.1.

c.23.v.3.

c.2.v.18.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the stonie, which the *Chusites* inhabited

ted in the times of the Kings of *Israel:* and in this *Desart* it was that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himselfe in seeking out *Paradise*: for hee was driuen (to my vnderstanding) to create two Riuers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Hauilah*, for I finde none such in *rerum natura*, as hee hath described: by which Riuers hee also includeth within *Paradise*, euen *Arabia the Desart.*

And as he well proued that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*: so where to find them else-where it seemeth he knew not. Certainely this Riuer of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whose Springs hee findeth farre East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a small streame, rising betweene it and the Red Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it selfe is little more then twentie *English* myles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and neuer looked backe to the first seates and plantation of CHVS. For after the Floud, CHVS and his children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and neere which himselfe with his sonnes first inhabited. HAVILAH tooke the Riuer-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called HAVILAH, (now *Susiana:*) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the Riuer, in the entrance of *Arabia fælix.* NIMROD seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia.* CHVS himselfe and his brother MIZRAIM first kept vpon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, and in processe of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselues more Westerly towards the Red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence MIZRAIM past ouer into *Ægypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could bee no such Riuer found in *Arabia* the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus Æthiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus.* And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, wee shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that BRVTE, or whosoeuer else that first peopled this *Iland*, had arriued vpon the Riuer of *Thames*, and calling the *Iland* after his name BRITANNIA, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a riuer, that watered *Britannia:* and when afterwards in processe of time, the same BRVTE had also discouered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the riuer of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that EVROPA, the daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gaue the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discouerers thereof arriued in the mouth of some riuer in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as hee first discouered, shall wee in like sort resolue, that *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italie*, *&c.* are no parts of *Europe*, because that Riuer is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole land of *Chus*; but not the whole land which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue beene Masters in time, (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For (though the *Babylonian Empire*, which tooke beginning in NIMROD the sonne of CHVS, consisted at the first but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet wee finde, that his Successours within a few yeares after commaunded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memorie of *Chusea.* For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that land take the name of *Babylonia:* and the greatnesse of that Empire founded by NIMROD a yonger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father CVSH in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian Empire*, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselues afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke,

Herod. l. 1. & 4.

that CHVS or any of his could in haſte creepe through thoſe deſart Regions, which the length of 130. yeares after the floud had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted euery buſh and briar, reede and tree to ioyne themſelues (as it were) into one maine body and Forreſt. For if wee looke with iudgement and reaſon into the worlds plantation, we ſhall finde, that euery family ſeated themſelues as neere together as poſſible they could; and though neceſſitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelues, and creepe out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times reſort, and ſuccour one another by riuer, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſable. So NIMROD, who out of wit and ſtrength vſurped dominion ouer the reſt, ſate downe in the very confluence of all thoſe riuers, which watered *Paradiſe*: for thither it was to which the greateſt troupes of NOAHS children repaired; and from the ſame place whence Mankinde had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increaſe. The firſt Father of men ADAM, had therein his former habitation. The ſecond Father of Mankinde NOAH, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as NIMROD the yongeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforeſaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did HAVILAH place himſelfe vpon *Piſo-tigris*: RAAMAH and his ſonne SHEBA farther downe vpon the ſame Riuer, on the Sea-coaſt of *Arabia*: CHVS himſelfe vpon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelues farther off, yet they alwayes faſtened themſelues to the Riuers ſides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Vr* in *Chaldæa*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities were all founded vpon theſe Nauigable Riuers, or their branches, by which the one might giue ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is alreadie often remembred.

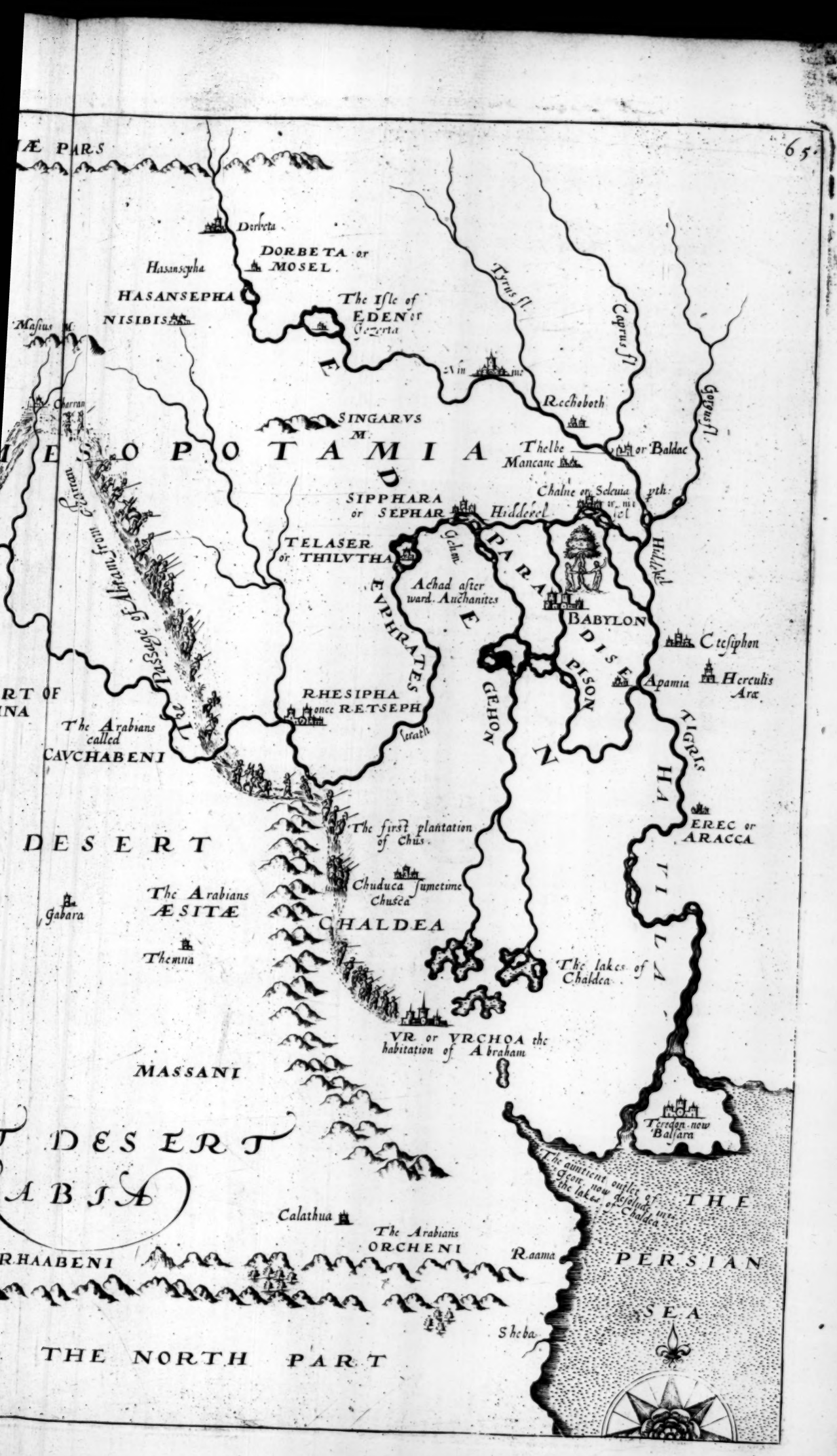
§. XV.

A concluſion by way of repetition of ſomething ſpoken of before.

BVT now to conclude this diſpute, it appeareth to mee by the teſtimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradiſe* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluuiorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all ſorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this ſayd ſoyle and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein ſoeuer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can moſt vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giueth vnto man whatſoeuer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may bee ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by thoſe pleaſures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venimous beaſts and wormes, with other inconueniences, and then there will be found no compariſon betweene the one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradiſe* had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) curſed the Earth, we cannot iudge; but I may ſafely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workemanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Vniuerſall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow

CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ
CILICIÆ PARS
Edessa
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Issus
Sinus Issicus or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRVS
Antiochia
CHALCIDICI
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
Aradus
Antaradus
Tripolis
Botris
Byblus
Berytus
Archis
CATANY
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Sidon
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Tyre
Antelibanum
Damascus
Alsadamus
THE DESERT PALMERINA
Cæsaria philippi
Berathi
Sauc. or Saba
Machati
Syria Soba
SACCEA
pto Acon
Gessuri
BATANEA
ARABIA
AGREI
Cæsaria
Bassan
Sichem
Amorites
Hai
Bethel
Ammonites
MARTENI
Ioppe
Aurana
IERVSALEM
Moabites
AGVBENI
Ascalon
ARABIA
Midianites
Idumites
PETREA
Pharan desart
Petra deserti
Amalekites
Ismalites
THE GREAT
OF ARA
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE


Æ PARS
Derbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hasansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
Masius M.
The Isle of EDEN or Gezerta
Tyrus fl.
Caprus fl.
Gorgus fl.
Recheboth
SINGARVS M.
MESOPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac
Chalne or Seleucia
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
TELASER or THILVTHA
Gehon
PARADISE
Achad after ward. Auchanites
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Hiddekel
EVPHRATES
Apamia
Herculis Aræ
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
Passage of Abram from
The Arabians called CAVCHABENI
Serath
GEHON
PISON
TIGRIS
HA
TI
EREC or ARACCA
The first plantation of Chus.
DESERT
Chuduca sumetime Chusea
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Gabara
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
DESERT
ABIA
Teredon now Balsara
The auntient outlet of Geon now desolate into the lakes of Chaldea
THE
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
RHAABENI
Raama
PERSIAN
SEA
Sheba
THE NORTH PART

BRITISH
17 MAR 97
MUSEUM

grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants only proper, and becomming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our knowne World: some, aboue the middle Region of the Ayre: some, eleuated neere the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Ayre, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (sayth *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of *Iudæa*, that God planted this Garden, which *Eden* wee find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A Riuer went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence diuided it selfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden*, doe ioyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah*, according to *Moses*: the true seates of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was neuer ioyned, cannot bee diuided, *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot bee a branch of the Riuers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this Riuer is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are betweene *Tigris* and *Ganges* aboue foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterran* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulfe* of *Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and trauaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three Degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I haue added a *Chorographicall* description of this terrestriall *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labours may but receiue an allowance suspended, vntill such time, as this description of mine be reproued by a better.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a materiall Tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subiect to death.

FOR eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driuen out of *Paradise*, *in exilium vitæ temporalis, into the banishment of temporall life*, sayth *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fix them, and so slippery, as nothing can fasten them, haue in this also deliuered to the World an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall construction, and is to be vnderstood, *Lignum vitarum*, *The Tree of liues*, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserue both the growing, sensitiue, and rationall life of man; and not only (but for *Adams* transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also giuen a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a bodie compounded of Elements could last.

Bart. sept. 2. l. 1. 174.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could bee immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should haue enioyed thereby a long, healthfull, and vngrieued life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) hee should haue beene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Floud, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and soone after the floud, of two hundred yeeres and vpwards, euen to fiue hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the liues of men on Earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of beliefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posteritie had beene immortall. But such is the infinite wisedome of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not haue contained Mankind; or else, that Millions of soules must haue beene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was repleniſhed, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must bee vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should haue beene translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which repect many haue conceiued, that the same was not materiall, but a meere *Allegorie*, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisedome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, *I will giue to him that ouercommeth, to eate of the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradise of God.* But to this place Saint *Augustines* answere may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a

Apocal. 2. 7.

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terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, ſo there was a celeſtiall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Teſtament*, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere fooliſhneſſe. And ſo in this place the ſenſe of the Scripture is manifeſt. *For God brought out of the earth euery tree faire to ſight, and ſweet to taſte; the tree alſo of Life in the midſt of the garden*: which ſheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was alſo to be eaten. The report of this Tree was alſo brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigeſted matter or *Chaos*, *Heſiodus*, *Homer*, *Ouid*, and others, ſteale the inuention of the created world; ſo from the Garden of *Paradiſe*, they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Heſperides*: and from the tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, ſignifieth *making yong*, and *Ambroſia*, *immortalitie*; and therefore ſaid to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

§. II.

Of BECANVS *his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOw for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, ſome men haue preſumed farther, eſpecially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himſelfe the honor to haue found out the kinde of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer gheſſe at, whereat *Goropius* much marualleth. But as he had an inuentiue braine, ſo there neuer liued any man, that beleeued better thereof, and of himſelfe. Surely, howſoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vſurpeth the praiſe due to others, at leaſt if the inuention be at that price at which he ſetteth it. For *Moſes Bar-cephas* faſtened on this coniecture aboue ſixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Bar-cephas* himſelfe refereth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgenſis*, and others, whoſe very wordes *Goropius* vſeth, both concerning the Tree, and the reaſons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moſes Bar-cephas* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* (the firſt Part and *fol.* 49.) ſaith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*; *The Indian Fig-tree*, of which the greateſt plentie (ſaith *Becanus*) are found vpon the bankes of *Aceſines*, one of the Riuers which falleth into *Inaus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies in, or neere the Kingdome of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſſe of a great peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) ſomewhat bigger, and that it is a tree, *ſe ſemper ſerens*; *Alwayes planting it ſelfe*; that it ſpreadeth it ſelfe ſo farre abroade, as that a troupe of horſemen may hide themſelues vnder it. *Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downewards, and leaues no leſſe then a ſhield. *Ariſtobulus* affirmeth, that fiftie horſemen may ſhaddow themſelues vnder one of theſe trees. *Oneſicritus* raiſeth this number to foure hundred. This tree (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceedeth all other in bigneſſe, which alſo *Plinie* and *Oneſicritus* confirme: to the trunke of which, theſe Authors giue ſuch a magnitude, as I ſhame to repeate. But it may be, they all ſpeake by an ill-vnderſtood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not ſo rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiueth, who becauſe he found it no where elſe, would needes draw the garden of *Paradiſe* to the Tree, and ſet it by the Riuer *Aceſines*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my ſelfe haue ſeene twentie thouſand of them in one Valley, not farre from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: After they are firſt ſhot vp ſome twentie or thirtie foote in length (ſome more, ſome leſſe, according to the ſoile) they ſpread a very large top, hauing no bough nor twigge in the trunke or ſtemme: for from the vtmoſt end of the head branches there iſſueth out a gummie iuyce, which hangeth downe-ward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few Moneths reacheth the ground;

Plin. l. 12. c. 5.

Lib. 1. cap. 2.

ground; which it no ſooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it ſelfe a Tree exceeding haſtily. From the vtmoſt boughes of theſe yong Trees there fall againe the like cordes, which in one yeere and leſſe (in that World of a perpetuall ſpring) become alſo trees of the bigneſſe of the nether part of a lance, and as ſtraight, as arte or nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kinde of groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now one of theſe trees conſidered with all his yong ones, may (indeede) ſhrowd foure hundred or foure thouſand horſemen, if they pleaſe; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where theſe trees grow neere the Sea-banke, as they doe by thouſands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, ſhooting alway downeward to finde roote vnder water, are in thoſe Seas of the *Indies*, where Oyſters breed, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling vp one of theſe cordes out of the Sea, I haue ſeene fiue hundred Oyſters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oyſters grew on trees in *India*. But that they beare any ſuch huge leaues, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed a dozen miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This tree (ſaith he) was good for meate and pleaſing to the ſight, as the tree of Knowledge of good and euill is deſcribed to be.

Secondly, this tree hauing ſo huge a trunke (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* beleeueth) it was in this tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hid themſelues from the preſence of God, for no other tree (ſaith he) could contayne them. But firſt it is certayne, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunke or ſtemme, for among ten thouſand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the reſt, and theſe are all but of a meane ſize. Secondly, the wordes of *Moſes* tranſlated *in medio ligni*, are by all the interpreters vnderſtood in the plurall number (that is) *in the middeſt of the trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-cephas*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eue* found themſelues naked, *Gen. 3. 7.* they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeede) that either the tree it ſelfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neere it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſt with ſhame, did not runne vp and downe the garden to ſeeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it ſelfe; and theſe leaues of all other were moſt commodious by reaſon of their largeneſſe, which *Plinie* auoweth in theſe wordes; *Pl. l. 12. c. 5.* *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet*; *The breadth of the leaues hath the ſhape of an Amazonian ſhield*: which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Virg. AEn. l. 1. 494.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
PENTHESILÆA *furens.*

The Amazons with Creſcent-formed ſhield
PENTHESILÆA leades into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be beleeued, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credit to this his borrowed diſcouerie, vſing this confident (or rather cholericke) ſpeech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum* MOSIS *narratione comparet, vt audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers deliuered, with the narration of* MOSES, *as to dare to auow, that any other tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwere, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelfe, becauſe I neither find this tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſſe of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of theſe trees, neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of

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no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbeare to feede thereon, it pleased God to make tryall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quàm ad commendandum puræ ac simplicis Obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.* *August. de Ciuit Dei, l. 13. c. 20.*

§. III.

Of BECANVS *his not vnwittie allegorizing of the Storie of his* Ficus Indica.

BVt in this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few wordes. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downeward, and stouped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselues therein, and fastning themselues to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbragiousnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke and shaddowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, we haue all remained in the shaddow of death, till it pleased CHRIST to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning & redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith he) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shaddow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choller and bitternesse: so are our vanities and pleasures conuerted into the bittrest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, & publike ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, body, and boughes of this Tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpasse the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather fitting and becomming the vnworthyest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the poorest and basest Man, then such a flourishing statelinesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobayed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our sinnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, we vse so many vncharitable and cruell practices in this world,

§. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the storie of ADAMS *sinne.*

NOw, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Bar-cephas* an ancient *Syrian* Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this tree had no such vertue or qualitie, as that by the tasting thereof, there was

was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had beene ignorant before; but as *Iunius* also noteth: *Arbor scientiæ boni & mali (id est) experientiæ boni & mali ab euentu*; *The Tree of knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent*. For thus much we may conceiue, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phrase) by the workemanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whose seede all men liuing haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortalitie from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobaying of Gods commandement was the fearfullest euill, and the obseruation of his Precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health doe (notwithstanding) conceiue, that sickenesse is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselues they afterwards witnesse: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe another terror then he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie soule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods iudgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had tryall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be expreſt. He then saw himselfe naked both in body and minde; that is, depriued of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, & not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cause of the euent (as is aforesaid) so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of stones, called the *heape of witnesse*, betweene *Iacob* and *Laban*, not that the stones bare witnesse, but for a memorie of the couenant. So *Iacob* called the house of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the Well in the *Desart*, *Viuentis, & videntis*.

*Num.*20.13. *Gen.*26.20.21. *Cap.*31.48. *Cap.*28.19. *Cap.*16.14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge then he had perceiued in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his issues doe) into the miseries and sorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glorie which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward by the gentle winde of pleasing perswasions vnawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of *Satan*, who laboured to poyson mankinde in the very roote, which he moystned with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

*Bart. sem.*2.*l.*2. But what meanes did the Deuill finde out, or what instruments did his owne subtletie present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanitie of the woman; so as by *Adams* harkening to the voyce of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subiect of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a comforter and Companion, but not for a Counseller. *But because thou hast obayed the voyce of thy wife, &c.* (said God himselfe) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life*. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the most vgly and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Deuill entred and perswaded.

*Gen.*3.17.

Secondly, what was the motiue of her disobedience? euen a desire to know what was most vnfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath euer since remained in al the posteritie of her Sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her perswasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like consent, namely, an vnwillingnesse to grieue her and make her sad, lest shee should pine and be ouer-come with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Salomon* the sonne of *Dauid*, Gods chosen seruant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest

greatest wisedome, did both of them disobay their Creator, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a Woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages haue been allured to so many inconuenient and wicked practices, by the perswasions of their wiues, or other beloued Darlings, who couer ouer and shaddow many malicious purposes with a counterfait passion of dissimulate sorrow and vnquietnesse.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betweene the fall of ADAM, *and the floud of* NOAH.

§. I.

Of the cause and the reuenge of CAINS *sinne: and of his going out from God.*

THe same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possest *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (enuious of the acceptation of his Brothers prayer and sacrifice) slue him, making himselfe the first man-slayer, and his brother the first *Martyr*: the reuenge of which vnnaturall murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cryed out that his punishment was greater then he could beare: For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the sonnes of *Adam*, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) he destroyed all mankinde, but *Noah* and his family: for it is written. *The earth also was corrupt before God*: of which in the same place *Moses* giueth a reason, for saith he, *The earth was filled with crueltie*: and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto *Noah*, saying; *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with crueltie through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth*, or *from the earth*. Neither was this crueltie meant to haue beene in taking away the liues of men only, but in all sorts of Iniustice and Oppression. After this murther of ABEL, CAIN *went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of* NOD, *towards the East side of Eden*: in which wordes, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be vnderstood after the literall sense; God being wholly in all parts of the world: *Totus in cœlo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed vtrumq; simul*; *God* (saith S. AVGVSTINE) *is wholly in heauen, and wholly in earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; and that this is true, *Dauid* witnesseth: *If I be in heauen* (saith DAVID) *thou art there*; *if in hell, thou art there also*: but what is meant thereby? *Exijt à facie Dei* (saith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN *went out from the presence of the Lord* (that is) *he was left of God, disfauoured and bereaued of his protection.*

Gen.6.v.11.13.

Gen.4.v.16.

Aug. de Ciuitat. Dei, l.12.c.19.

Psal.139.8.

Chrysost. in Gen. Homil.2.

§. II.

§. II.

Of CAINS *dwelling in the Land of* NOD: *and of his Citie Enoch.*

Hieron.rad. Hebr. THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, S. *Hierome* and many others vnderſtand to ſignifie wandring, or incertayne habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Iunius*; but the Seuentie conuert it otherwiſe, and take *Nod* for the

Ioſeph.l.1.c.3. proper name of a Countrie, and ſo doth *Ioſephus*. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, then any thing elſe, and that his thoughts and conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the murther committed, iuſtly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence:

Gen.4.14. *And whoſoeuer findeth me* (ſaith CAIN) *ſhall ſlay me.* Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word *(dwelt)* for dwelling ſignifieth an abiding: and we call thoſe people Wanderers and Vagabonds that haue no

Gen.4.16. dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifeſt, *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the Eaſt ſide of *Eden*. Secondly, it is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the

17. preſence or fauour of God, he built a Citie, and called it by the name of his firſt borne, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortifie himſelfe againſt reuenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Chriſt*, and of the *Iewes*; and that as *Cain*, after that he had ſlaine *Abel* vniuſtly, had thenceforth no certayne abiding in the world: ſo the *Iewes*, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the *Iewes* had neuer ſince any certayne Eſtate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne vpon the earth. Now this Land of *Nod*, *Iunius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a Region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Deſart is not Eaſtward, or on the Eaſt part of *Eden*, neither are theſe *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all theſe, in what part of the world ſoeuer, which in old time liued by paſtorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland)* vpon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes, *Nomades*, and by the Latines, *Paſtores vagi*, as the Northerne *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Brittans*, and the Northerne *Iriſh*: yea, ſuch were the inhabitants of *Italie* it ſelfe, till ſuch time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the huſbandrie of tillage, vſed at this day. But the Region Eaſtward from *Eden* is that part of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolemie*, *Calena*, which alſo might be deriued of *Carena*, the Countrie of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in thoſe parts, it may be gathered by the

Verſ. 23. firſt poſſeſſion of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, GEN.3. *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken:* and in the

24. Verſe following: *Thus he caſt out man, &c. and at the Eaſt ſide of the garden of Eden he ſet the Cherubins:* which ſheweth that the entrie into *Paradiſe* was from the Eaſt, by which entrance *Adam* was caſt out, and therefore inhabiting on that ſide of *Paradiſe* which was Eaſtward, according to the Text. *Cain* alſo in the ſame Region ſought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe ſignifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitiue, we can giue no longer time to this vncertayne habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the Citie of *Enoch*, the firſt of the world, which he incloſed either for his owne defence, or (as *Ioſephus* writeth) to oppreſſe others thereby. So as for mine owne opinion, I am reſolued with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (vagabond) which *Cain* vſeth of himſelfe, it ſeemeth by the perclose of the ſame Verſe, that (vagabond) is therein vnderſtood for ſuch an one as trauaileth in feare of reuengement: *for whoſoeuer findeth me* (ſaith CAIN) *ſhall ſlay me*; or elſe (vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and caſt out from the fauour of God.

And becauſe theſe *Henochians*, ſo called of the Citie *Henoch*, were the firſt ſocietie and ciuill aſſembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of theſe people (either for crueltie, ſtrength, or other actions) liued in the memorie of *Noah* and his ſonnes; ſo that

that after the Floud (as there were of all ſorts of natures, ſome vertuouſly, ſome impiouſly diſpoſed, and euery actiue minde ſetting before it whom to follow or imitate) thoſe people, which delighted in crueltie and oppreſſion tooke on them their names whoſe natures they moſt liked and allowed; of whom theſe *Henochians* were not the leaſt. Perchance the place it ſelfe where *Henoch* ſtood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remaine (as the pillars or the foundation of *Ioppe* did) gaue occaſion to the Planters of that place to cal themſelues by the ſame names: for of thoſe *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the ſame name many Mountaines, as thoſe which are otherwiſe called *Coraxici*. And ſeeing that it is hard to find out the truth of theſe things, which the moſt aged Time hath couered ouer or defaced, we may (according to the counſaile of *Plato*) exceedingly reioyce, and therewith ſatisfie our ſelues, if of ſo great and almoſt worne-out antiquitie, if of the eldeſt peoples names and Nations there remaine any print or foot-ſteps to Poſteritie.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, noua vrbium fundamẽta iaciuntur, noua Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus priorib⁹) oriuntur, Seneca ad Albinum.

In * *Plinie*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, wee finde thoſe *Henochei* deſcribed, though diuerſly written, as in *Plinie*, ſometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela Eniochi*, in *Flaccus Heniochi*, in *Lucan Enochij*, all which inhabite vpon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of theſe are on the Eaſt ſide of *Eden*, or (according to *Moſes* words) Eaſtward from *Eden*. For *Moſes*, in all places where he deſcribeth any Region, was ſo exceeding preciſe, as ſometime hee vſeth the word Eaſt or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eaſtward or Southward, or towards the Eaſt or South. In the place of *Geneſis* the eleuenth hee writeth the word (Eaſt) ſimply and directly. *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*, but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod towards the Eaſt ſide of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining ſome one point or two eyther to the North or to the South of the Eaſt.

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9. 11. & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. vlt. Strabo lib. 11. Val. Flacc. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37. & v. 2.*

But as we may coniecture that theſe Nations tooke name of *Henoch*, the Citie of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it ſtood, when the ſame was repeopled after the Floud: ſo it is probable that theſe *Henochij* of *Colchis*, and other parts adioyning, were not the firſt of that name, after the ſonnes of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: becauſe, had this *Henoch* the Citie of *Cain* ſtood in any of theſe parts, it had then beene ſeated North, and not Eaſt or Eaſtward from *Eden*. But as *Plinie* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, ſo afterwards he goeth on Eaſtward, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth theſe of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomie Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fiftie myle Eaſtward hee findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond theſe againe hee diſcouereth a third Nation, from whence all the reſt tooke beginning, which inhabited on the Weſt ſide of the Mountaines of *Paro-paniſus*, betweene them and the great Riuer of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North ſide; and theſe *Henochij* are due Eaſt from the Region of *Eden*, and Eaſtward from the very Garden it ſelfe.

Plin. l. 6. c. 4. 5. Ptol. tab. Aſiæ. 3.

And although we cannot be aſſured, that theſe *Henochij* tooke name from the memory of the Citie of *Enoch* directly; yet becauſe they inhabited due Eaſt from *Paradiſe*, and afterwards ſpred themſelues Weſtward (as all *Noahs* ſonnes did that came into *Shinar*) the coniecture is farre more probable, then that of *Annius* the Fryer, who ſets *Henoch* in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moſes* word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly Weſt.

And beſides theſe ſeueral Nations of the *Henochij*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the ſame alſo in the Eaſt, with diuers Mountaines about *Bactria* and *Segdiana* of the ſame name. Onely the *Grecians* (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things elſe) out of the word (*Heniothi*) which ſignifieth Carts or Coachmen, make theſe Nations to haue ſprung from the Waggoners of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (to wit) AMPHITES and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprize of *Iaſon* into *Colchos*. And though I doe not deny, but that *Iaſon* with other *Greekes* ranged the Coaſts

Steph. de Vrb.

Nat. Comes calleth them *Rhecas. Nat. Com. l. 8. c. 9.*

Coasts of *Asia* the lesse in an open Boate or kind of small Galley,* of whom I shal speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boate, which could hardly carie their owne Rowers, being foure and fiftie, there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

*Strab.l.11.
*In the second Booke of this first Part, Cap. 13.§.5.

§. III.

Of MOSES *his omitting sundry things concerning* CAINS *Generation.*

BVT of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Citie of *Henoch* in prophane Story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answere some few obiections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (hauing no other assistance then his sonne *Henoch*) to performe such a worke as the building of a Citie, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious race) MOSES vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first race, which wasted by the least account, 1656. yeeres, in fiue short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. and 900. yeeres, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leasure and meanes to build many such Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacitie answering to what other of the World soeuer: for in what age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his issues *Moses* had the least care. And as it was sayd of *Cain*, that he built a Citie: so was it sayd of *Noah*, that his three sonnes peopled all the World; but in both, the processe of time required to bee vnderstood: which aduice seeing *Moses* vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the birth of *Abel*, and oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos* or *à fine dierum* (that is) in processe of time, *it came to passe that* CAIN *brought an Oblation.* And therefore it is in like sort to bee vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeeres fore-gone, and when his people were increased, he built the Citie of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that hee built the Temple of *Hierusalem*; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that hee employed in that worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say, The King inuaded; when hee caused an inuasion to bee made: and hee built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing wee find, that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* issues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also passeth ouer in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: CAIN *also knew his wife, who conceiued and bare* HENOCH, *and hee built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his sonne* HENOCH. *And to* HENOCH *was borne* IRAD, *and* IRAD *begat* MEHVIAEL, *and* MEHVIAEL *begat* METHVSAEL, *and* METHVSAEL LAMECH.

2.King 6.

Gen.4.17.

18.

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. *And* SETH *lived* 105. *yeeres, and begat* ENOCH, *and* SETH *lived after hee begat* ENOCH 807. *yeeres, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so as all the dayes of* SETH *were* 912. *yeeres, and hee dyed:* as for the yeeres and times of the wicked, they were not numbred *in libro viuentium*, sayth CYRIL. But in SETH was the Church of GOD established, from whom *Christ* descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke *Mo-*

C.6.v.5.

ses

ſes walked in, and finiſhed it with care, paſſing ouer the Reprobate Generation (as aforeſayd. Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moſes* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* alſo therein, as followeth:

1. ADAM.

2. *Cain.*	2. *Seth.*
3. *Henoch.*	3. *Enoſh.*
4. *Irad.*	4. *Cainan.*
5. *Mahuiael.*	5. *Mahaleel.*
6. *Mathuſael.*	6. *Iarad.*
7. *Lamech*, who by *Ada* had	7. *Henoch.*
8. *Iubal* and *Tubal*, and by *Silla*	8. *Mathuſalem.*
Tubalcain, and *Noema.*	9. *Lamech*, and
	10. *Noah.*

Theſe be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Ioſephus* giueth vnto *Lamech* threeſcore and ſeuenteene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two wiues *Ada*, and *Silla*: and to theſe three ſonnes of *Lamech*, *Moſes* aſcribeth the inuention of Paſtorage, of Muſicke, and the working in Metall; for it ſeemeth that *Iubal* firſt gathered together, and made familiar thoſe beaſts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into Heards and Droues: *Tubal* inuented Muſicke, and *Tubalcain* the working in Braſſe and Iron: the one being addicted to Huſbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to idleneſſe and pleaſure. In whom began theſe three meaner degrees of Sheep-heards, Handy-crafts-men, and Muſicians. And in the iſſues of *Seth* began the Seruices of God, Diuinitie, Prophecie, and Aſtronomie: the children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth. *Gen.* 4. 20. 21. 22

§. IIII.

Of the diuerſities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their children.

A Second ſcruple hath beene made, How it came to paſſe that the *Patriarchs* begat their children at ſo diuers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at ſeuentie yeeres, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threeſcore and fiue yeeres, whereas *Iared* begat not any of his vntill hee was 162. yeeres olde: *Mathuſalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeeres. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, becauſe it cannot be coniectured, that eyther *Iared*, *Mathuſalem*, or *Lamech* abſtained from marriage out of the Religion of abſtinence, ſeeing that *Enoch*, who was tranſlated by God for his ſingular ſanctities, begat children before he was threeſcore and ten yeeres olde.

The apparent difference hereof ariſeth in this, that *Moſes* did not number the generations before the Floud preciſely, according to the firſt begotten and eldeſt ſonnes of the *Patriarchs*, but he drew downe the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Anceſtors, were they elder or yonger as hee found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldeſt of *Iarad*, nor *Lamech* the firſt borne of *Mathuſalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrarie, but that *Noah* might haue had many ſonnes before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*, though theſe three were only named, and ſuruiuing, and which by God were reſerued to bee the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to bee begotten by *Kenan* at threeſcore and ten yeeres who was the firſt ſonne of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Mathuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. yeere of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* reiecteth all the other ſonnes of *Mathuſalem* but *Lamech* only, becauſe he was the Father of *Noah* as aforeſaid.

foresaid. Of this Saint *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his 20. and 21. Chapters *De Ciuitate Dei.*

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first age, and so to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him, so doth S. *Matthew* recite the Genealogie of *Christ*, not by the eldest sonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-borne, who haue hereby the prerogatiue in Estates, worldly and transitorie only; and therefore the *Euangelist* nameth *Isaac*, and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Iacob* the yonger, and not *Esau* the elder; neyther is *Christ* deriued from any of the three eldest *Patriarchs*, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Leui*, but from *Iuda* a fourth brother, and so from *Dauid* a yonger sonne of *Iessai*; and lastly we find, that the Kingdome it selfe of *Iuda* was not giuen to the Heire in nature, but to the Heire of grace, namely *Salomon*.

*Mat.*1.2.

1.*Kings* 2.

§. V.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs: and some of late memorie.

THE third Obiection is, that the great difference of yeeres betweene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well-neere seene a thousand yeeres, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-ages, seeing, that soone after the Floud, men liued not a third part of that time, and in succeeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

They that haue hereon resolued that those yeeres were but Lunarie yeeres, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* yeeres, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enosh* in the yeere of his life 105. if those yeeres bee taken but for Moneths, then had *Seth* liued but eight yeeres and one Moneth when hee begat *Enosh*: and if the time of *Enosh* haue the same allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time haue beene but sixe yeeres and fortie eight weekes old; and so it may be gathered of the rest; excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to giue an abilitie of Generation at 6. 7. or 8. yeeres, agreeth with the short liues of the *Pigmies*, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workemanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the World, had length of daies and ability of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunarie yeeres, then there would follow this extremitie, that those which liued longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeeres, had by that account but the time of fourescore and tenne and odde yeeres, which were not only lesse by farre then the *Patriarchs* liued after the Floud, but short of many mens liues in this decrepit age of the World, wherein many exceed fourescore, and some hundred yeeres. Further (if need bee) to disprooue this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.*25. That *Abraham* dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeeres: all which (if the former account were of Lunarie yeeres) makes but seuentoene and an halfe of our yeeres.

*Solin. Poli. Hist. cap.*3. *Macrob. Satur. lib.*1. *cap.*3. *Plin. l.*7. *c.*48.

And if we seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equall strength or little differing: for of the first and purest seed there must of necessitie spring vp the fairest and fruitfullest Plants. Secondly, the Earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yeelded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmefull qualitie, as since that time the Curse of God for the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and Mankind: Neither had the Waters of the Floud infused such an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and Fruits vpon the Earth receiued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of strength, and another

other of weakneſſe, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformitie: ſo Time it ſelfe (vnder the deathfull ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Man, and Beaſts, and Plants; yea the Heauens themſelues being of a moſt pure and clenſed matter, ſhall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generatiue in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receiue operatiue vertue from the ſuperiour. *Pſal.*102.v.26.

But beſides the olde age of the World, how farre doth our education and ſimplicitie of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of children, firſt fed and nouriſhed with the milke of a ſtrange Dugge; an vnnaturall curioſitie hauing taught all women (but the begger) to find out Nurſes, which neceſſitie only ought to commend vnto them: The haſtie marriages in tender yeeres, wherein, Nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelfe hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintaine her owne top; and ſuch halfe-ripe ſeeds (for the moſt part) in their growing vp wither in the bud, and waxe olde euen in their infancie. But aboue all things the exceeding luxurioufneſſe of this glutonous Age, wherein we preſſe Nature with ouer-waightie burdens, and finding her ſtrength defectiue, we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of ſtrong Waters, hot Spices, and prouoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

O prodiga rerum *Pharſal.l.4.*
Luxuries, nunquam paruo contenta paratu:
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoq́; ciborum
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,
Diſcite quàm paruo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum Natura petat.
Non auro myrrhâq́; bibunt: ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis fluuiuſq́; Cereſq́;.

O waſtfull Riot, neuer well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea farre fetcht and ſent:
Vaine glorie of a Table ſumptuous,
Learne with how little life may be preſerued.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carrouſe,
But with the Brooke the peoples thirſt is ſerued:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not ſterued.

The *Ægyptians* affirme, that the longeſt time of mans life is a hundred yeeres, becauſe the heart in a perfect bodie waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fiftie yeeres, and afterwards by the ſame degree decaieth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophie, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeeres, and *Beroſus* to a hundred and ſeuenteene yeeres. Theſe opinions *Plinie* repeateth and reproueth, producing many Examples to the contrary. In the laſt taxation, number and reuiew of the eighth Region of *Italie*, there were found in the Roll (ſayth *Plinie*) foure and fiftie perſons of an hundred yeeres of age: ſeuen and fiftie of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and fiue and twentie: foure, of an hundred and thirtie: as many that were hundred and fiue and thirtie, or hundred and ſeuen and thirtie yeeres old: and laſt of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpaſian* the Father and the Sonne. *Pier.Hierog.l.2.* *Plin.l.7.c.29.*

The ſimple dyet and temperate life of the *Eſſeans* gaue them long account of many yeeres: ſo did it to the Secretaries of *Ægyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Perſians Magicians* and *Indian Brachmans*. The *Greekes* affirme out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* liued three Ages, and *Tireſias* ſixe, *Sybilla* three hundred yeeres, *Endymion* of the leſſe *Aſia* little *Ioſeph.antiq.l.13 cap.8.* *Plin.l.7.c.48.*

little lesse: Also *Masanissa* of *Numidia* liued very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many liued three hundred yeeres (sayth *Ephorus.*) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them liue full two hundred yeere: and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Ægyptians*; and that these reports are not fabulous; *Iosephus* bringeth many witnesses with himselfe, as *Marethon*, *Berosius*, *Mochus*, *Estius*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthonie Fume* an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeere 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, Generall of the *Turkes* Armie, who had out-liued three hundred yeeres. I my selfe knew the old Countesse of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who liued in the yeere 1589. and many yeeres since, who was married in *Edward* the Fourths time, and held her Ioynture from all the Earles of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witnesse. *Strozzius Cigogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffaus*, and the like Authours, telleth of some that haue not only farre exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but beene repayred from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betweene the abilitie of men in those dayes wherein *Galen* the Phisician liued, it may easily proue vnto vs what reeds weare in respect of those Cedars of the first age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud sixe pound weight, whereas wee (for the most part) stop at sixe Ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and thin Ayre, and temperate vse of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on Ayre wee feed alwayes and in euery instant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heauy load of abundance, wherewith we oppresse and ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayre, and a temperate vse of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that ENOCH *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Storie thereof written, and if any such had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memorie of Antiquitie perished in the Vniuersall Floud.

But if we consider the curiositie and policie of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Iewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreuerent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoeuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wise men to a posteritie equally zealous;

Dion. Arcop. *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Esdras Origen*,

Fol. 18. and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiueth) that *Moses* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a more secret and true explanation of the Law*; which (saith he, out of the same Authours,) hee deliuered by mouth to *Iosuah*, and *Iosuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which hee called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter Porcos spargere Margaritas, then to giue holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine.* In succeeding times this vnderstanding and wisedome began to bee written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beasts, birds,

birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as serued in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Iewes* was an imitation: the inuention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, receiued by tradition and vnwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in Latine, and a *receiuing* in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* & *Bards* of our ancient *Brittaines*, and of later times by the *Irish Chroniclers* called *Rymers*. If then such as would seeme wisest in the vse of reason, will not acknowledge, that the storie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vsed) be deliuered vnto him by a more certayne presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquitie had preserued and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniurie of the time and other hazzards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* liued together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred sortie and three yeeres, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no lesse then fiue hundred yeeres: and before *Noah* dyed, *Abraham* was fiftie and eight yeeres old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinarie way might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

Cabala est scientia Theologiæ non reuelata, P. M. 82. Mirand. 110. fol

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancie of the world, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Iosephus* affirmeth, that one of them remayned euen in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch* Saint *Iude* testifieth; and some part of his Bookes (which contayned the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queene of *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had seene and read some whole pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and storie of the first Age, seeing he might receiue it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Ios. l. 1.

Iud. Ep. v. 14.

Origen. Homil. 1 in Num.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, how soeuer some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to proue them vnwritten traditions, alleageth that Pope *Gelasius* among other the *Apocryphall* Scriptures (which he reiecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoeuer was remembred out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the *Iewes*. But I rather thinke with *Pererius*, that such a Booke there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquitie thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Deuill about the body of *Moses*, to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neither *Philo*, nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint AVGVSTINE, *Scripsisse quidem nonnulla diuina* ENOCH *illum septimum ab* ADAM *negare non possumus: That* ENOCH *the seuenth from* ADAM *did write diuers diuine things we cannot denie.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquitie, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Booke was found amongst those *Canonicall Scriptures*, kept by the diligence of the *Hebrew* Priests in *Armario Iudaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preserued by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembred by *Iude*, no man can denie;

Orig. Homil. 28. in Num. & Comment. in Euang. Ioan. Gelas. dist. 15.

Tertul. de habit. mulierum.

denie; how they were deliuered to posteritie I know not; whether by the *Iewes Cabala*, or by what other meanes, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heauens, and of the Natures
Hebr.11.5. and coniunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seene and might preserue this booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath beene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Methusalem*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceiue how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the vndoubted word of God neede of any other proofe then selfe-authoritie.

§. VII.

Of the men of renowme before the flood.

NOw let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seuen descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in stead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publike. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publikely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the sonne of *Iared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moses*, but their owne births, the births of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Henoch*
Gen.5.24. it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more seene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a iust and vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obayed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*.
6.9. NOAH *was a iust and vpright man in his time, and* NOAH *walked with God.* The Seuentie conuert it, ENOCH *placuit Deo*; HENOCH *pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, *(tulit eum Deus:) scilicet, mortuus est; God tooke him away (that is) he dyed*, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betweene the pietie of *Henoch* and the rest of the *Patriarchs*, and by omitting the word (death) which he vseth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolued as the rest. For to all the rest of the *Patriarchs*, *Moses* vseth these wordes, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing*, or *he was not seene*. *Et non inueniebatur* (saith the Epistle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away.* In the same place it is expresly added, *that he saw not death.*

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kind of changing,
1.Cor.15.51. which S. *Paul* promiseth, when he saith, that *when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed*, I leaue it to the learned Diuines.

After *Henoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: sauing that *Lamech* prophecied of his
Gen.5.29. sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, then of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten
Gen.6.9. generations of the first Age, whom God (with his familie) preserued, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God.

But

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and policie of these strong and mightie men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memorie remayning: whose stories if they had beene preserued, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the world, there could nothing of more delight haue beene left to posteritie. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeeres) how much of necessitie must the same adde of wisedome and vndertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoeuer can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to HIPPOCRATES: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus praeceps*, (which is) *Life is short, Arte is long, and Time is headlong.* And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of MOSES: *These were mightie men, which in old time were men of renowne.* But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body and crueltie of minde) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the pietie of *Seth*, and the wayes wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, only euill, and continually euill.* And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersall, when the children and sonnes of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous Wiues, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, louing themselues and the world only.

Aphor. 1. *Gen. 5. 4.* *Vers. 5.*

That these *sonnes of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely, *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*, misled by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselues with large answeres and very needlesse: the question being vncapable of dispute, especially since S. *Chrysostome* and S. *Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honored with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwayes attend his Commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrarie both to Nature and Grace, were more then madnesse to imagine.

Gen. 5. v. 24.

§. VIII.

That the Giants by MOSES *so called, were indeede men of huge bodies: as also diuers in later times.*

OF these Giants which *Moses* calleth mightie men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strained his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (whosoeuer desires to lose time) he may finde them in the Treatises beforenamed. It is true that *Cyrillus* reproues the *Grecian* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesly, That the Giants haue in elder times not only cast vp Mountaynes vpon Mountaynes, but remoued *Islands* out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vp Hils, and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by the

the Earth the Daughters of men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Ceſſam* (who hath written a wittie diſcourſe of this ſubiect) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cæleſtes illos dixêre Gigantes
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & ſanguine cæli.

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, ô heauen, they came,
Whom thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and ſelfe-beleeuing men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceiue that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of men; and of which there haue beene in all times ſince? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlatiue ſtrayning of wordes, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors, becauſe they were Giants, and therefore had abilitie to oppreſſe, then ſay, That they were called Giants onely, becauſe Oppreſſors. For firſt, *Moſes* himſelfe calleth them mightie men; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vndertaking and aduenterous action. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and abilitie had not beene found among diuers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of *Moſes* haue more willingly harkened to a diſpute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I will reſerue to accompanie the Giants of *Albion*, in the ſtorie of *Britanie*) the Scriptures doe cleerely and without all allegoricall conſtruction auow, That, beſides *Nimrod*, there were found of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Ioſua*, and of *Dauid*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*: whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*: Likewiſe, where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he vſeth theſe words: *That alſo was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times*: and, *whom the Ammonites call Zamzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And theſe Giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* ouer-threw, aſſiſted by other Kings his aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of Giantlike ſtature, whom he compareth to the *Cedar*, and whoſe ſtrength to the *Okes*; and the Prophet BARVCH, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in warre.* Particularly it is written of *Og*, King of *Baſan*, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Baſan* remayned of the remnants of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of *Baſan*, foure hundred yeeres after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreouer, thoſe Diſcouerers and Searchers of the Land of promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their returne of the great ſtature of thoſe people in generall, and eſpecially of the ſonnes of *Anak*, in theſe wordes: *All the people which we ſaw in it are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the ſonnes of* ANAK, *which come of the Giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſights like Graſſe-hoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight*, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne iudgements a marualous difference between the *Anakims* and themſelues: inſomuch that the *Iſraelites* were ſo ſtricken with feare, as they rather ſought and deſired to returne againe into *Ægypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlauerie, then to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearefull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of ſixe cubits and a ſpan long: the Armor which he wore waighed fiue thouſand ſhickles of braſſe: the ſhaft of his ſpeare

was

Gen.14.5. *Num.15.34.* *Deut.2.v.21.20* *Verſ.21.* *Amos c.1.* *Bar.3.v.26.* *Deut.3.v.11.* *Num.13.v.34.* *Cap.14.4.* *1.Sam.17.4.*

was like a Weauers beame, and his ſpeare head waighed ſixe hundred ſhickles of yron. Alſo in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauids* Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, euen foure and twentie. 2.*Sam.*21.*v.*19. 1.*Chron.*20.21.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lyon as it had beene a Kid, and after ſlue thirtie of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Iaw-bone of an Aſſe: And laſtly, he tooke the gates of *Azzah*, and the two Poſts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his ſhoulders, and carryed them to the top of the Mountayne before *Ebron*. *Iud.*14.6. 14.19. 16.3.

If then it be approued by euery iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelfe) infeebled and almoſt worne out the vertue of all things, then I ſay, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her yong ones more ſtrong and beautifull, then it did in after-ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mightie men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his owne time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinarie proportion of all men in generall, ſoone after the floud and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the world: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſſe of the world.

But the wickedneſſe (eſpecially in crueltie and oppreſſion) of theſe men was ſuch, as God therefore by the floud gaue end to all fleſh, but to the iuſt *Noah* and his family. *And God repented him that he had made man*, which *S. Auguſtine* thus expoundeth: *Neq; enim ſicut hominem, ita Deum facti ſui pœnitet, cuius eſt de omnibus omninò rebus tam fixa ſententia, quàm certa præſcientia. Sed ſi non vtatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non ſe quodammodo familiarius inſinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult eſſe conſultum: vt & perterreat ſuperbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes*; God (ſaith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men vſe to doe) but if the Scripture did not vſe thoſe wordes or the like, it ſhould not (in a ſort) inſinuate it ſelfe familiarly to all ſorts of men, for whom it would prouide: that it might terrifie the proud, ſtirre vp the negligent, exerciſe the ſearchers of truth, and nouriſh thoſe that vnderſtand.* Gen.6.6. De Ciuit.Dei l.15.c.25.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§. I.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.

HERE before wee proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the *Greekes* and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a mystical sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, haue sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receiue those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inuentions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned *Chymist* can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of the most healthfull herbs and plants (all things hauing in themselues both life and death) so, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the *Heathen*, may those which seeke after God and Truth finde out euery-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Storie of the first Age, with all the workes and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely expreſt.

§. II.

That the corruptions themselues were very ancient: as in the family of NOAH, *and in the old Ægyptians.*

BVt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankinde it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being with-drawne) all the posteritie of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the generall floud could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of *Noah*, there were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of *Sem* did inherit the vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sonnes of *Cham* did possesse the vices of the sonnes of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldeans* began soone after the floud to ascribe diuine power and honor to the Creature,

ture, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians* did not only learne to leaue the true God, but created twelue seuerall gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped; and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* sayth, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in vsu habuisse, atq; Græcos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, eosq; prius aras, & imagines, & templa Dijs sibi erexisse; The Ægyptians* (sayth he) *first deuised the names of the twelue Gods, which the Greekes receiued from them, who first erected vnto themselues Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.* Herod. in Euterpe.

§. III.

That in processe of time these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the grosse Superstitions of the Ægyptians.

BVT as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euermore in vices vnknowne, and daily trauaile towardes their eternall perdition: so did these grosse and blind Idolaters euery Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very GOD; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortall men only, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passions and and Affections of the Minde, to Paleneſſe, Sickneſſe, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnworthy and baseſt of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner. Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7

Bouem colis, ego Deis macto bouem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suauissimum.
Carnes suillas tu canes, at gaudeo
Hijs maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem vbi deprehendo fortè obsonium.

I sacrifice to God the Beese, which you adore.
I broyle the *Ægyptian* Eeles, which you (as God) implore:
You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I find it sweet.
You worship Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet,
When they my store deuoure.

And in this manner IVVENAL.

Porrum aut cepe nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hac nascuntur in hortis
Numina! Sat. 15. 9.

The *Ægyptians* thinke it sinne to root vp, or to bite
Their Leekes or Onyons, which they serue with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their owne sowing
Haue store of gods in euery Garden growing!

§. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient Records among the Ægyptians and others the first Idols and Fables were inuented: and that the first IVPITER *was* CAIN, VVLCAN, TVBALCAIN, *&c.*

BVT in so great a confusion of vanities, were among the Heathens themselues there is no agreement or certaintie, it were hard to finde out from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borrowed, or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were it not certaine, that the *Ægyptians* had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoeuer was done therein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or metall remaining after the Floud, and partly from *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, who had learnt the same of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*. For all that the *Ægyptians* write of their ancient Kings, and date of times cannot be fained. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Iupiters* also, their *Saturnes*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries* with the rest, which S. *Augustine* out of *Varro*, *Eusebius* out of many prophane Historians; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more haue obserued, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greekes*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the sonne of *Adam* (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Iupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturne*: for *Iupiter* was sayd to haue inuented the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochij* before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Higinus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that, many Cities were founded by diuers men; *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo* IOVÆ *adificatam: yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient* IVPITER, seated in the East parts, or in *India*, according to that of MOSES: *And* CAIN *dwelt towards the East side of Eden, &c.* where also the *Henochij* were found after the Floud. And therefore was *Iupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an Incloser or strengthener of Cities; (say *Phornutus* and *Pausanias*) and that to *Iupiter Herceios* there were in very many places Altars & Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after Mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which as his meaning hee deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud.

Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Ciuit. Dei. Euseb. l. 1. Præp. Euang. c. 7. & li. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 3. de nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. contra Gent.

Gen. 4. 16.

Phorn. l. de natura Deorum. Pausan. l. 4. 5. & 10. in Prolago.

This first *Iupiter* of the *Ethnickes* was then the same *Cain*, the sonne of *Adam*, who marrying his owne Sister (as also *Iupiter* is sayd to haue done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de vrbibus* placeth the Citie *Henochia*. And besides this Citie of *Henoch*, *Philo Iudæus* conceiueth that *Cain* built sixe others, as *Maich*, *Iared*, *Tebe*, *Iesca*, *Selet* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Iupiter*, and from whom also the *Ethnickes* had the inuention of Sacrifice: so were *Iubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (Inuentors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan* and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelihood of name betweene *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Naamath*, the Sister of *Tubalcain*, to signifie *Venusta*, or beautifull *Voluptas*, or pleasure; as the wife of *Vulcan* is sayd to be *Venus*, the Ladie of pleasure and beautie. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturne*, *Cain* the eldest *Iupiter*, *Eua*, *Rhea*, and *Noema* or *Naamah* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the diuiding of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Saturne* arise, from the true Storie of the diuiding of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Noah*: so also was the Fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon taken from the Serpent, which tempted *Euah*: so was *Paradise* it selfe transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the prophecies, that

Gen. 4. 20. 21. 22

Lact. l. 4. c. 27.

Christ

Chriſt ſhould breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occaſioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Heſperides*, and deſcending into Hell, and captiuating *Cerberus*: ſo out of the taking vp of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the conuerſion of their *Heroes* (the Inuentors of Religion, and ſuch Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heauenly Signes, and (withall) that leauing of the World, and aſcenſion of *Aſtræa*; of which *Ouid*:

Vltima cæleſtûm terras Aſtræa reliquit; *Ouid. Met. l. 1.*
Aſtræa laſt of heauenly Wights the Earth did leaue.

For although thereby the *Ethnickes* would vnderſtand Iuſtice it ſelfe to haue failed, as it is a vertue abſtract, and may bee conſidered without a perſon; yet as it is vſual among the ancient Potes to deſcribe Vertues and Vices by the perſons of Men and Women, as Deſire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beautie or Luſt by *Venus*, ſo doe they alſo the perſons of Men by like Vertues and Vices, and therfore by Iuſtice and *Aſtræa*, *Enoch*: the Iuſtice and pietie of *Enoch* being in the ſame manner expreſt, as that of *Noah* was by *Moſes*, for *Noah* was ſayd to be a iuſt man; *And* NOAH *walked with God.* And of *Enoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and hee was no more ſeene: for God tooke him away.* *Nat. Com. l. 2 c. 2* *V. 1.* *Gen. 7.* *Gen. 5. 22. 24.*

From this Storie alſo of the firſt Age, and from that part where *Moſes* remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sonnes of good men vpon the Daughters of the wicked (whom *Moſes* calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they ſteale thoſe wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken againſt the gods, from the building of the Towre of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimord*, as *S. Auguſtine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants *Cornelius Seuerus* thus deſcriberh: *L. de Ciuit. Dei.*

Tentauêre (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captiuiq; Iouis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cælo.

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand
Againſt the Starres, to thruſt them headlong downe,
And robbing Iove of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquered Heauens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purpoſed to raiſe the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction of the Starres, ſhould bury them vnder the moyſture of a ſecond Floud, but that by this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heauen it ſelfe. Alſo the making of Leagues, Peace and Couenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eight and twelfth of his *Æneides* hath a touch, was as it ſeemeth borrowed from *Moſes*, *Exod.* 24. Who when he read the Booke of the Couenant, ſprinkled the people with bloud.

We find alſo many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Anceſter of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the ſame King of *Ægypt*, which raigned at ſuch time as *Moſes* carried thence the children of *Iſrael*, (as of late ſome learned men miſtaking his time ſuppoſed) called his Sonne and Succeſſour *Setho*, of *Seth*, and of the ſame *Seth* (as many men of good iudgement haue granted) were the Princes of *Thrace* called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of *Seth* moſt manifeſtly preſerued, that the *Ægyptians* worſhipped *Seth*, as their moſt ancient parent, and of the firſt tradition: in honour of whome they called a principall Prouince *Sethetica*. Wee alſo finde in *Bithynia* the Citie of *Sethia*, and others of the ſame name elſewhere. And ſure from the *Ægyptians* did the *Gracians* borrow *Ioſeph. l. 1 contra Appian.* *Plut. in Iſide.* *Strab. l. 17.*

this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceding their owne; and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idols which the *Ægyptians* did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest IVPITERS; *and the strange Storie of the third.*

BVT of all those Armies of *Iupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers haue also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Æther* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for *æther* is as much as shining or pure fire) the other discouered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to bee the sonne of *Cœlum* or Heauen, for the same former respect; and this *Iupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third of whom all the *Grecian* Fables were deuised, was of *Creet* (now *Candie*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of *Iuuans Pater*, from the Greeke Word *Zeus*, it signifieth life, but somewhat strained. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the gods conceiueth, that his name was borrowed from *Iupiter* the Planet; but whether that Starre had such a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. *Iupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called there after *Iupiter*; but howsoeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sirnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honor and reputation in the World, (howsoeuer deserued) as the worthiest, that euer were, acquired by their well deseruings. *Ioues omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui, The Ancients called all Kings* IVPITERS, *as* TZETZES in his *Varia historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim* IOVES *vocârunt omnes: In olde times all Nations called their Kings* IVPITERS. But where this last and most remembred IVPITER was borne it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Creet*: others, that hee was but sent thither by his Mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to bee fostered and hidden from the furie of *Titan* his Vncle: because it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a yonger brother, and raigning (for his owne life) by *Titans* permission, hee should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is fained that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7

Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quòd sit ipse filijs.

Saturne to be the fatter is not knowne,
By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Sybilla* also witnesseth in these;

Conceptis verbis; TITAN *iurare coegit*
SATVRNVM, *de se natum ne nutriat vllum,*
Quo possint regnare senis post fata Nepotes.

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturne* sweare
No Sonne to nourish; which by raigning might
Vsurpe the right of *Titans* lawfull Heire.

But

But *Opis* the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, conueied *Iupiter* (first called *Lysanias*) into *Crete*, as shee did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where hee was brought vp in *Gnossus*, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Cresta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and Nation thereof. *Euseb. in Temp.*

Other challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the *Greekes* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle *Greekes* haue many prettie Tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him and his wife Prisoners, whom *Iupiter* againe rescued and deliuered.

But lastly, the Father and the Sonne equally ambitious; the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the lesse powerfull fled into *Italie*, and left his Kingdomes in *Greece* to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after he was once settled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all respect of honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such, as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith satisfied; hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of *Sodome* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Iuno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, *Niobe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelasgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argius*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*; of whom the Mountaine *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Sauona*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danaë Perseus*: by *Iordana Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*, by *Protogenia* hee had *Athlius* the Father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the Daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the Founder of *Memphis* in *Ægypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the *Greekes* afterward called *Africa*. Hee rauished *Ægina* the Daughter of *Æsopus*, and carryed her into the Iland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Ægina*, on whom he begat *Æacus*: by *Torrhebia* hee had *Archesilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilum* and *Troy*. Hee begat the Brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis Hiarbas*. Hee had besides these (if they belye not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inuentors of Bakers Craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not be Father to all these, who were borne in Ages so farre differing. And of these his seuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens Wiues, Daughters and Sonnes, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient Fables of his transformations into showres of Gold, Eagles, Buls, Birds, and Beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* Forgeries. And yet did not the *Greekes* and *Romanes* feare to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Booke *de natura Deorum* affirme, that he deserued nothing lesse, and in his Oration *pro domo sua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his Incest, by the name of *Iupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*) *Cretenses non solùm natum apud se & sepultum* IOVEM *testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum eius ostendunt*; *The Cretians or Candians doe not onely auow that* IVPITER *was borne and buried among them, but they shew his graue and sepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tombe in the Mountaine *Iasius*. This *Callimachus* in his Hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, sayth thus; *Luc. in Sacrif.*

The *Cretians* euer Lyars were, they care not what they say:
For they a Tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'st alway.

Diod. l. 2. c. 5.

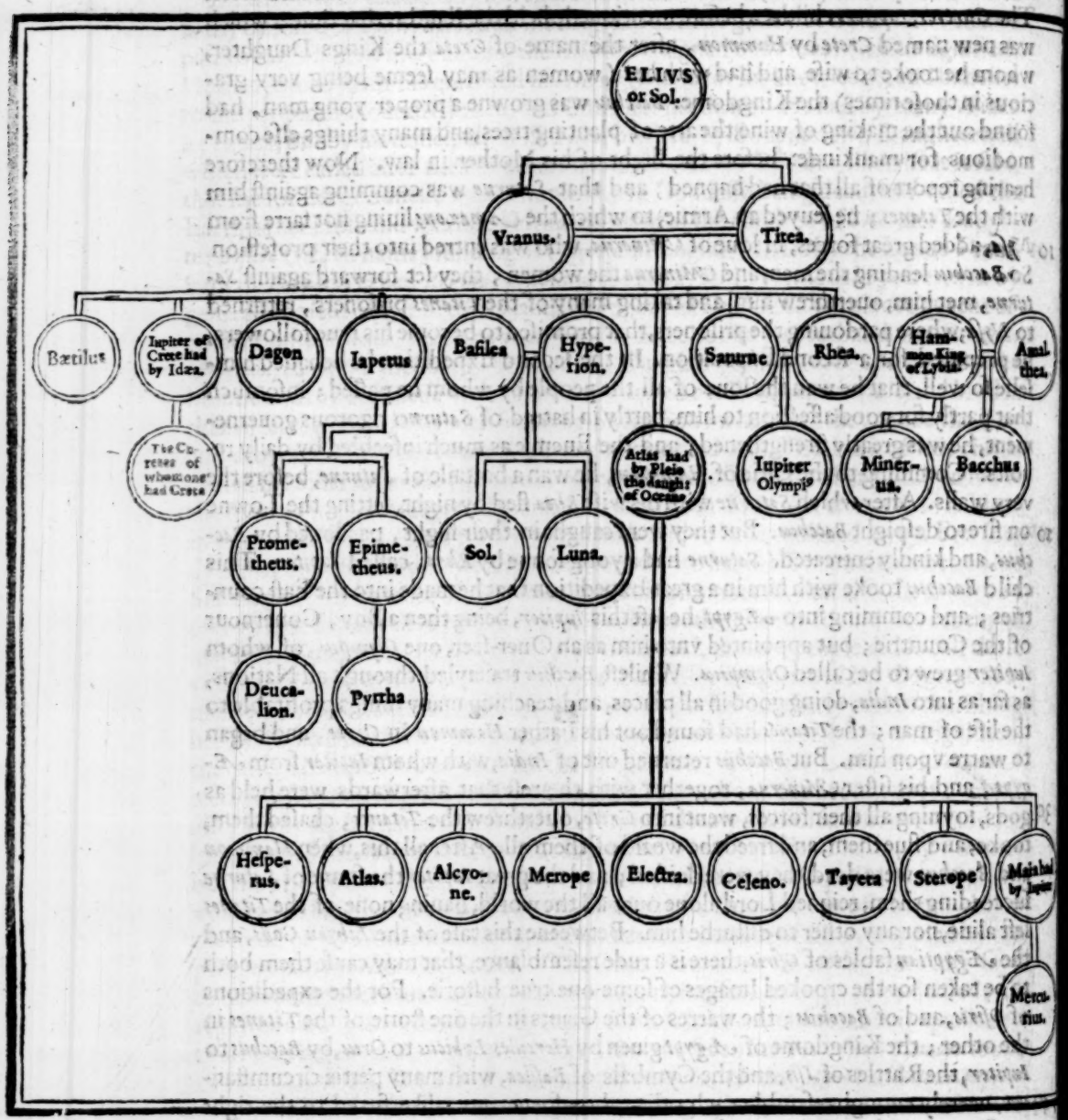
Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as hee saith) by some *Greeke Writers*, that the originall of these gods was from the Westerne parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* raigned one *Vranus* (which signifieth Heauen) called so for his great skil in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wiues 45. Sons; but by his principall Wife *Titea*, hee had 17. Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewise it is said, that she for her goodnesse was canonized as a Goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was stiled Heauen. But of al the children of *Titea*, her Daughter *Basilea* (which name sounding as Queene in English, she is by the Latine Translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in vertue as in yeeres, was by generall consent of her Brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queene after her Fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to Husband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a Sonne and a Daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moone*. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children moued her Brethren to enuie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the Succession: wherefore they tooke the Boy and drowned him in the Riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The losse of this childe caused his Sister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her Children made the Mother to play many mad prankes, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee dyed, her Sonne (as the Fable hath it) signified vnto her in a Dreame, that he and his Sister by the prouidence of God should become immortall, that also the *Sunne* and *Moone* should bee called by their names, and that their death should bee reuenged vpon the Murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her selfe as a Goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her Brethren whilest they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other Sonnes of *Vranus* diuided the Kingdome. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* raigned ouer the Countries lying about the Mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a iust and wise Prince, deeply skilfull in *Astrologie*, and for inuention of the *Sphere*, sayd to haue supported Heauen. Hee had many Sonnes; but the principall of them called *Hesperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was sayd to haue beene carried away by the Winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his Contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the Morning Starre. The seuen Daughters of *Atlas* were also sayd to haue beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be deified, or registred among the Worthies, brought forth Children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen Starres called *Pleiades* tooke name. *Saturne* the Brother of *Atlas* raigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italie*. *Iupiter*, another of the Sonnes of *Vranus*, raigned in *Crete*; who had tenne Sonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that *Iland* after his Wiues name *Idea*; in which *Ile* he dyed, and was buried. But this *Iupiter* must not haue beene that great one, but Vncle to the Great *Iupiter*, if these Fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Libyans* tell the Tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His Sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who raigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter, called *Minerua*, neere to the Riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee also begat on *Amalthea* a Sonne called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly for feare of his life to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an *Iland* in the Riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his Daughter *Minerua*, and certaine *Nymphes*. To *Amalthea* he gaue in reward a goodly Countrie, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the Tale of *Amaltheas* plentifull Horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, she fled from her Husband to her Brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a Sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon

Hammon,

Hammon, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Iupiters* children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings Daughter, whom he tooke to wife, and had with her (women as may seeme being very gracious in those times) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper yong man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his Mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturne* was comming against him with the *Titanes*; he leuyed an Armie, to which the *Amazons* liuing not farre from *Nysa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titanes* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that he wan the loue of all the people by whom he passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturnes* rigorous gouernement, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemie as much infeebled by daily reuolts. Comming to the Citie of *Hammon*, he wan a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very walls. After which *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a yong sonne by *Rhea*, called *Iupiter*. This child *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East countries; and comming into *Ægypt*, he left this *Iupiter*, being then a Boy, Gouernour of the Countrie; but appointed vnto him as an Ouer-seer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Iupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whilest *Bacchus* trauayled through all Nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his Father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Iupiter* from *Ægypt*, and his sister *Minerua*, together with the rest that afterwards were held as gods, ioyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chased them, tooke, and slue them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Iupiter* the sonne of *Saturne* succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titanes* left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Libyan Gods*, and the *Ægyptian* fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true historie. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the warres of the Giants in the one storie, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdome of *Ægypt* giuen by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Iupiter*, the Rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Basilea*, with many pettie circumstances, neerely enough resemble each other, howsoeuer not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would haue all these to be *Phœnicians*, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true storie, and no Allegorie. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giuing to *Vranus* or Heauen for Daughters, *Fate* and *Beautie*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* haue enough. To the Genealogie he addes *Elius* or the *Sunne*, as Father of *Vranus*, and among the children of *Vranus*, *Iapetus*, *Betilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giuing withall to *Vranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Iupiter* of *Crete*. The Pedigree of them is this:

Euseb. l. 1. c. 7.

§. VI.



§. VI.

Of CHAM, *and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected the name of Gods.*

OF *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after these times were the *Greekes* but Saluages, if they seeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the *Ægyptians*, euen after the floud, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Iupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their owne *Mizraim*, *Iupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word *(Hammon)* which the *Greekes* deduce *ab arenis*; *from the sands*, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his owne much better,

Peucer de Oracul.

better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which ſignifieth heate: becauſe the ſaid Temple of *Iupiter Hammon* was ſeated in *Libya*, where the ayre is exceeding hot and ſcortching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Iupiter* (among the *Greekes* and *Romans* the moſt renowned) it is certaine that he was borne not long before the warre of *Troy*, as by many of his ſonnes is made manifeſt; namely, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which liued in that age of *Priamus*, vnder whom, and with whom *Troy* was deſtroyed.

Now ſeeing that mortall men, and the moſt wicked, were eſteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, ſought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monſters as the reſt: For by what reaſon could the ſame *Deitie* be denyed vnto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was giuen to *Venus?* ſeeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots as ſhee was.

§. VII.

That the wiſer of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

BVt that euer *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, beleeued in any of theſe fooleries, it cannot be ſuſpected, though ſome of them (ouer-buſily) haue mixed their owne inuentions with the Scriptures: for, in puniſhment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Heſiodus* in hell, where he fayned that they were perpetually ſtung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read ouer all the bookes of *Moſes*, as by places ſtolne thence, almoſt word for word, may appeare; of which *Iuſtine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatiſe conuerted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he diſſembled in ſome things, for feare of the Inquiſition of the *Areopagites*, yet S. *Auguſtine* hath alreadie anſwered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè ijs delectatus eſt, quæ de vno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, ſaith *Iuſtine Martyr*. Now howſoeuer *Lactantius* pleaſed to reprehend *Plato*, becauſe (ſaith he) *Plato* ſought knowledge from the *Ægyptians*, and the *Chaldæans*, neglecting the *Iewes*, and the bookes of *Moſes*: *Euſebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reaſon to beleeue the contrarie, thinking that from thence he tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or ſauouring of Diuinitie: and the ſame opinion had S. *Ambroſe* of *Pythagoras*.

Euſeb. Præp. Euang. lib.11. Cyril.cont.Iulian. Origen. cont. Celſum. Ambr.ad Iren. Ep.6.lib.1.

But whether it were out of the ſame vanitie, which poſſeſt all thoſe learned Philoſophers and Poets, that *Plato* alſo publiſhed (not vnder the right Authors names) thoſe things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the ſeueritie of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Maſter *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyſon, I cannot iudge. *Iuſtine Martyr* (as it ſeemeth) aſcribeth it wholly to *Platoes* feare, whoſe wordes among many other of the ſame effect, are theſe: PLATO MOSIS *mentionem facere, ob id, quod vnum ſolum a Deum docuerat, ſibi apud Athenienſes tutum non putauit, veritus Areopagum*; PLATO *fearing the Areopagites thought it not ſafe for him among the Athenians to make mention of* MOSES, *that he taught that there is but one God*. But for that Diuinitie which he hath written in TIMÆO; *id ipſum de Deo diſſeruit quod &* MOSES; *He diſcourſed and taught the ſame of God* (ſaith IVSTINE MARTYR) *which* MOSES *did*. For where it pleaſed God by his Angell to anſwer MOSES, *Ego ſum exiſtens* (which is) *I am*; and, *exiſtens miſit me ad vos*; *I am hath ſent me vnto you*, herein did *Plato* (ſaith *Iuſtine Martyr*) no otherwiſe differ then that *Moſes* vſed the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: MOSES *enim qui exiſtit (inquit)* PLATO *quod exiſtit*; *For* MOSES *ſaith, He who is*; PLATO, *That which is*. Now of Gods incomprehenſible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expreſſe the ſame, he

Areopagus, or domus ſeu mons Martis, Mars his hill: a houſe wherein capitall matters were tryed: ſo called at firſt: becauſe *Mars* therein firſt pleaded his cauſe for the murder of *Hallirrothos*. *Pauſan. in Attic. Nat. Com. l.2. c.7 Iuſt. Mart. adm. Gent. fol.8. 14. vt ſup. Exod.3.14.*

In Timæo. he giueth this testimonie: *Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quàm inuentum impossibile digne profari; It is as hard to finde out the Creator of the Vniuersall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable *De Legib. 1. 10.* to the Maiestie of Gods nature, then this propertie by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no cause at all:* and againe, *Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The loue of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things.* APVLEIVS the Platonist: *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect heart.* *Laertius.* THALES affirmed, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cœpit; Because he neuer had any beginning.* ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was euery-where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* storie of the Creation, then this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

Cælum terraq; vnius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aues, feræ, quasq; affert mare,
Genusq; mortalium.

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare:
But when disioyned once they were
From mutuall embraces,
All things to light appeared then,
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remayning races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we finde the same excellent vnderstanding in *Orpheus*, who euery-where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God, though he vse the name of IVPITER, thereby to auoid the enuie and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which he doth to this IVPITER, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDVLA) *quos* ORPHEVS *canit, non decipientium dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit; sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq; sunt nomina; The names of those Gods whom* ORPHEVS *doth sing, are not of deceiuing Deuils, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall and diuine vertues.* Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the *Hymne* following teach vs: *Respiciens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem et diligenter animum aduerte, intendens cor dis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus,* *Autogenes.* *ex eo omnia nata sunt: Ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone

All

All elſe; in which hee's ſtill, nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to ſee him once, yet he ſees all.

And againe the ſame Author,

IVPITER *omnipotens, & primus, & vltimus idem;*
IVPITER *eſt caput & medium:* IOVIS *omnia munus.*
IVPITER *eſt fundamen humi & ſtellantis Olympi.*
IVPITER *& mas eſt, & fœmina neſcia mortis.*
Spiritus eſt cunctis, validi vis IVPITER *ignis.*
Et Pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, *eſt* IVPITER *ipſe*
Rex, & origo ſimul rerum eſt, & terminus idem.
Nam priùs occuluit, magno poſt numine, ſacrum
Cor reſerans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The firſt of all is GOD, and the ſame laſt is he.
GOD is the head and midſt, yea from him all things be.
GOD is the Baſe of earth, and of the ſtarred skie.
He is the male and female too, ſhall neuer die.
The ſpirit of all is GOD, the SVNNE, the MOONE, and what is higher.
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For cloſe in holy breſt he all did comprehend,
Whence all to bleſſed light, his wondrous power did ſend.

Now beſides theſe former teſtimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not ſo ſtupid and ignorant, as the *Ægyptians*, *Græcians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will onely repeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to thoſe large and learned Collections of *Iuſtine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Pleſſis*, *Daneus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, deſcribed him by theſe attributes and properties: *Bonus, iuſtus, ſanctus, ſeipſum poſſidens, vtilis, ſpecioſus, optimus, ſeuerus, liber, ſemper commodus, tutus, glorioſus, charitas, &c.* *Good, iuſt, holy, poſſeſſing himſelfe, profitable, beautifull, beſt, ſeuere, free, alwayes doing good, ſafe without feare, glorious, and ſelfe-charitie.* EPICHARMVS affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced euery nature, was only and euerywhere powerfull: agreeing with DEMOCRITVS: *Rex omnium ipſe ſolus; He is the only King of Kings:* and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus vnus, Pater, creator ſummus, atq; optimus artifex, qui progreſſus ſingulis diuerſos ſecundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the moſt high Creator, and beſt artificer, who giueth to euery thing diuers proceedings according to their deſerts.* *This God* (ſaith ANTISTHENES) *cannot be reſembled to any thing, and therefore not elſewhere knowne; Niſi in patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes: Saue onely in that euerlaſting Countrey, whoſe image thou haſt none at all.* Hereof alſo XENOPHANES COLOPHONIVS: *Vnus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus ſimilis; There is one God among gods and men moſt powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like vnto mortals:* and XENOPHON, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quieſcere facit, magnus potenſq;, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma ſit, nemini patet, niſi ipſi ſoli, qui luce ſua omnia perluſtrat; God who ſhaketh all things, and ſetteth all things at reſt, is great and mightie, as is manifeſt to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifeſt to none, ſaue only to himſelfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light.* Finally, *Plato* ſaith: *Totius rerum naturæ cauſa, & ratio, & origo Deus, ſummus animi genitor, æternus animantium ſoſpitator, aſſiduus mundi ſui opifex, ſine propagatione genitor, neq; loco, neq; tempore vllo comprenſus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cauſe, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the moſt high Father of the ſoule, the eternall preſeruer of liuing creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceiue him in thought, none can expreſſe what he is.*

There-

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. In princip.

Therefore was it said by S. HIEROME, *Si enim cunctos Philosophorum reuoluas libros, necesse est vt in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, vt apud* PLATONEM, *fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud* ZENONEM *Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in* PLATO, *God the Creator of the world: In* ZENO *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortall soules, &c.* And this is certayne, that if we looke into the wisedome of all Ages, we shall finde that there neuer was man of solid vnderstanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whose mind the arte of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensiue inspection aduised; but that he hath found by an vnresistable necessitie, one true God, and euerlasting being, all for euer causing, and all for euer sustayning; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly expreſt, then that *Ægyptian Hermes*, howsoeuer it fayled afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by deuilish policie of the *Ægyptian* Priests purposely obscured; who inuented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Deuill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

§. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time vnder IVLIAN *miraculously confounded.*

BVt all these are againe vanished: for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall then themselues. The Fire, which the *Chaldæans* worshipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell starueth, water quencheth, and want of ayre suffocateth: *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that *Time* which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea, their stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found vpon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phœnicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Libya*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Iupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait *Ægyptians*, and coozening *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouer-throwes and dishonors: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repayred, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it receiued the last and vtter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubœan Pyrates*: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* vtterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes*: Fiftly, by the Captaynes of the *Phocenses*: Sixtly, by *Nero*, who carryed thence fiue hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common charge. But whatsoeuer was gathered betweene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remayned till such time as *Iulian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the successe of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was vtterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heauen; and the image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and lost in the earth.

The

The like ſucceſſe had the *Iewes* in the ſame *Iulians* time, when by his permiſſion they aſſembled themſelues to rebuild the Temple of *Hieruſalem*: for while they were buſied to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thouſands of the *Iewes* were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others ſlaine, and ſcattered by Tempeſt and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more fauourably for the *Iewes*, aſcribing this to the nature of that Element. For, ſaith hee, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Prouince of *Iudæa*, being by *Iulian* buſied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Bals of fire iſſuing neere the foundation, and oft conſuming the Workemen, made the enterprize fruſtrate. *Am. Marc. l. 23. cap. 1.*

§. IX.

Of the laſt refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.

NOw the Deuill, becauſe hee cannot play vpon the open Stage of this World (as in thoſe dayes) and being ſtill as induſtrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectuall adoration of himſelfe then euer. For whereas hee firſt taught them to ſacrifice to Monſters, to dead ſtones cut into faces of Beaſts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; hee now ſets before them the high and ſhining Idoll of glorie, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tels them that Truth is the Goddeſſe of dangers and opreſſions: that chaſtitie is the enemie of Nature; and laſtly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taſte: ſo pleaſure ſatisfieth and delighteth euery ſenſe: for true wiſedome (ſayth hee) is exerciſed in nothing elſe, then in the obtaining of power to oppreſſe, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* finde in his pupils any remorſe, any feare or feeling of Gods future Iudgement, hee perſwades them that God hath ſo great need of mens ſoules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeuours all offer of timefull returne towardes God, by laying thoſe great blockes of rugged pouertie, and deſpiſed contempt in the narrow paſſage leading to his diuine preſence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwayes frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other deſolate and ouer-growne with graſſe, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: ſo hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miſerie paſſing by the one, worldly proſperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one wee find our ſufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetouſneſſe, licentiouſneſſe, iniuſtice, and oppreſſions (the Harbingers of moſt fearefull and terrible ſorrow) ſtaying for vs. And as the Deuill our moſt induſtrious enemie was euer moſt diligent: ſo is he now more laborious then euer: the long day of Mankind drawing faſt towards an euening, and the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of NOAHS *Floud.*

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of NOAHS *Floud.*

Ioseph. l. 1. c. 4.

OF this destruction it pleased God to giue warning vnto *Noah:* who (saith *Iosephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migrauit: He departed with his children, and trauailed into another Region.* And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himselfe, *Berosus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and vnnaturall wickednesse*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & Deorum, contemners of religion and of the Gods*: among which mightie men (sayth *Berosus*) *vnus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* NOAH, *There was one more wise and reuerencing the Gods then the rest, whose name was* NOAH: who with his three sonnes *Sem, Iaphetus* and *Cham*, and with their Wiues, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely *Titea* the great, *Pandora, Noela*, and *Noegla*) preserued themselues in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare:

Gen. 6. 14. V. 13.

And God sayd vnto NOAH, *Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without with Pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell Generations were alreadie fashioned in the Cloudes, which soone after should swallow vp and couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the Ayre: *Noah* and his Family excepted.

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene receiued by all: for diuine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to which their owne reason cannot reach: *Dum obuoluta in obscuro veritas latet: whilest the truth lieth wrapped vp in obscuritie.* Many there are who haue disputed against the vniuersalitie of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this Floud of *Noah* fell but on some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there haue beene many other Flouds (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholaus Damascenus* writeth in this manner; as his words are cited by IOSEPHVS:

Lact. in Præf. de falsa relig.

Ioseph. ant. l. 1 c. 4. Euseb. de præp. l. 9. cap. 4.

Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca deuectum in huius vertice hæsisse, lignorumq; relliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo etiam MOSES *Iudæorum Legislator scribit*: thus farre this Authour. *There is* (sayth hee) *aboue Minyada* (or the Countrey of *Minya*) *an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither, were saued in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the top of the Mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine pieces thereof; and this might be the same, of which* MOSES *the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention.* And of this opinion were the *Thalmudists* (sayth *Annius*) that many Giants saued themselues vpon Mount *Sion*.

But *Berosus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoeuer hee haue beene since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Historie in

these

these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua vniuersus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World Vniuersall perished:* witnessing withall, that *Noah* with his Wife *Titea*, and his three Sonnes with their Wiues (in all eight persons) were onely saued.

§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of OGYGES: *and that this was not* NOAHS *Floud.*

BVT from the vanitie of the *Greekes*, the Corrupters of all truth, (sayth *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certaintie vaunt their Antiquitie, came the errour first of all: who therein flattering themselues also, sought to perswade the World, that there was no Floud preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore sayth *Rhodoginus*; OGYGVM *id appellant Poëtæ, tanquàm peruetus dixeris, ab* OGYGE *vetustissimo: The Poets gaue the name of* OGYGIA *to things exceeding ancient, as of* OGYGES *the most ancient.* *Rho.l.15.c.33.*

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that hee liued but in *Iacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnâsse autument hunc: vnde sit* CADMVS *qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, à boue iugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are* (sayth he) *who thinke that this* OGYGES *did raigne in Ægypt, whereby he should be* CADMVS, *who trauailing into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Beefe slaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.* *Euseb. de præp. Euang. l.10.c.3. Ca.22.*

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint:* and the Floud of *Noah* in the yeere 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. yeeres betweene these Flouds, wanting but two, though heerein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the verie yeere and time of this ouerflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet whosoeuer makes it most ancient, finds aboue 500. yeeres difference betweene that and the generall Floud.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirmes, that this tempest fell vpon the *Athenians*, but 1040. yeeres before *Rome* built. *Bucholzerus* sayth it was 1043. elder then *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the Worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the generall Floud preceded the building of *Rome* (sayth *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Floud of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betweene these two Flouds must bee 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges priscus*, as some doe) it appeares by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any further then the bankes of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Ægæan* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Plinie*, and *Solinus* witnesse, that the Citie of *Ioppe* in *Iudæa* was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone the Title of the King, and of his Brother PHINEVS, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure, it is no where found among prophane Historians nor in the Scriptures, that euer the Floud of *Ogyges* spred it selfe ouer any part of *Syria*, much lesse ouer all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth *Lib.1.c.7.* *Xenophon. Anianus.* *Mela.lib.3.* *Plin.lib.5.* *Sol.c.ap.47.* *Ioppe oppidum antiquissimum orbe toto, vtpotè ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Solin. ibid.*

meth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were ſwallowed vp (Cities ſeated on the North part of *Peloponneſus*) of which *Ouid*:

Ouid.Metam. lib.15.303.

Si quæras Helicæn, & Buran, Achaidos vrbes,
Inuenies ſub aquis.

Bura and *Helice* on *Achaian* ground
Are ſought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Nat.Com.l.1.c.6

Of this Floud of *Ogyges* was inuented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona* the Daughter of *Cœus*, the Son of *Titan*, being beloued and forced by IVPITER, and by him gotten with childe, IVNO thereat enraged, permitted her (as they ſay) no part of the Earth to bee deliuerd on; and withall cauſed the monſtrous Serpent *Python* to follow and affright her, whereſoeuer ſhee trauailed, till at length arriuing at the *Ile* of *Ortygia* ſhe was there receiued: in which ſhe was deliuered, firſt of *Diana*, and then of APOLLO, being Twins; whereof BARLAAM makes this expoſition: That at ſuch time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his Raigne) ceaſed, out of the abundant moiſture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled ſuch thicke miſts and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, neyther the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night could pierce the Ayre, or be perceiued by the inhabitants: ſo as when at length (the Earth being dryed, and theſe vapours diſſipated) the Ayre began to be cleere, and the people of *Ortygia* eſpied the light of the Moone ſomewhat before day, and

Plin.l.4.c.11.

in the ſame morning the Sunne alſo appeared: fabulouſly (becauſe DIANA repreſented the Moone, and APOLLO the Sunne) they were reported to bee borne in the *Ile* of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwardes called *Delos*: which ſignifieth manifeſtation.

And ſurely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being ſo great, as Hiſtories haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the Ayre ſenſibly diſcerned in thoſe parts, and ſome vnuſuall face of the Skies. *Varro* in his Bookes, *De gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint AVGVSTINE) reporteth out of CASTOR,

Aug.de Ciuit. Dei, l.21.cap.8.

that ſo great a Miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as neuer was ſeene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatneſſe, the figure, and the courſe of it, were changed. This fell out as ADRASTVS CYZICENVS, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous *Mathematicians* affirmed in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now concerning the courſe of that or any other Planet, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read, of ſo good *Aſtrologers* flouriſhing among the *Greekes*, or elſe where in thoſe dayes as were likely to make any calculation of the reuolutions of the *Planets* ſo exact, that it ſhould need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I ſee no reaſon why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus* ſhould bee held miraculous; conſidering that leſſer miſts and fogges, than thoſe which couered *Greece* with ſo long darkneſſe, doe familiarly preſent our ſenſes with as great alterations in the *Sunne* and *Moone*. That the figure ſhould varie, queſtionleſſe it was very ſtrange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it ſtands well with good reaſon, that the ſide of *Venus* which the *Sunne* beholds, being enlightned by him, the oppoſite halfe ſhould remaine ſhadowed; whereby that *Planet* would, vnto our eyes, deſcrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to bee horned, as the *Moone* doth ſeeme; if diſtance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehenſion of our ſenſes.

GALILÆVS, a worthy *Aſtrologer* now liuing, who by the helpe of perſpective Glaſſes hath found in the Starres many things vnknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth ſo much to haue beene diſcouered in *Venus* by his late obſeruations. Whether ſome waterie diſpoſition of the Ayre might preſent as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath ſeene through his Inſtrument; I cannot tell: ſure I am, that the diſ-

couerie

coherie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince man of ignorance, then nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of Saint AVGVSTINE) accompanied with such vnusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) signes testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah* which was generall and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or forethewing, then the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came sodainly, and tooke them all away. *Luke 17. v. 27.*

§. III.

Of DEVCALIONS *Floud: and that this was not* NOAHS *Floud: nor the Vmbri in Italie a remnant of any vniuersall Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*, of which Saint *Augustine* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus (vt* VARRO *scribit) regnante Athenien sibus* CRANAO, *successore* CECROPIS *(vt autem nostri,* EVSEBIVS *&* HIERONYMVS) *adhuc eodem* CECROPE *permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatum est* DEVCALIONIS: (that is) *In these times (as* VARRO *reporteth)* CRANAVS *the successour of* CECROPS *gouerning the Athenians, or (as our* EVSEBIVS *and* HIEROME *say)* CECROPS *yet liuing, that Floud (called* DEVCALIONS) *happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleuenth Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, hee vseth these words: *Eduxit ergo* MOSES *ex Ægypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore* CECROPIS *Athenien sium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret* ASCATADES, *apud Sicyonios* MARATHVS, *apud Argiuos* TRIOPAS: MOSES *led the People of God out Ægypt about the latter times of* CECROPS *King of the Athenians,* ASCATADES *raigning ouer the Assyrians, ouer the Sicyonians* MARATHVS, *and ouer the Argiues* TRIOPAS: so as leauing the curiositie of a few yeeres, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was eyther at the egression of the children of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, or neere it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeeres, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to liue in the yeere of the World 2409. or if we follow MERCATOR, then 739. yeeres after *Noah*, and in the yeere of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giuing vnto *Deucalion* fortie yeeres of age when this Floud happened; it falleth within one yeere of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approoued Historians is said to haue beene 82. yeeres olde at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaetons* time, by the Raigne of *Crotopus* King of the *Argiues*; but *Crotopus* liued King of the *Argiues* sixe yeeres after *Israel* departed *Ægypt*, which makes twentie yeeres difference, according to *Functius*, who will haue this Floud and burning to haue fallen fourteene yeeres before *Moses* left *Ægypt*: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Floud and burning the yeere 2440. and to *Moses* his egression the yeere 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinkes that *Moses* was more ancient, and liued with *Inachus*; but that cannot bee true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Thessalie* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250. yeeres or thereabouts. *Eusebius* in his *Chronologie* makes it 230. and so doth *P. Orosius*: *Eusebius* about the 50. yeere of *Moses* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud 770. yeeres: for these bee *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Græcia tempore quidem* PHORONEI, *qui fuit post* INACHVM, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore* OGYGIS, *There happened in Greece in the time of* PHORONEVS, *who liued after* INACHVS, *the Floud of* OGYGES. Now if the Floud of OGYGES in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, according

Cedren. l. 1. f. 34.

Clem. Alex. 1. stro. ex Cles.

cording to *Eusebius* and *Orosius*; (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it fals out that *Ogyges* Floud happened before the *Hebrewes* left *Ægypt* 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the difference betweene the opinions of *Eusebius* and *Orosius*. And for my selfe (who rather follow those *Chronologers*, which giue 60. yeeres more to *Abraham* after the Floud, then the rest) I reckon the times which come betweene these Flouds in this sort. The generall Floud was in the yeere of the World 1656. *Iacob* was borne in the yeere of the World 2169 so as from the beginning of the Floud to IACOBS birth, there were consumed 513. yeeres. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. yeeres after IACOB was borne; and therefore after the generall Floud 613. yeeres. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the yeere of the World 2356. and had liued 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of *Thessalie* was ouerwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Floud was after *Noahs* Floud ended 782. yeeres. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betweene the generall Floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before) and then the Floud of *Thessalie* followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that *Xenophon* are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum* DEVCALIONIS, *secundo anno Spheri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus anno duos & octoginta Thessaliam vidit inundatam, From the drowning of the World to the birth of* DEVCALION, *in the second yeere of Spherus, are numbred 700. yeeres, and when* DEVCALION *was 82. yeeres old, he saw Thessalia drowned.* This Floud happened in the Winter time about *Parnassus*: witnesse *Aristotle* in the first of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom Saint *Augustine* so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Floud of *Deucalion* to haue happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who succeeded *Cecrops*: *Orosius* thinkes it somewhat later, *Amphitryon* raigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*. Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only ouer *Thessalie* it selfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward; but it couered the greatest part of *Italie*: and eyther the same, or some other particular Floud then happening oppresst *Ægypt*, sayth *Eusebius*. And therefore did the *Greekes* eyther thinke it, or faine it to be vniuersall; and *Deucalion*, then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of *Thessalie* (of all other the highest, sayth *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as *Strabo* witnesseth) sayd to be the preseruer of Mankind. That this Floud couered a great part of *Italie*, *Plinie* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirme that the people then inhabiting *Italie* were therefore called *Ὄμβριοι: quia ab imbribus diluuij superfuissent*; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Booke, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Vmbri* these Authours make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to bee the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutij*, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the *Mediterrane Sea*. But that these *Vmbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italie* before the Floud of *Noah*, and so tooke name by sauing themselues vpon the *Appenine* Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs: shewing who, and who only then were preserued, which is sufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs that the first people which after the generall Floud inhabited *Italie*, were the *Camesenes*; (so named from *Camese*, whom CATO *in originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authours names for a consort of *Ianus*) which people liued altogether a sauage life; till such time as *Saturne* arriuing on those Coasts, deuised Lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whose acts in that Region *Diodor* and *Thallus* among the *Greekes*, *Nepos Cassius* and *Varro* among the Latines haue preserued; and of whom *Virgil*:

Eusebius in Chron.

c. 14.

Solin l. 14.

Strab. l. 9.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

Sol. c. 7.

Plin. ibid.

Athenæus dipnosoph. l. 15. out of *Draco Corcyræus* sayth that *Camese* was the wife and sister of *Ianus*.

Lact. l. 1. c. 13.

Æn. l. 8. 319.

Primus ab æthereo venit SATVRNVS *Olympo,*
Arma IOVIS *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,*
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.

SA-

SATVRNE deſcending from the heauens high,
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his ſonne,
His Kingdome loſt, and baniſht thence doth flie.
Rude people on the Mountayne tops he wonne
To liue together, and by lawes: which done
He choſe to call it *Latium*.

And afterward in the Verſes following he ſpeaketh of the *Auſones*, and after them of the *Sicani*: Nations, which againe ſought to diſplant the ancient Inhabiters:

Tum manus Auſonia, & gentes venere Sicani, *Virg. l. 8. Æn.*

Then came th' Auſonian bands, and the Sicanian tribes.

Of theſe *Sicani* (which left *Spaine* and ſate downe in *Italie*) *Thucydides* and *Plinie* giue teſtimonie: who were againe expelled by the *Ligij*, ſaith *Thucydides*. After all theſe plantations and replantations came the *Vmbri*, deſcended of the *Gaules* (ſaith *Annius*) not of thoſe *Gaules* of *France*, but of thoſe of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italie*, euen all *Hetruria* and *Campania*, as *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and *Dionyſius* haue aſſured vs; and therefore this floud of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all thoſe Nations were planted in *Italie*, and diſpoſſeſt of *Italie* againe, before the *Vmbri* were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was firſt called *Camaſene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Auſonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Vmbri* (in whoſe time *Deucalions* floud happened) poſſeſt the ſame, about 306. yeeres before the war of *Troy*: *Lycaon* then gouerning *Arcadia*; who being the Father of two and twentie Sonnes, the yongeſt called *Oenotrius* inuaded *Italie*, who gaue it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held vntill *Italus* of the ſame Nation changed it into *Italie*, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of *Troy*. After theſe came the *Pelaſgi*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fift Chapter; and *Strabo* in his fift; *Thucydides* in his ſixth ſpeakes at large: and after them the *Lydi* vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captayne, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who caſting thence the *Vmbri*, tooke from them three hundred Caſtles, and built therein twelue Cities; to which (after they had poſſeſt and paſt ouer the *Appenine* Mountaynes) they added diuers others, whereof *Telſina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Tbucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5.
Annius ex Samuele Thalmudiſta.
Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2.
Pauſan. Arcad. lib. 8.
Ariſt. pol. 7. c. 10.
Herod. l. 2. Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

Now that there was not anciently ſuch a Nation, as theſe *Vmbri*, in thoſe parts, I doe not affirme: hauing reſpect to the teſtimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinkes, that the name was deriued from the *Greeke* word *Ombros*; but that theſe *Vmbri* of *Italie* were deſcended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

§ IIII.

Of ſome other records teſtifying the vniuerſall floud: and of two ancient deluges in Ægypt: and of ſome elſewhere.

SAint AVGVSTINE out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the vniuerſall floud, becauſe they had nothing of antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus* before remembred) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Engliſh* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were ſucceſſiuely planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the inſtant: ſo did euery familie which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of diuine

uine letters was not receiued, finde no parent of more antiquitie, then such as they had themselues, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Graecians*, so did others vaunt themselues to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldæans* had certayne knowledge of *Noahs* floud, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants saued themselues vpon the Mountaynes *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approued: vsing the word *fermo est*; *That such a speech there was.* And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus*, to preserue himselfe from a floud foretold him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hils of *Armenia* by ship, *ad Armeniam nauigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which he also did a second time, but at the third returne the birds feet were couered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* floud.

Euſ. de præp. Euang. l. 9. c. 4.

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Ægyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Ægypt*, the storie of the floud vniuersall, which (saith he) happened long before the *Grecian* inundations. Fryer *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third floud, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall floud for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old OGYGES, *Sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then liuing, 44. yeeres before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I doe not beleeue him as touching the time. But this floud couered a great part of the nether *Ægypt*, especially all that Region subiect to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his liuer, afterward slaine by *Hercules* of *Ægypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in these wordes: *Fluuium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemq; aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum*, HERCVLEM *cum consilij magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse: Vnde & Græci quidam Poetæ rem gestam in fabulam vertentes*, HERCVLEM *tradunt Aquilam* PROMETHEI *jecur depascentem occidisse*; *This floud* (meaning of Nilus) *for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but* HERCVLES *by his great iudgement and vertue did againe compresse and straighten this Riuer, so farre extended and ouer-spred, turning it into the old channels: Whence certayne Greeke Poets (conuerting this labour and worke of* HERCVLES *into a fable) deuised that* HERCVLES *slue the Eagle, which fed on* PROMETHEVS *liuer*; meaning that he deliuered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the losse of his People and Countrie (by the waters destroyed and couered ouer) he suffered.

Diod l. 1.

Nat. Com. l. 4. c. 18

A fourth floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Ægypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiueth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe sort writeth of all these inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima nouimestris inundatio terrarum sub prisco* OGYGE: *secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many inundations* (saith this same *Xenophon*) *the first which was vniuersall of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first* OGYGES: *the second was Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus Ægyptians*: a third of two Moneths vnder *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three Moneths in *Thessalia* vnder *Deucalion*: and a fift of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proteus* of *Ægypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fift Booke and eleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a floud in *Asia* the lesse and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction then any of the other particular inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*: the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellespont* breaking in ouer the land.

Xenop. de æquin. Comm. per Annium, fol. 37.

But

But there haue beene many flouds in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Ægypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same yeere, *Gregorie* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a maruailous ouerflowing in *Italie*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territorie, and in *Lyguria*, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the Land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kinde I take that floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that and in the yeere 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an earthquake which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a floud in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an inundation in *Italie*, in the time of *Pope Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the *Papacie* of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembreth a perilous ouer-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracouia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier* a *French* Historian speaketh of a great floud in the South part of *Languedoe*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world, and iudgement day; saying, That by the violent descent of the waters from the Mountaynes, about *Nismes* there were remooued diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both coyne of siluer and gold, diuers peeces of plate, and vessels of other metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* inuaded that Prouince, in the yeere 1156.

Munster.

Echrisis, & terræ motus cõtinui multa hominum millia oppresserunt. Frisia quoq; per maritimos fluctus tota pœné submersa fuit & perierunt plusquam 100000.

§. V.

That the floud of NOAH *was supernaturall, though some say it might haue beene foreseene by the Starres.*

NOw howsoeuer all these flouds and many other, which haue couered at seuerall times seuerall Regions, not only in these parts of the world, but in *America* also, (as I haue learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall floud (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the earth by a power aboue nature, and by the especiall commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaynes of the deepe: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoeuer vnion could performe, without receiuing from the Fountayne of all power, strength, and faculties supernaturall. *Henricus Mechlinensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Albu Masar* obserueth, that before the floud of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the floud of *Noah* might be foretold, because *Cancer* is both a waterie signe, and the house of the *Moone*, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of moysture, according to the rules of *Astronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming that although *Noah* did well know this floud by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signes, but also working causes, by strength receiued from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further that by * *Cataractæ cæli* (Englished the windores of heauen)

Also *de Concordia Theolog. & Astrolog.*

Gen. 7. 11.

* The word ῥηγμὶς properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carryed downewards, dasheth and breaketh; of ἀράσσω *allido* or *frango*. Hence, because windores doe not only open but also shut, the word hath beene expounded (Windores) for barres or floud-gates.

heauen) *Moses* meant this great and waterie coniunction; the word *(Catarractæ)* signifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco)* it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood that the wordes *Catarractæ cæli*, or windores of heauen, were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for these waterie signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*, and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moone*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His owne words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum catarractas cæli vocâsse, nisi partes illas cæli, quæ generatiuæ sunt pluuiarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, vt Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) *I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by those wordes (Catarractæ cæli*, or windores of Heauen) *vnlesse he thereby vnderstand those celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendred the rayne, and inundations of waters, such as are the waterie signes of Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable wisedome this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and facultie, and gaue to euery operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaynes, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the cloudes, and condensing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoeuer else best pleased his Al-powerfulnesse.

§. VI.

That there was no neede of any new Creation of matter to make the vniuersall floud: and what are Catarractæ Cæli,

GEN. 7. VERS. 11.

NOw if it be obiected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seuenth day: (that is) he did not then after create any new *species)* which granted, it may seeme that then all the earth and aire had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable world fifteen cubits aboue the highest Mountaynes. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrayned himselfe or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to ouer-couer the highest mountaynes, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish; for it is written, that *the fountaynes of the great deep were broken vp* (that is) the waters forsook the very bowels of the earth; and all whatsoeuer was dispersed therein pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider, that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thousand miles: the *Drameter* of the Earth according to that circle seuen thousand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center* some three thousand fiue hundred miles: Take then the highest Mountayne of the world, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaynes of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tenuerif*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest stretcheth aboue thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand fiue hundred miles deepe, should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirty miles vpright being found in the depths of the earth one hundred and sixteene times: for *the Fountaynes of the great Deepe were broken vp*, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the ayre ouer and aboue it, wee shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased

ſed God to condenſe but ſo much of this ayre as euery-where compaſſeth and embraceth the earth, which condenſation is a conuerſion of ayre into water, a change familiar in thoſe elements, it will not ſeeme ſtrange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderſtanding, that the Earth (God ſo pleaſing) was couered ouer with waters without any new Creation.

Laſtly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Beroſus* and others, That ſuch a coniunction there was, foreſhewing that deſtruction by waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ cæli*, or Windores of heauen, was meant this coniunction; there needes no other anſwere then that obſeruation of *Ludouicus Viues*, who affirmeth that by the graueſt *Aſtrologian* it was obſerued, that in the yeere 1524. there ſhould happen the like coniunction, as at *Noahs* floud, then which (ſaith he) there was neuer a more fayre, drie, and ſeaſonable yeere: the like deſtruction was prophecied of the yeere 1588. But *Picus* Earle of *Mirandula* proueth that there could not be any ſuch coniunction at that time.

To conclude, I finde no other myſterie in the word *Catarractæ cæli*, then that the cloudes were meant thereby: *Moſes* vſing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the ſenſe of the word) to expreſſe the violence of the raynes, and powring downe of waters. For whoſoeuer hath ſeene thoſe fallings of water, which ſometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spowts (where cloudes doe not breake into drops, but fall with a reſiſtleſſe violence in one body) may properly vſe that manner of ſpeech which *Moſes* did; That the windores or floud-gates of heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell, contrarie to cuſtome, and that order which we call naturall. God then looſened the power retentiue in the vppermoſt ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (ſaith IOB) *he which holdeth the waters, and they drie vp*, or better in Latine, *Et omnia ſiccantur*; *And all things are dryed vp*; *but when he ſendeth them out, they deſtroy the earth*: and in the 26. Chapter: *He bindeth the waters in the cloudes*; but theſe bonds God looſed at that time of the generall floud, and called vp the waters which ſlept in the great deepe: and theſe ioyning together couered the earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vaſt Caues, and the reſt (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condenſed into drops. *Iob.12.v.15.* *Gen.8.1.*

§. VII.

Of ſome remaynder of the memorie of NOAH *among the Heathen.*

NOAH commanded by God, before the fall of thoſe waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his ſonnes wiues, taking with them of euery Creature, which tooke life by generation, ſeuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, ſignifieth quietneſſe: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father *Lamech*, ceſſation; to whom after-times gaue many names anſwering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The firſt Ogyges*, becauſe in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was alſo a great floud of *Achaia*: *Saturne* they called him, becauſe he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the name of *Prometheus*, who was ſaid to ſteale away *Iupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderſtood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke that he was ſo called for his excellent wiſedome and foreſight. He had alſo the name of *Ianus*, *(id eſt) vinoſus*, becauſe *Iain* ſignifieth wine in the *Hebrew*. And ſo *Tertullian* finds him written *in libris ritualibus*; *In the bookes of ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ione*: which three enioyed an elder time then all the other ancienteſt fayned gods. And this name *Iain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine*: for it was in vſe before there was any *Latine* Nation,

or

or any Kingdome by that name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pictor* giueth this testimonie: IANI *aetate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum haserat vlla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populus docuit* IANVS *ad sacrificia: primus enim aras & Pomœria & sacra docuit*; *In the time of* IANVS (saith he) *there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men.* IANVS *first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: hee first set vp Altars, instituted Gardens and solitarie Groues, wherein they vsed to pray; with other holy rites and ceremonies.* A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the *Heathen*, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King or Monarch: *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soueraigne authoritie. Secondly, *Noah* after the floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the first fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that raysed an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God, a thankes-giuing for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the name of *Bifrons* (which was giuen to *Ianus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the floud, *Quia præterita nouerit, & futura prospexerit*, saith ARNOBIVS; *Because he knew what was past, and prouided for what was to come.* He was also in the person of *Ianus* shaddowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *semen orbis*; *The seede of the world*; because as out of that confused heape was drawne all the kindes of Beasts and Plants: so from *Noah* came all mankinde: whereof *Ouid* in the person of *Ianus*:

Gen.9.20.

Gen.8.20.

Arn. con. Gent. lib.6.

Ouid. de Fastis. lib.1.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,
Aspice quàm longi temporis acta cano.

The ancient call'd me Chaos: my great yeares
By those old times, of which I sing, appeares.

He was also intituled *Cœlum* and *Sol*, *Heauen* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus*, and *Alex. Aphrodiseus* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in respect of the floud. For the *Greekes* called *Liber* γῆν, and his Nurses *Hyades*, of rayne, because *Noah* entred the *Arke*, when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a constellation in the brow or necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a monument of *Noahs* floud. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a Marine God, the Sonne of *Neptune*: because he liued in safetie on the waters. So was he knowne by the name of DIONYSVS, *quasi* διανοσων, *mentem pungens*; *Bitebraine*, or *wit-stinger*, though *Diodorus* conceiue otherwise, and deriue that name *à patre & loco*; *Of his Father, and the place of his birth* (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nisa* a Towne of *Arabia fœlix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; because he first yoked Oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of MOSES: *And* NOAH *became an husbandman*. Now howsoeuer the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certayne that the name was borrowed, and the inuention stollen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boacus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Nouchus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the floud: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complayneth in his fourth Booke, and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysius*, of the Mountayne *Nysa* in *India*, where the *Grecian Bacchus* neuer came, whatsoeuer themselues faine of his enterprises; and these Mountaynes of *Nysa* ioyne with those of *Paropanisus*, and those other Easterne Mountaynes, on which the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the floud.

Nat. Com. lib.5. cap.13.

Cœlius.

Gen.9.20.

Stuck. in libris conuiualibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second parent of mankinde might

might the better bee preſerued, there were founded by his iſſues many great Cities which bare his name; with many riuers and mountaines: which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many names giuen him brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelfe. Notwithſtanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* vpon the bankes of the red Sea and elſewhere: the Riuer of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomie Danius*, diuiding *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the name. *Plin. l. 6. Steph. de Vrb. Herod. l. 4. Strabo l. 7.*

§. VIII.

Of ſundrie particulars touching the Arke: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion and name.

NOw in what part of the world *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I finde any approued Authour that hath written thereof: onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiueth, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neere the mountaines of *Caucaſus*, becauſe on thoſe hils are found the goodlieſt Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among a people, called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, hee found all their burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled againſt God and Nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which alſo hee addeth the conueniencie of riuers, to tranſport the Timber which he vſed, without troubling any other carriages.

Onely this wee are ſure of, that the *Arke* was built in ſome part of the Eaſterne world; and to my vnderſtanding, not farre from the place where it reſted after the floud. For *Noah* did not vſe any maſt or ſaile (as in other ſhips) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwiſe moue then the Hulke or body of a ſhip doth in a calme Sea. Alſo becauſe it is not probable, that during theſe continuall and downe-right raines there were any windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moued from the place where it was faſhioned and ſet together. For it is written: *God made a winde to paſſe vpon the earth, and the waters ceaſed*, and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any ſtorme or forcible winde at all, which could driue the *Arke* any great diſtance from the place where it was firſt by the waters lifted vp. This is alſo the more probable, if that ancient opinion bee true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum*, a *flat bottome*, and not raiſed in forme of a ſhip with a ſharpneſſe forward, to cut the waues for the better ſpeede. *Gene. 8. 1.*

This kind of Veſſell the Hebrewes call *Thebet*, and the Greekes *Larnax*, for ſo they termed *Deucalions* ſhip: and ſome ſay, that the hill *Parnaſſus*, to which in eight dayes he arriued, was firſt called *Larnaſſus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnaſſus*; but *Pauſanias* thinkes that it tooke name of a Sonne of the *Nymphe Cleodoræ*, called *Parnaſſus*, the inuentour of *Auguration*. *Steph. de Vrb. fol. 227.*

Peucerus findes the word (*Parnaſſus*) to haue no affinitie with the Greeke, but thinkes it deriued from the Hebrew word *Nahas*, which ſignifieth *Auguration* and *Diuination*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the leafe before cited. *De Oracul. fol. 94.*

Ioſephus cals the *Arke Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame: and *Epiphanius* out of the Hebrew *Aron*; but herein lieth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Theuet*, That *Aron* ſignifieth properly the *Arke* of the *Sanctuarie*, but *Thebet* ſuch a Veſſell, as ſwimmeth, and beareth it ſelfe vpon the waters. *Epi. l. in Ancor.*

Laſtly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the faſhion of a ſhip in this, that it had a couer and roofe, with a creſt in the middeſt thereof, and the ſides declining like the roofe of an houſe; to the end, both to caſt off the waters, and that thereunder *Noah*

himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselues from the noysomnesse of the many beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the *Arke*.

Gen. 6. 4.

Of what wood the *Arke* was built it is vncertaine. The Hebrew word *Gopher* once and in this place onely vsed is diuersly vnderstood; and though the matter bee of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneua Translation cals it Pinetree, the *Rabbine* Cedar, the Seuentie, square timber, the Latine smooth timber. Others will haue it Cypres trees, as dedicated to the dead, becausse Cypres is worne at funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kind of timber, *Noah* obayed the voyce of God therein; if not, hee was not then curious as touching the kinde or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised *to establish his couenant.*

V. 18.

Plin. l. 16. c. 40. *Plinie* affirmeth that in *Ægypt* it was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes eate not; and hee auoweth that hee saw in *Vtica*, in the Temple of *Apollo* Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still sound in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kinde of wood was not subiect to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carie, and of a sweete sauour, lasting also better then any other wood, and becausse neere the place where the *Arke* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Pererius* conceiueth that the *Arke* had diuers sorts of timber, and that the bottome had of one sort, the decke and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a ship, aswell for the body, as for masts and yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines, thereby to seuer the cleane beasts from the vncleane, and to preserue their seuerall sorts of foode; and that it might bee capable of all kinde of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compasse or the North starre. The pitch which *Noah* vsed, is by some supposed to haue beene a kinde of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorra*, now the dead Sea or *Asphaltes*: and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*, and herein it exceedeth other pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard waxe.

Pererius.

§. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacitie.

THe *Arke* according to Gods commaundement had of length three hundred cubites, fiftie of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion it had sixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AVGVSTINE: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Ciuitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesiæ, quæ sit salua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisq; eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c.* *Without doubt* (saith he) *it is a figure of the Citie of God, trauailing in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saued by the tree whereupon the Mediatour betweene God and Man, the man Iesus Christ did hang: for euen the very measure of the length, heighth, and breadth, answereth the shape of mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ was foretold and performed.*

De Ciuitat. Dei. l. 15. c. 26.

By

By what kinde of Cubite the *Arke* was meaſured, it hath beene a diſputed queſtion among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect theſe: The firſt kinde of cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, meaſured from the ſharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The ſecond (the palme cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Perſian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the ſacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Laſtly, there is a fift cubit, called Geometricall, which containeth ſixe common cubits. But of all theſe ſortes, which were commonly meaſured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens ſtatures hath made the difference. For as there is now a leſſe proportion of bodies: ſo is the common cubit, from the ſharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of leſſe length then it was in elder times.

S. *Auguſtine* conſidering the many ſortes of beaſts and birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was ſometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometricall cubit, which containeth almoſt ſixe of the Common. For meaſuring the *Arke* by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceede the capacitie of that veſſel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuſe*, or the ſhip of *Ptolomie Philo-pater*. But S. *Auguſtine* (who at the firſt was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometricall cubit; and found vpon better conſideration, that there needed not ſo huge a bodie to præſerue all ſortes of creatures by God appointed to bee reſerued. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of fiſhes into the *Arke*, becauſe they were kept liuing (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *in their owne element. Nòn fuit neceſſe conſeruare in Arca quæ poſſent in aquis viuere; nòn ſolùm merſa ſicut piſces, verùm ſuper-natantia, ſicut multæ alites. It was not needfull to conſerue thoſe creatures in the Arke, which could liue in the waters; and not only fiſhes which can liue vnder water, but alſo thoſe fowls which ſit and ſwim on them*: and againe, *Terra, nòn aqua, maledicta, quia Adam nòn huius, ſed illius fructum vetitum comedit. It was the earth, and not the waters, which God curſed: for of the forbidden fruit of the earth and not of the Sea, did Adam eat*; ſo as S. *Auguſtine* gathereth hereupon, (as afore-ſaid) that ſo huge a Frame needed not.

Athen. dipnoſoph. lib. 4.
Plutar. in vita Demetry.
Aug. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 5. ca. 27.

And if wee looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, wee ſhall finde nothing monſtrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the moſt part) haue more of miſchiefe and of ignorance, then of any reuerend reaſon, finde many impoſſibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifeſt, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now ſeeme differing and of ſeuerall kindes, were not then *in rerum natura*. For thoſe beaſts which are of mixt natures; either they were not in that age, or elſe it was not needfull to præſerue them: ſeeing they might bee generated againe by others, as the Mules, the Hyæna's and the like: the one begotten by Aſſes and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolues. And whereas by diſcouering of ſtrange landes, wherein there are found diuers beaſtes and birdes differing in colour or ſtature from thoſe of theſe Northerne parts, it may be ſuppoſed by a ſuperficiall conſideration, that all thoſe which weare red and pyed skinnes, or feathers, are differing from thoſe that are leſſe painted, and were plaine ruſſet or blacke: they are much miſtaken that ſo thinke. And for my owne opinion I finde no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and euen thoſe dogges which are become wilde in *Hiſpagniola*, with which the Spaniards vſed to deuoure the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolues, and begin to deſtroy the breed of their Cattle, and doe alſo oftentimes teare aſunder their owne Children. The common Crowe and Rooke of *India* is full of red feathers in the drown'd and low *Iſlands* of *Caribana*; and the Blacke-Bird and Thruſh hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation: in the North parts of *Virginia*. The dog-fiſh of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the *Negro's*, which wee call the blacke-mores, *non animalia rationalia*, not men, but ſome kinde of ſtrange beaſtes: and ſo

Acoſt. hiſt. India.

the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kinde, then the people of this part of the World. Wee also see it daily that the natures of fruites are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may bee made good fruit by often grafting, and the best Mellons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers by being set in a barren soyle: Therefore taking the kindes precisely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the earth by his ordinance produced: The *Arke*, after the measure of the common Cubit was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the Common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance wee cannot giue to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the *Arke* containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot deepe.

But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometricall Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of *Og* King of *Basan* had beene nine Geometricall Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had the length of 6. Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foote and a handfull, (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had beene Geometricall, then had beene 54. foot in heighth and vpwardes, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* beene nine foot long, and farre waightier and bigger then all *Dauids* body, who caried it away.

Deut. 3. 11.
1. *Sam.* 17. 4.

Againe, if the Geometricall Cubit had been vsed for a measure in the Scripture as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe fiue Cubites of length, fiue of breadth, and three of heighth) haue reached the length of 27. foot vpright, and so must their Priestes haue ascended by steps or ladders to haue performed their sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement giuen in these wordes: *Thou shalt not goe vp with steppes vnto mine altar, that thy shame bee not discouered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three Common Cubites high which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometricall, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might giue much the more capacitie to the *Arke*, although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of *Animals*, whose liues cannot bee preserued in the waters, might according to their present quantities bee contained in a vessell of those dimensions which the *Arke* had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large bodies which were in the daies of *Noah* might haue roome sufficient in the *Arke*, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

Exod. 20. 26.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saued, (that is) seuen of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the *Arke*, *Buteo* hath very learnedly declared: the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred cubits, which multiplyed by the breadth, namely fiftie cubits, and the product by the heighth of thirtie cubits, sheweth the whole concauitie to haue beene* 450000. Now whereas the posts, walles, and other partitions of lodgings may seeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the heighth of the roofe which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500. cubicall cubes, was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a ship of such greatnesse wee seeke roome for 89. distinct *Species* of beasts, or (left any should be omitted) for 100. seuerall kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meate to sustaine them all. For there are three

sortes

ſorts of beaſts, whoſe bodies are of a quantitie beſt knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe; and the Wolfe: to which the reſt may be reduced, by ſaying, (according to *Ariſtotle*) that one Elephant is anſwerable to foure Beeues, one Lyon to two Wolues, and ſo of the reſt. Of beaſts, ſome feede on vegetables, others on fleſh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater ſort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the law of *Moſes*, whereof ſeuen of a kinde entred into the *Arke*, namely three couples for breede, and one odde one for ſacrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of each kinde, ſo that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great beaſts cleane, and ſixe and fiftie vncleane, eſtimable for largeneſſe as ninetie one Beeues; yet for a ſupplement (leſt perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued, as 120. Beeues. Of the leſſer ſort feeding on vegetables were in the *Arke* ſixe and twentie kinds, eſtimable with good allowance for ſupplie, as foureſcore Sheepe. Of thoſe which deuoure fleſh were two and thirtie kinds, anſwerable to threeſcore and foure Wolues. All theſe 280. beaſts might bee kept in one ſtorie or roome of the *Arke* in their ſeuerall Cabbines; their meate in a ſecond: the Birds and their prouiſion in a third, with place to ſpare for *Noah* and his family, and all their neceſſaries.

§. X.

That the Arke reſted vpon part of the hill Taurus (or Caucaſus) betweene the East Indies, and Scythia.

†. I.

A praterition of ſome queſtions leſſe materiall: with a note of the vſe of this queſtion, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to diſpute, but he receiued the Commandement from God 100. yeares before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leiſure ſufficient. As for the number of deckes and partitions, which *Origen* deuides into foure, S. *Auguſtine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuerſie: or whether thoſe creatures which ſometimes reſt on the land, other times in the waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-cowes or Sea-horſes, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needleſſe curioſitie; and yet to this ſaith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a fiſh-poole might bee made aſwell within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his ſhip of *Syracuſe*. Laſtly, to conſider or labour to diſproue the foolerie of the Hebrewes, who ſuppoſe that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had windores of Chriſtall to receiue in light, and keepe out water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I ſeeke moſt to ſatisfie my ſelfe and others in, is in what part of the world the *Arke* reſted after the floud: becauſe the true vnderſtanding of ſome of theſe places (as the ſeate of the terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, and the reſting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truely teach the worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the floud; and all ſtorie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderſtood.

†. II.

A propoſall of the common opinion, that the Arke reſted vpon ſome of the hils of Armenia.

AND firſt, for the true place where the *Arke* reſted after the floud, and from what part of the world the children of *Noah* trauailed to their firſt ſettlement

and plantation, I am resolued (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were vtterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularitie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke staied vpon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hils *Gordæi* or *Gordiæi* in *Armenia* the greater: (as the wordes *Gordæi* and *Kardu*, seeme to bee one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* cals this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the *Chaldæan* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia fœlix*, of that name, and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* cals *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to bee one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of *Armenia Cordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolomie Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is vsed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the Riuer of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordiæi* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* cals *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Iosephus*; which name (saith *Iunius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this also I take to bee a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus bee called: as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Iosephus* λούβαρις (*Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Iosep. l.* 1. *c.* 4. sayes, the place is called ἀποβατήριον (as it were the descent or comming downe) and *Epiphan. l.* 1. *cont. Hæres.* cals it λόβαρ: which word in the *Armenian* and *Ægyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seeme to be deriued; and *Act.* 6. 9. they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Ægyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath beene embraced from age to age: receiuing a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

Gene. 8. 4.

See c. 7. §. 1.

Hierem. 51. 27.

Nat. hist. l. 5. c. 12

Ioseph. de Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

†. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would haue come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as Armenia.

BVt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaines *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* mountaines.

For

For firſt, it is agreed by all which follow *Beroſus*, that it was in the 130. yeare, or in the yeare 131. after the floud, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chuſh*, and *Chaldæa*. If then the *Arke* had firſt found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue ſpent ſo many yeares in ſo ſhort a paſſage: ſeeing the Region of *Meſopotamia* was onely interiacent, which might by eaſie iourneies haue beene paſt ouer in twentie dayes; and to haſten and helpe which paſſage the nauigable riuer of *Tigris* offered it ſelfe, which is euery where tranſpaſſable by boates of great burden: ſo as where the Deſart on the one ſide reſiſted their expedition, the riuer on the contrarie ſide ſerued to aduance it; the riuer riſing out of the ſame Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, where the *Arke* of *Noah* was firſt ſuppoſed to ſettle it ſelfe; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* ſtill doubted the ſurpriſe of a ſecond floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it ſoundeth ill to the eare of reaſon, that they would haue ſpent many yeeres in that low and ouerflowne Valley of *Meſopotamia*, ſo called of the many Riuers which imbroyder or compaſſe it: for the effects witneſſed their affections, and the workes, which they vndertooke, their vnbeliefe; being no ſooner arriued in *Shinar*, but they began to prouide themſelues of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) againſt any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the firſt knowne Citie of the world founded after the floud, about 131. yeares, or (as others ſuppoſe) ten yeeres later: though (for my ſelfe) I rather thinke, that they vndertooke that worke in two reſpects; firſt, to make themſelues famous, *To get vs a name* (ſaith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vſurpe dominion ouer the reſt.

Beroſ. l. 1.

Gene. 10. 10.
Beroſ. l. 1.

†. IIII.

The ſecond argument, That the Eaſterne people were moſt ancient in populoſitie, and in all humane glorie.

For a ſecond Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world firſt abounded) hath more waight then any thing which hath beene, or can be ſaid for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vſe of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the Eaſt had) may eaſily perſwade vs, that thoſe Sunne-riſing Nations were the moſt ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the Eaſt *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, makes vs now to vnderſtand, That the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonij Tianei l. 2. c. 14.* is no fable, though expreſt in fabulous wordes: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell betweene *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, vſe not themſelues to goe forth into battaile: but that they driue away their enemies with thunder and lightning ſent from *Iupiter*. By which meanes there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden ſhield. For the inuention of letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe he brought them firſt into Greece: of which the people (then rude and ſauage) had reaſon to giue him the honour, from whom they receiued the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leſſe ancient then *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are ſaid to haue written on pillars of ſtone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Eaſterne world it was that *Iohn Cuthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the deuice of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gerſon* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithſtanding that this myſterie was then ſuppoſed to bee but newly borne, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Ægyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and alſo the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any ciuill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnesſed, who about an hundred yeares ſince diſcouered thoſe Kingdomes, and doe now enioy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other Nations but Saluages, in reſpect of themſelues.

And to adde ſtrength to this argument, the conqueſt and ſtorie of *Alex. Macedon* may iuſtly bee called to witneſſe, who found more Cities and ſumptuoſitie in that little Kingdome of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the Eaſt *India*, then in all his other trauailes and vndertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatneſſe had not trauailed ſo farre to the Weſt as *Rome*: *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrie, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the Eaſt pierced his eares. And if wee looke as farre as the Sunriſing, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the vttermoſt Angle and *Iſland* thereof, we ſhall finde that thoſe Nations haue ſent out, and not receiued, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the Weſt. For the farther Eaſt (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther Weſt the more ſaluage. And of the *Iſle* of *Iapan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & ſapientiæ ſunt addictiſſimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more noſtro) ſacris in delubris exercent: vnum cognoſcunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant, The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philoſophie, and moſt diligent ſearchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they vſe in their Churches, after the manner of Chriſtians. They acknowledge one King; and worſhip one God.* The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuilitie, riches, ſumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernement, is reported to be ſuch by thoſe who haue beene employed into thoſe parts, as it ſeemeth to exceede (in thoſe formerly named, and diuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

†. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull reſiſtance which SEMIRAMIS *found in the East Indies.*

BVt for a third argument, and alſo of a treble ſtrength to the reſt, I lay the inuaſion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduiſed Reader: who may conſider in what age ſhee liued, and how ſoone after the worlds new birth ſhee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade *India*, to which hee adioyned alſo 500000. Horſe, and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we beleeue but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to proue that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein ſhee liued: All Hiſtorians conſent, that ſhee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the moſt approued Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinar*, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two deſcents caſt betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought foorth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her Armie was compoſed. Let vs then ſee with whome ſhee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the witneſſe of *Diod. Siculus*. STAVROBATES, *auitis maioribus quàm quæ erant* SEMIRAMIDIS *copijs.* STAVROBATES *gathering together greater troupes then thoſe of* SEMIRAMIS. If then theſe numbers of *Indians* had beene encreaſed but by a *Colonie* ſent out from *Shinar*, (and that alſo after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke ſome time in the performance) this encreaſe in the Eaſt, and this Armie of *Staurobates* muſt haue been made of ſtone, or ſomwhat elſe by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might

might eaſily grow vp in that time, from ſo great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as ſhall be demonſtrated hereafter in the Storie of *Iſrael*) ſo could not any ſuch time, by any multiplication naturall, produce ſo many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* Army victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* ſent thither had beene ſo late as *Babel* ouerturned, and the confuſion of Languages. For if we allow 65. yeeres time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, 30. yeeres to *Cuſh* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then 30. yeeres to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and fiue yeeres to his fiue elder brothers, which make 65. and then twice 30. yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their ſonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all 125. yeeres, there will then remaine ſixe yeeres to haue beene ſpent in trauailing from the Eaſt, ere they arriued in *Shinar* in the yeere after the Floud 131. And ſo the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of ſufficient multitude. But as for thoſe which make him to haue arriued at *Shinaar* in the yeere 101.: and the confuſion to haue beene at *Pelegs* birth, theſe men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrods* Towre in the Ayre; and not on thoſe low and mariſh grounds (which require ſound foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could be no confuſion in that yeere 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* vſurped Regall authoritie in the 131. yeere after the Floud, (according to *Beroſus*) and that the worke of *Babel* laſted fortie yeeres (according to GLYCAS) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40. *annis incaſſum laborantibus*: *Men labouring in vaine* 40. *yeeres to finiſh it*. By which account it fals out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was ſent into *Eaſt India*; which granted (the one being the maine bodie, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly bee beleeued, that *Stayrobates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empreſſe of all that part of the world, gathered the moſt of Nations into one bodie.

Gen. 10. 7.

Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris extructione. fol. 173.

†. VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers conſiderations in the perſon of NOAH.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the floud, and had liued therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that ſpace 130. yeeres after the floud, without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reaſon, that *Nimrod* was but the conducter of thoſe people, by *Noah* deſtined and appointed to fill and inhabite that middle part of the earth and the Weſterne world; (which trauailes *Noah* put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that *Noah* himſelfe then couered with many yeeres, planted himſelfe in the ſame place which God had aſſigned him: which was where he firſt came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: For it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* he planted a Vineyard, and became a Huſbandman: whoſe buſineſſe was to dreſſe and manure the earth; and not to range ouer ſo many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where he ſhould (if the tradition be ſound) haue left certaine *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spaine*, where they ſay he ſettled other companies, & built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his ſons wiues: from thence into *Italie*, where they ſay hee found his ſonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Ægypt*, who had corrupted the people and ſubiects of *Gomer* in his abſence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the ſtorie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendment, they ſay he baniſht him out of *Italie*. Theſe be but the fancies of *Beroſus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the Græcian fables. For let euery reaſonable man conceiue

conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in such a forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the floud, the same lay waste and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in those yeeres were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italie* or *Spaine*: For *Noah*, who was Father of al those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authoritie, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue vndertaken that vnbeleeuing presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and preualent perswasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the authoritie which he receiued euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as whatsoeuer they had vainely conceiued or feared, yet they durst not haue disobeyed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authoritie ouer his children and people. Certainely, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankinde was by themselues purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise vp building against his Almightie power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that hee sent those numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vsurped. *Nauclerus* and *Cœlestinus* take the testimonie of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Ioctan*: of which *Nimrod* commaunded the issues of *Cham*, *Ioctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Iaphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not bee effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sonnes of *Sem*: *Ioctan*, *Hauilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sems* issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adioyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Vr*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Ioctan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shal speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moues me to beleeue, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the storie of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankinde, and the chosen seruant of God, was too principall a person, to bee either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfe, and rested apart with his best beloued, giuing himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heauenly things, after hee had directed his children to their destined portions. For hee landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and dreft the earth; after which, and his thankes-giuing to God by sacrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriptures, because hee was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

† VII.

†. VII.

Of the ſenſeleſſe opinion of ANNIVS *the Commentor vpon* BEROSVS: *who finds diuers places where the Arke reſted; as the Caſpian and Gordiaan hils which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome place of Scythia.*

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth maruailouſly to proue, that the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted vpon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caſpij*; which mountaines ſeparate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authours ſpeake of the mountaines *Gordiæi*, hee hath no other ſhift to vnite theſe opinions, but by vniting thoſe farre-diſtant mountaines together. To effect which, he hath found no other inuention, then to charge thoſe men with errour, which haue carefully ouerſeene, printed, and publiſhed *Ptolomies* Geographie, in which they are altogether diſſeuered. For that laſt edition of *Mercators*, ſets theſe hils fiue degrees (which makes three hundred Engliſh miles) aſunder. And certainly, if we looke into thoſe more ancient copies of *Villanouanus* and others, we ſhall finde nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the mountaines *Caſpij* ſtand ſeuen degrees to the Eaſt of the *Gordiæi*, which make 420. miles. And for thoſe Authours by whoſe authoritie *Annius* ſtrengtheneth himſelfe, *Diodorus* whom hee ſo much followeth, giueth this iudgement vpon them in the like diſpute. *Aberrârunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ, ſed regnorum ſitus ignorantia, They haue all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to proue that the *Arke* of *Noah* ſtood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquitie of the *Scythians:* and to proue the ſame hee citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeares before *Ninus*, the earth was ouerflowne with waters, *& in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus, and that in Scythia Saga the ſtocke of mortall men was renewed.* The ſame Authour alſo teacheth that the *Vmbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaued from *Deucalions* floud) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex hijs veniſſe* IANVM *cum* DYRIM *& Gallis progenitoribus Vmbrorum, From theſe Scythians*, he ſaith, *that* IANVS *came with* DYRIM *and with the Galli the progenitours of the Vmbri*; And againe, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper Scythis tribuitur, Certainely, the Prime antiquitie of off-ſpring is alway giuen to the Scythians.* And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome Writers *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Alſo *Plinie* calleth the *Vmbri* which long ſince inhabited *Italie*, *Gens antiquiſſima, a moſt ancient Nation*, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to proue that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did firſt inhabite that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* reſted; and confeſſing that this great ſhip was grounded in *Armenia*, he faineth a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountaine *Ararat*, neere the Riuer of *Araxes*. And becauſe his Authour *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* mankinde was reſtored after the great floud, 250. yeares before *Ninus*) and in part vtterly deſtroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus, in Scythia Saga* mankinde *was reſtored*, hee therefore in the *Proœme* of his Commentarie vpon *Beroſus*, leaueth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his wordes, and writes *homines in Scythia ſaluatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Saca*, is vndoubtedly vnder the mountaines of *Paropaniſus*, on which, or neere which it is moſt probable that the *Arke* firſt tooke ground; and from thoſe Eaſt parts (according to *Moſes*) came all thoſe companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

Ptol. tab. Aſia. 3.

Diod. l. 3.

Cato de orig. pars prima.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

Beroſ. l. 1.

Pto. Aſia. tab. 7.

Gene. 11. 2.

But now the beſt authoritie which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus:* where he hath read,

read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *à Scytha Rege eorum, from Scytha their King.* But (in a word) we may see his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his falshood in citing this place. For *Diodorus* a most approued and diligent Authour beginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulantur Scythæ, The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula, The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable.* And (indeede) there needes no great disproofe hereof, since *Ptolomie* doeth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians, Sacæ*, which *Plinie* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Sacæ* (saith *Plinie*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they giue all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleeueth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Sacæ*; and the Countrie about *Araxes*, *Ptolomie* calleth *Colthene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100. seuerall Nations are by *Ptolomie* precisely set downe.

L. 6. c. 17.

Tab. Asia. 7. & 8

But to come to those later Authours, whereof some haue written, others haue seene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these mountaines is also beyond our purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, vsq; ostia Oxi amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipsius maris hinc vsq; ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur: Scythia within the mountaine Imaus is that part of the world, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaan mountaines: on the North by vnknowne lands: on the South by the Sacæ (which are the Sacæ) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.*

Rha now *Wolga.*

Com. 2. Asiæ. fol. 472.

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia (quæ magna sanè regio est, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur, Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations*, (saith *Niger*) much of it being betweene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can bee no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he disseuereth *Sarmatia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis, Iberia, Albania*, which he leaueth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

Ad meridiem flexo Bosphoro pars septentrionalis ponte Euxini vsq; in ostiũ Coracis fluuij: vnde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albanisq; in littus Hyrcani maris prouenit. Spec. hist. l. 30.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier *Iohn Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus* an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of those Kings, (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races descended: though he write that storie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of *Pope Clement* the fifth) in the yeare 1307. published.

Neither doth *Mathias a Michou* (a *Canon* of *Craconia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that trauailed a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria, Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose trauailes are extant) hath obserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disprouing many things, heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others hee burieth that ancient and receiued opinion, That out of the mountaines *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Riuers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; prouing by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such mountaines *in rerum natura*; and (indeede) the heads and fountaines of those famous Riuers, are now by the trade of *Muscouia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie,

and

and marish grounds. The Riuer of *Tanois* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanowesero* in the great wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Iepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* cals *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Riuers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dsuina* or *Diuidna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *European Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscouians*, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the Riuer of *Vissa*, the name perchance misprinted *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a Riuer which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East border hee nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* hee cutteth from *Europe* by the same Riuer of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the mountaine Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michou* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it selfe aboue three hundred and a few odde yeeres before his owne time: these be his wordes: *Constat eam esse gentem nouam, & aduentitiam à partibus Orientis, (mutatis sedibus) paulò plus abhinc trecentis annis Asiæ Sarmatiam ingressam*: *It is manifest* (sayth hee, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the Coasts of the East*: *from whence they entred into Asia, and gat new seates a little more then three hundred yeeres since*: For (indeed) before that time the *Gothes* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* liued in the yeere 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the yeere 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (sayth hee) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested; and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were those people which liued at the North foot of those Mountaines of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or beginne to mixe themselues with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimonie then the generall description of the Earth now extant, and the witnesse of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betweene al parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) betweene *Iaxartus* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariaca*, or *Scythia Araxea* which ANNIVS placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Sig. Herberstain.

Crüzeus calleth this Riuer *Wislaus, Niger Dyamamza.*

Pom. Mela, Vistula, & Plin. Vistillus.

§. VIII.

The fift argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, *That* NOAH *planted a Vineyard*, wee shall finde that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Countrie. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such time as *Brennus* and the *Gaules* inuaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (sayth *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gaules* remained betweene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neere vnto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhabite that Countrie, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from elsewhere into *Italie*.

Gen. 9. 20.

Seruius Æneid. Eutropius.

Now it is manifest that *Noah* trauailed not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his Sacrifice and Thankesgiuing to God; and whersoeuer the *Arke* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare that hee trauailed farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that hee was a Husbandman, and not a Wanderer.

†. IX.

Answere to an obiection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence vpon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinar*, it doth not appeare, sauing that it may be inferred out of these wordes *(from thence)* because it is written: *So the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Towre: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybilla* (as they are conuerted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*, for they haue this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem adificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam cœlum essent ascensuri: Certaine of them built a most high Towre, as if they meant thereby to haue scaled the Heauens.*

†. X.

An answere to the obiection from the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the heighth of the Hils there.

BVT before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the *Arke* of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these wordes: *The Arke rested on* (or vpon) *the Mountaines of Ararat* or *Armenia*, saith the marginall note of the *Geneua*, the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* cals it *Kardu*; of which the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* doe not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine of *Armenia*, because *Armenia* it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Arke* first sate thereon.

Gen. 8. 14.

Epiph. l. 1. contra Hæres.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neyther is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neyther is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Mountaines of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the highest Mountaine of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also vncouered, before *Noah* came out of the *Arke*. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, wee might giue more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, vpon which it was supposed that the *Arke* stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these Mountaines, and to proue them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the Citie of *Cælenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a Riuer which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer *Meander*, which is farre from the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in IOSEPHVS, (though out of BEROSVS, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that IOSEPHVS sets *Ararat* betweene ARMENIA and PARTHIA toward ADIABENE, and affirmeth

affirmeth withall, that in the Pronince of *Caron* by others *Kauros* and *Arnos*, ſo called by reaſon that the waters haue from thence no deſcent, nor iſſue out, the people vaunt that they had in thoſe dayes reſerued ſome pieces of *Noahs Arke*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where vpon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Prouince of *Aſſyria*: ſo that all *Media* and a part of *Aſſyria* is betweene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the diſcouerie of the Mountaines *Cordiæi* was firſt borrowed out of *Beroſus* by *Ioſephus*; yet the Text which *Ioſephus* citeth out of *Beroſus*, differs farre from the wordes of that *Beroſus*, which wandreth vp and downe in theſe dayes, ſet out by *Annius*. For *Beroſus* cited by *Ioſephus*, hath theſe words: *Fertur & nauigij huius pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordiæorum ſupereſſe, & quoſdam bitumen inde abraſum ſecum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci huius homines vti ſolent*: (which is) *It is reported alſo that a part of this ſhip is yet remaining in Armenia vpon the Cordiæan Mountaines; and that diuers doe ſcrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they vſe it inſtead of an amulet*. But *Annius* his Edition of the Fragment of *Beroſus* vſeth theſe wordes: *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordiæi montis vertice quieuit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè vtuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted vp by the waters, reſted on the top of the Gordiæan Mountaines, of which it is reported that ſome parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith*: ſo as in theſe two Texts (beſides the difference of words) the name is diuerſly written. The ancient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a *(C.)* and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a *(G.)* the one that the *Bitumen* is vſed for a preſeruatiue againſt Poyſon or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice; And if it bee ſaid that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Authour: for one of them vſeth the word *(fertur)* the other *(dicitur)* the one, that ſo it is *reported*, the other, *that ſo it is ſayd*; and both but by heare-ſay, and therefore of no anothoritie nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, as wiſe men neyther report after it, nor giue credit to any thing they receiue from it.

Furthermore, theſe Mountaines which *Ptolomie* cals *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe Mountaines which himſelfe giueth to *Armenia*, but hee calleth the Mountaines of *Armenia Moſchici*. Theſe be his owne wordes: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ij, qui Moſchici appellantur, qui protenduntur vſq; ad ſuperiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moſchici, which ſtretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: alſo the Hill which is called Paryardes*; which Mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which lye to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians* and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt Infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkie*, doe ſtill remaine *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountaines of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris Kardu* or *Lubar*, (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Togordiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

Pto. Aſiæ. tab.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

†. XI.

Of Caucaſus, and diuers farre higher Hils then the Armenian.

FOR the beſt *Coſmographers* with other, that haue ſeene the Mountanes of *Armenia*, find them farre inferiour, and vnder-ſet to diuers other Mountaines euen in that part of the World, and elſewhere: as the Mountaine *Athos* betweene *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolomie* cals *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is farre ſurmounting any Mountaine that euer hath beene ſeene in *Armenia*: for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is ſeuen and thirtie miles and vpwardes: of which *Plutarch*: *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bouis: Athos ſhaddoweth the Cow of Lemnos.*

Plut. Muſt. Coſm.

nos. Also the Mount of *Olympus* in *Thessalie*, is sayd to be of that heighth, as neither the Winds, Cloudes, or Raine ouertop it. Againe, the Mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Mysia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the Riuer *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a farre more admiration then any in *Armenia*, and may bee seene from *Constantinople*. There are also in *Mauritania* neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which HERODOTVS: *Extat in hoc mari Mons, cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, vt ad illius verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non possint*: *Vpon this Coast there is a Mountaine called Atlas, whose heighth is sayd to be such, as the eye of no mortall man can discerne the top thereof.* And if we may beleeue *Aristotle*, then are all these inferiour to *Caucasus*, which hee maketh the most notorious both for breadth and heighth: *Caucasus Mons omnium maximus, qui astiuum ad ortum sunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cuius iuga à Sole radiantur vsq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu; Caucasus* (saith ARISTOTLE) *is the greatest Mountain both for breadth and heighth of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightned by the Sun-beames, vsq; ad conticinium* (which is saith *Macrobius*) *betweene the first crowing after mid-night and the breake of day*: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleeue eyther: for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Sunnes companie at any such late houres. Besides, these Mountaines which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasi*, are those which separate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the Riuer of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountaine, which himselfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hils which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which Riuer (it is manifest) yeeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoeuer *Mercator* bring it from *Peryardes*.

Arist. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.

†. XII.

Of diuers incongruities, if in this Storie we should take Ararat for Armenia.

SO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Sybils* set it in *Phrygia*: and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authoritie, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition haue equall credit: for there are many Hils which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (sayth *Hierome*) signifieth high Towres: and so may all high Hils bee called indifferently; and therefore wee may better giue the name of *Baris* to the Hils of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) then to any Hils of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are vndoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselues doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordiei* stand: for *Ptolomie* distinguisheth the Mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth those of *Armenia Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moschici* are those Hils which disioyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Countrie of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary ſituation of Armenia to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marualle that the ſame ledge of Hils running from Armenia to India, ſhould keepe the ſame name all along: and euen in India bee called Ararat.

LAſtly, we muſt blow vp this Mountaine *Ararat* it ſelfe, or elſe wee muſt digge it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*; or find it elſewhere, and in a warmer Countrie, and (withall) ſet it Eaſt from *Shinaar*: or elſe wee ſhall wound the Truth it ſelfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to euery eye, wee muſt vnderſtand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moſes*) is not any one Hill, ſo called, no more then any one Hill among thoſe Mountaines which diuide *Italie* from *France* is called the *Alpes*: or any one among thoſe which part *France* from *Spaine* is the *Pyrenian*; but as theſe being continuations of many Hils keepe one name in diuers Countries: ſo all that long ledge of Mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they encounter and croſſe the Mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabout they ſeeeme to ariſe. So all theſe Mountaines of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpij Moſchici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diuerſly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* cals by one name *Caucaſus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caſpium* and *Euxinus*: as all thoſe Mountaines which cut aſunder *America*, euen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the ſtreight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe Mountaines of *Ararat* runne Eaſt and Weſt: ſo doe thoſe maruailous Mountaines of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelues North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imaus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth theſe former hils *Taurus*, and *Moſes* the hils of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeuerall names giuen by *Ptolomie* was, thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the great Regions and Kingdomes, which theſe great mountaines bound and diſſeuer; as *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropaniſus*: hauing all theſe Kingdomes either on the North or South ſide of them. For all the mountaines of *Aſia* (both the leſſe and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*: and they receiue other titles, as they ſeuer and diuide particular places and regions. For theſe mountaines which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſſe on the North ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Prouince of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running Eaſt and Weſt, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* forceth her paſſage, leauing the name of *Amanus* to the mountaines on her Weſt banke; and on her Eaſt ſide the mountaines are ſometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates*: (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*; but then they call themſelues *Coatras*, though betweene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Eaſterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themſelues *Orontes*, and towards the Eaſt part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the Riuer of *Bagradus* riſeth, which diuideth the ancient *Perſia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their courſe Eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themſelues into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riſeth the Riuer *Margus*, afterward yeelding her ſelfe to *Oxus*: (now *Abia*) and drawing now neere their wayes

Plinie in his deſcription of *Lycia*. l. 5. c. 27.

end, they first make themselues the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*; and lastly of *Caucasi*, euen where the famous Riuer of *Indus* with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus* spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselues exceeding high, to equall the strong Hils called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountaines in this place onely, are properly called *Caucasi* (sayth *Ptolomie*) that is, betweene *Paroponisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

Ptol. tab. Asia.

†. XIIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines Caucasi and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

NOw in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and Riuer *Ianus*, and the Mountaine *Nyseus* (so called of *Bacchus Niseus* or *Noa*) are found: and on these higheſt Mountaines of that part of the World did *Goropius Becanus* conceiue that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud: of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best reason approued. In his *Indoscythia* hee hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantasticall opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34. 35. and 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Iudea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*, and vnder these Mountaines, *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the Searchers of the Land by *Moses* direction found bunches of equall bigneſſe at *Escol*.

Num. 13. 24.

The fruitfulneſſe of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hils, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaine of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate Wine of all other.

†. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also trauerse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giueth to this ledge of high Hils, euen from *Cilicia* to *Paroponisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hils of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all betweene *France* and *Spaine* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hils for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*; so was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moses* gaue them; the diuersitie of appellations no otherwise growing, then by their diuiding and bordering diuers Regions and diuers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and ouer against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betweene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: betweene *Athens* and *Asia*, *Ægeum*: betweene *Sestus* and *Abydus*, *Hellespont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these,

L. 5. c. 27.

these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this side, the *Brittaine* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a finall end of this question we must appeale to that Iudge which cannot erre, euen to the word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction then the words beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sense is plaine (and being so vnderstood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconuenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selues any new or strange exposition; and (withall) to resolue our selues, that euery word (as aforesaid) hath his waight in Gods Booke. And therefore we must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as S. *Augustine* hath taught vs touching the Gospell of CHRIST IESVS (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat, quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Euangelio legerit, quàm si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit*; *That no man otherwise take or vnderstand that which he readeth in the Gospell (the Disciples of Christ hauing written it) then if he had seene the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his owne body, setting it downe*.

The wordes then of *Moses* which end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode*: which proueth without controuersie, that *Nimrod* and all with him came from the East into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* rested and tooke land to the East-ward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places whersoeuer *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, hee alwayes precisely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Ioctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth: *And* CAIN *dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden*: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he vsed these wordes: *Afterwards remooving thence vnto a Mountayne Eastward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: hauing Bethel on the West-side, and Hai on the East*: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written: *And* ABRAHAM *went forth iourneying towards the South*: also when *Ezechiel* prophecied of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these Nations of *Togorma* were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that *shee came from the South to visit* SALOMON: And the *Magi (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer presents vnto Christ*. And that all Regions, and these trauailes were precisely set downe vpon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Iudæa*, *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Ægypt* directly South; and the *Cœlesyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palestina*, and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arriue in that Vally of *Babylonia*, is not a iournying from the East, nor so neere vnto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in fortie fiue; and those *Gordiæan* Mountaynes, whereon it was supposed that the *Arke* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are situated in thirtie fiue, and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betweene East and West) the *Gordiæan* Mountaynes stand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* Northwest, ninetie fiue degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had beene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compasse. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne vs, *In scripturis ne minima*

Gen.c.11.v.2.
Gen.10.30.
Gen.4.16.
Gen.12.8.
Ezech.38.6.
Matth.12.42.
Matth.2.v.1.

minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for euery speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not beleeue Writers (of little authoritie) who also speake by heare-say and by report, *vt fertur, & vt dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all-aduenture. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, which had *Noah* himselfe for an Instructer: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also, which ouertopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne Mountaynes, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountaynes of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountaynes of the Northwest, as *Berosus* first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where *Noah* rested, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and liued thereon. *Placuit vero* NOACHO *agriculturæ studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamq; rem sua ipsius lingua* ISH-ADAMATH *(hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusq; est; The studie of Husbandrie pleased* NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) *in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that* NOAH *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth.* Which also sheweth that he was no Wanderer: and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where he was first deliuered out of the prison of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preserue him and mankinde.

CHAP.

Caucasus
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
Caucasus m.
TARTARIA
IBERIA
Iaxartus
PONTVS EVXINVS
MAR DE BACHV
MARE CASPIVM
ET HYRCANVM
Ariaca
Ioctus f.
Trapezus pontus
Moschici m:
Moschici
Paryardes
Oxus
Bithynia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Cappadocia
ARMENIA
Troas
PHRIGIA
NATOLIA
Gordæi mountains
Lydia
Taurus
Tauris or Erbatana
HIRCANIA
aria
Armenia minor
ARARAT
TAVRVS
MARGIANA
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
Mazada
ASSYRIA
PARTHIA
CYPRVS
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tygris
The passage of
NIMROD
Libanus
IVDEA
ARABIA DESERTA
BABILON
SVSIANA
Alexandria
ARABIA PETRÆA
CHALDEA
PERSIA peopled by ELAM
CARMANIA DESERTA
Sues
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
Th. Gulf of Persia
CARMANIA
Alexand.
NILVS
Suathen
FÆLEX
The red Sea
Aden
ABYSSINS
ÆTHIOPIA
INDIA
PELA

TARTARIÆ
PARS
SIVE SCYTHIA IN
TRA IMAVM
IMAVS
SCYTHIA
EXTRA
IMAVM
Nagratot
SOGDIANA
BACTRIA
The Arck
Heniochi
ARARAT
TAVRVS
CAVCASI
Declanour
PAROPANISVS
Alex
Bucep
ARACAN
The passage of Ophir & Havilah
into India
INDIA INTRA
GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA
GANGEM
Alexandria
GANGES
BENGALA
GEDROSIA
CAMBAIA
NARSINGA
PEGV
Goa
BISINAGAR
GVLF OF BENGALA
OR
SINVS GANGETICVS
Calecut
ZELAN
MALACA
SVMATRA

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the floud; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SEM, HAM, *and* IAPHET, *by whom the earth was repeopled.*

§. I.

Whether SHEM *and* HAM *were elder then* IAPHET.

OF these Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. S. *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Iaphet* for the yongest: and herein the opinions of Writers are diuers. *August. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 16. c. 3.* But this we finde euerywhere in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in yeeres, but in vertue, as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Iacob*, and *Dauid*, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie; The *Latine* translation, and so the *Geneua*, hath conuerted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. *v.* 21. in these wordes: *Vnto* SHEM *also the Father of all the Sonnes of* HEBER, *and elder brother of* IAPHET, *were children borne*. But *Iunius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same wordes in this manner: *To* SHEM *also the Father of all the Sonnes of* HEBER, *and brother of* IAPHET, *the eldest sonne were children borne*: So the transposition of the word *(elder)* made this difference. For if the word *(elder)* had followed after *Iaphet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for *Iaphet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for *Iaphet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainely vnderstood without any danger or inconuenience, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the fiue hundreth yeere of his life, begat the first of his three Sonnes, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*: and in the sixe hundreth yeere (to wit) the hundreth yeere following, came the generall floud; two yeeres after which *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Shems* life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the floud: and *Noah* begat his first borne being 500. yeeres old; and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the floud, and in the sixe hundreth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. *Gen. 11. 10.* Which seeing the Scripture before remembred hath denyed him, and that it is also written: *Then* NOAH *awoke from his wine, and knew what his yonger sonne had done vnto him (to wit)* HAM; of necessitie the first place doth belong to *Iaphet*. This *yonger sonne* so conuerted by the vulgar and *Geneua*, *Iunius* turnes it *filius minimus*; *His yongest sonne*; but S. *Chrysostome* takes it otherwise, and findes *Cham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Iaphet* the yongest sonne of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was disinherited, and lost the preeminencie of his birth, as *Esau* and *Reuben* did. *Gen. 11. v. 24.* *Pererius* conceiueth that *Ham* was called the yonger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but *In Gen.* auoweth

auoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *yonger* and *yongest*, because it wanteth the comparatiue degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this waightie respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Christ* our Sauiour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneua*, who agree in this conuersion, SHEM *frater* IAPHET *maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius*, and *Tremelius*, SHEM *fratri* IAPHET *maioris*; or with *Pererius*, SHEM *frater* IAPHET *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the floud did not agree with his eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM *was an hundred yeeres old, and begat* ARPHAXAD *two yeeres after the floud*; and againe in the 12. Verse: *So* SHELA *liued after he begat* EBAR, *foure hundred and three yeeres, &c.* so as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of fiue yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres were alwayes precisely accounted.

Gen. 11. *v.* 10.

§. II.

Of diuers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World, as that all Histories must yeeld to MOSES: *that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the issue of* HAM.

BVt let vs goe vnto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall finde that many Nations haue supposed or fayned themselues those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the sonnes and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receiue allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath beene borrowed thence, and therefore later then it, as all carefull obseruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the *Proœme* of his Chronologie: MOSES *is found more ancient then all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as* HOMER, HESIOD, *and the Troian warre, and farre before* HERCVLES, MVSÆVS, LINVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLVX, ÆSCVLAPIVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRIVS, *and* APOLLO, *and the rest of the gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* IVPITER, *whom the Greekes haue seated in the top and highest Turret of their Diuinitie.*

Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 3.

For of the three *Iupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Æther*, whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*: *Eduxit* MOSES *populum Dei ex Ægypto nouissimo tempore*

pere CECROPIS *Atheniensis Regis*; MOSES *brought the children of Israel out of Ægypt, in the last dayes of* CECROPS *King of the Athenians*, saith S. *Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it selfe, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuersly proued, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand, by alleaging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place. *De Ciuit. Dei, l. 18. c. 11.*

The Sonnes of IAPHET were,
- *Gomer*,
  - The Sonnes of GOMER were,
    - *Askenaz*,
    - *Riphath*,
    - *Togorma*.
- *Magog*,
- *Madai*,
- *Iauan*,
  - The Sonnes of IAVAN were,
    - *Elisha*,
    - *Tarshis*,
    - *Kittim*, and
    - *Dodanim*.
- *Tubal*,
- *Meshach*, and
- *Tiras*.

First, we are to consider that the world after the floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings, to flie from *Shinaar* to the vttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wise Father, who knew those parts of the world before the floud, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as Discouerers, or at all-aduenture, but assigned and allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to harken to fabulous Authors, who haue no other end then to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselues, and after them vpon Reason and Nature. First, therefore we must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euerywhere had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest Vallies with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our selues thereby, what wonderfull Desarts, what inpassable fastnesse of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaynes) was pestered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying winter depresseth all vegetatiue and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twentie or thirtie yeeres these our grounds would all ouer-grow and be couered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods or with other offensiue Thickets and Bushments: much more did all sorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeeres, to raise themselues without controlement.

This being considered, it will appeare, that all these people which came into *Shinaar*, and ouer whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength tooke the Dominion, did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mightie People, disperse themselues into the Regions adioyning to the said Vally of *Shinaar*, which contayned the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first possest; yet could he not enioy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For we finde, that *Abraham* the true successor of *Shem* dwelt in *Chaldæa* at *Vr*; and from thence (called by God) he rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he trauailed to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed betweene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselues) seuen descents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldæa*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Assyria*, and founded *Niniue*. Indeed

deed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as we can know) were, in that Age of the issues of *Ham*; the blessing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Iaphet* taking lesse effect, vntill diuers yeeres were consumed; and vntill the time arriued, which by the wisedome of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, for many descents together.

§. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in IAPHETS *portion: of* BEROSVS *his too speedie seating* GOMER *the sonne of* IAPHET *in Italie; and another of* IAPHETS *sonnes* TVBAL *in Spaine: and of the antiquitie of Longinque Nauigation.*

TO begin therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Iapheth*, among whom the Iles of the *Gentiles* were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Iaphets* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeere after the floud one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of *Iaphet* were the Iles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning, and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea *Hellespont* and *Ægeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, sauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Iles lying betweene *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Iles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creet* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Iles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their yong-ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Iapheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*. *Dilatet Deus* IAPHETH; *Let God spreade abroad* (or increase the posteritie of) *Iapheth*, *and let him dwell in the Tents of* SHEM. For though *Iunius* here vseth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneua persuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the posteritie of *Iapheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Iaphets* sonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may beleeue *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers haue followed) did in the tenth yeere of *Nimrods* reigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italie*: which also *Funcius* confirmeth in these words: *anno decimo* NIMRODI, *&c. In the tenth yeere of* NIMRODS *reigne*, GOMERVS GALLVS *planted a Colonie in that land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the same* NIMRODS *reigne* TVBAL *seated himselfe in Asturia in Spaine (now called Biscay) which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *yeeres after the floud, according to* BEROSVS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselues, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Towre required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Funcius* himselfe out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; *To the*

Gen. 9. v. 27.

Funcl. Chronol.

the height and magnitude of the Mountaines. Sure that both this Citie and Towre were almost builded the Scriptures witnesse: *But the Lord came downe to see the Citie and Towre, which the Sonnes of men builded.* Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Bricke to such a Worke, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuersall Floud couered the highest Mountaines fifteene Cubits; *Let vs build vs a Citie and a Towre* (saith NIMROD) *whose top may reach vnto the Heauen*: meaning, that they would rayse their Worke aboue fifteene Cubits higher then the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselues from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the World: as by the great ruine which these waters forceably ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approued also by the Prophet *Hieremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these wordes: *Thou that dwellest vpon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, *Glycas* vpon *Genesis* giueth fortie yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Towre was neere finished when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the earth, and they left to build the Citie.* Out of which place it may bee gathered (because the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Worke of their supposed defence, which was the Towre: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to bee noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Towre was throwne downe) these Nations did not disperse themselues: for *from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceiued not one anothers speech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newnesse of the World (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeeres; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same yeere could creepe through 3000. miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let those light Beleeuers, that neyther tye themselues to the Scripture, nor to reason, approoue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeeres in building, or but neere such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. yeeres, it were more then foolishnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arriuall at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeeres, and whereof they had spent some part in trauailing from the East. Againe, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Worke 400. yeeres (or bee it but halfe that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Towre of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) bee erected in those few yeeres remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement waigh with themselues how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wiues and Children, and Cattell, to trauaile 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Desarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeeres then of 100. daies. For in the West *Indies* of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor Guide, they haue not entred the Countrey ten miles in tenne yeeres. And if *Nimrods* people spent many yeeres by the account before remembred in passing from the *East-India* or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, vntill they came into *Shinaar* which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance betweene those places containing 36. Degrees, which make 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the bodie of *Biscay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Asturia* or *Biscay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or

Gen. c. 11.

Gen. 11.

Plin.

of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke diuers yeeres to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (supposing that the *Arke* rested in *Armenia*) little aboue 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrarie, but to allow as many yeeres to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to trauaile 3000. miles to Countries lesse knowne vnto them by farre; then the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was knowne to *Noah* before the Floud: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembred; but what hee vnderstood of most part of the World else it is vnknowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill aduise himselfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* Raigne: *Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be borne at one?* But it may bee obiected, That the Sonnes of *Iapheth* might come by Sea, and so saue this great trauaile through Desarts by Land. But we neuer read of any Nauigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke so great a people as we may iustly suppose those Conducters carried with them, will not easily beleeue, that there were any Vessels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whose Milke they liued and fed their Children: for Milke and Fruit were the banquetting dishes of our Forefathers. And in the eldest times, euen the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselues by the Heards and numbers of their Cattel: who had flocks of Sheep, and great Droues and Heards of their owne, and their owne Sheep-heards and Heardsmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palæstina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, he might haue made good choice within the Streights, and not haue ouergone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Prouinces in that Tract: past the Streights of *Gibralter*, disdained all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and haue sought out the yron, wooddy, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Nauigation. But before the iourney of the *Argonauts* there were scarce any Vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Iason* had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance such as they vse this day in *Ireland*: which although it carried but foure and fiftie Passengers, yet was it farre greater then any of the former times: *Erat enim antea parua rum nauicularum vsus*: *For in former times they vsed very small Vessels.* I denie not but that the *Tyrians* gaue themselues of olde to farre-off Nauigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the inuention of Ships vnto them:

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros,

Tyrus knew first how Ships might vse the wind.

And for those boates called *longæ naues* or Gallies, *Plinie* saith that *Ægesias* ascribeth the deuice to *Paralus*: and *Philostephanus* to *Iason*: *Ctesias* to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Ægeon*: to which inuention the *Erythræi* are said to haue added certaine numbers of Oares: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to haue increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure Bankes: the *Quinq; Remi* first to haue beene vsed by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the World, the *Romans* serued themselues in the *Punick* War. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the deuising of these Gallies on *Sesostris*, though *Semiramis* vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the inuention; and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrarie) giues it to *Minerua*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Ægyptians* vsed to coast the Shores of the Red Sea vpon rafts, deuised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Britans* had a kind of Boat (with which they croft the Seas) made of small twigs, and couered ouer with Leather:

Isai.1.66.v.8.

Diod.Sicul.l.4. c.4.fol.115.

Tibull. Eleg.7. Strabo.l.16.

Diod. Sicul.l.1. Plin.l.7.c.56.

Thucyd.

Plin.l.7.c.56. Euseb.de præp. Euang.c.1. Tert.de Coron. mil.

Leather: of which kind I haue ſeene at the *Bongle* in *Ireland*, and elſewhere. *Nauis ex corio circumſuta in Oceano Britannico* (ſaith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Primùm cana ſalix, madefactâ vimine, paruam
Texitur in puppim, cæſoq; induta iuuenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum ſuperenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſoq; Britannus
Nauigat Oceano.

The moyſtned Oſyer of the hoarie Willow
Is wouen firſt into a little Boat:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes Hide, vpon the billow
Of a proud Riuer, lightly doth it float
Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of ouerſwelling *Poe*
Sailes the *Venetian*: and the *Brittaine* ſo
On th' out-ſpred Ocean.

And although it cannot bee denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inſpiration was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Nauigation were firſt reuealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betweene the *Arke* of *Noah*, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Nauigation. Yea ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume vpon any long Voyages to Sea: at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as alſo common reaſon can tell vs, that euen now when this Arte is come to her perfection, ſuch Voiages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or vſe of Ships fit for any long Nauigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelues and their people by Sea; the exerciſe of Nauigation would not haue beene dead for ſo many hundred yeeres after. Leauing therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who haue caſt Nations into Countries farre off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moſes* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is ioyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policie, and neceſſitie: and to the reſt, neither probabilitie, nor poſſibilitie.

§. IIII.

Of GOG *and* MAGOG, TVBAL, *and* MESECH, *ſeated firſt about Aſia the leſſe, out of* EZECHIEL CAP. 38. 39.

NOw although many learned and reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath beene and is receiued: yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainely, that great learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus* was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Ioſephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall, ſo was he in this Plantation of the World very groſſe and fabulous, whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that haue taken his teſtimonies for currant, haue beene by him farre miſled. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the World *Gomer* the firſt ſonne of *Iaphet* poſſeſt, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needfull to beginne with *Magog*: becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, ſaith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I find

most iudicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or chiefe Conductor in their attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Iapheths* issues possest, all *Asia* the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of *Iapheth* (whom *Ezechiel* speakes of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare, if wee consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophecieth of the vniting of the two Kingdomes of *Israel* and *Iuda*, after their deliuerie from captiuitie.

c.37.v.19.

By which prophecie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; *And* DAVID *my seruant shall bee King ouer them, and they shall haue one sheepe-heard*, (that is) they shall bee vnited as they were in *Dauids* time. Heereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* prophecieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vnion, and disturbe the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receiue to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their returne, and sought to subiect them: all which were the subiects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœlesyrians*, next bordering *Palestina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the lesse, which lay North from *Iudæa*. The words of *Ezechiel* are these: *Sonne of man, set thy face against* GOG, *and against the land of* MAGOG, *the chiefe Princes of* MESECH (or MOSOCH) *and* TVBAL: and afterward; *Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of* MESHECH *and* TVBAL: and in the sixth Verse; GOMER *and all his bands, and the house of* TOGORMA *of the North quarters*. Herein *Ezechiel* hauing first deliuered the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vaine assaile *Israel*. He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Iuda*, and how seated and ioyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the *Hebrew* (sayth Saint *Hierome*) *tectum* or *couering of a house*: and *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (sayth hee) *Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana*: *That Antichrist shall be the couering of the Deuill vnder humane forme*. Hee addeth that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the letter (*M*) being an *Hebrew* Preposition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So farre *Pintus*; at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this obseruation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog* (sayth he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to bee a Region or Nation: for the letter (*He*) which is vsed but for an *Emphasis* (which the *Hebrewes* call *Heliaedia*) is neuer added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called eyther *Magog*, or according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech*, (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 39. Chapter is made manifest: *Behold, I come against thee* GOG *the chiefe Prince of* MESHECH *and* TVBAL. This must needes bee meant by the Successours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Iewes* their Tributaries onely, but endeuoured by all meanes, and by all kind of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the *Hebrews* profest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. S. *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike because they inuaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* deriues the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: other of a Region: others for a Nation inhabi-

c.38. v. 2.

In Ezek.

L. 2. de Fide.

inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who saies that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greeke* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time hauing slaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Riuers of *Hyllus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after he had subdued the Countrie about the Riuer *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Hellespont*, called the Promontorie *Trapese* after his owne name *Gyges*. These opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Iunius*. For *Magog*, sayth hee, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his sonne *Cræsus*; who (as *Iunius* further notes) hauing mastred all those Regions as farre South as *Libanus* in that border built the Citie *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Cælesyria*, whose people were the ancient Enemies of the *Iewes*.

Strab. l. 13. *Suid. col. 207.* *Iun. in Ezech. 38*

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cælesyria*, *Plinie* affirmeth, saying; *Cælesyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris verò Magog. Cælesyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog.* Hee further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes Derceto*, was here worshipped, *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yet hee expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing elegantly in the *Greeke*. But if wee may beleeue *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authours did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subiect vnto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now I doe not condemne the opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Iosephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cælesyria* and the North parts adioyning bee meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to bee denied, that the *Scythians* in olde times comming out of the Northeast wasted the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and possest *Cælesyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Iudæa*, according to the wordes of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolomies* Kings of *Ægypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successours of *Seleucus*, the Successour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinkes that this *Hierapolis* is that *Reges*, mentioned in the Storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to haue beene called *Bambyce*, as we haue said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name; now the knowne name is *Allepo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatrie, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermaide *Atergatis*, or *Atargatis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Derceto*.

Lib. 4. cap. de bello Sacro.

If then wee conferre the words of *Ezechiel* in the third verse of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein hee ioyneth together *Gog Mesech*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Iudæa*: with whom also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northerne Nations in respect of *Iudæa*) were not the *Gomeri-*

ans of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spaine*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Cœlesyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Iosephus*, and whosoeuer else hath followed them therein are to bee reiected. But if *Iosephus* referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* passe into *Spaine* (to wit, from that piece of Land betweene *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*: (most part possest by the *Georgians*) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may bee granted, that in processe of time these people might from their first habitation passe into the Countries neere the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spaine*.

Iosephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Iustine*) *they passed into Spaine to search out the Mines of that Region*: hauing belike vnderstood that it was a Southerly Countrie and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* liued altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them;

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant:

The *Calybes* plough not their barren soyle
But vndermine high Hils for Iron Veines:
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle
For marchandize, which their poore liues sustaines.

But it is more probable, that *Spaine* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had euer since an affection to returne thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrie; and after by the *Moores* who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, then that in the twelfth yeere of *Nimrods* raigne, *Tubal* past into *Spaine*, and therein built S^t. *Ual*: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde *Mosoch* or *Mesech*, and *Tubal* neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farre off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their assistants. And that *Mesech* inhabited *Asia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his wordes: MESACVS, *qui à* MOSE MESECH, *priscos Mesios ab Adula monte vsq; ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua vrbs Mazica, &c. hæc est terra* MAGOG *principalis*. MESACVS, *whom* MOSES *calleth* MESECH, *placed the ancient Mesians from the mount Adulas, vnto the coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Countrie of* MAGOG. And this doth *Annius* also auow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spaine* lying directly West, and not North from *Iudea*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* ioyntly. And for a finall proofe, that these Nations were of a Northerne neighbour land (how farre soeuer stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride vpon horses, euen a great multitude and a mightie.* Then if any man beleeue that these troupes came out of *Spaine ouer the Pyrenes*, and first passed ouer a part of *France*, *Italie*, *Hungarie*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Hellespont*, or else compassed all *Pontus Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is halfe the length or compasse of the then knowne world, he may be called a strong beleeuer, but he shall neuer be iustified thereby. But on the contrarie it

is knowne, that *Seleucis* was a Prouince neighbouring *Paleſtina* or *Iudea*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) ioyned vnto it: whoſe Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Aſia* the leſſe, (namely the *Seleucidæ*) and held it, till *Scipio Aſiaticus* ouerthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which they yet poſſeſt *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meſhech* be in *Cappadocia*, or vnder *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the ſame Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be ſaid. Firſt he ſeated himſelfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Aſia* the leſſe; and in long tract of time his valiant iſſue filled all *Germany*, reſted long in *France* and *Brittaine*, and poſſeſſed the vtmoſt borders of the earth, accompliſhing (as *Melanctan* well notes) the ſignification of their parents name, which is *Vtmoſt bordering*. But when theſe borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might exonerate their ſwelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly paſſed, oppreſſing firſt their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy reſtorer of our antiquities, *M. William Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old language doth ſignifie Robbers; neceſſitie inforcing them to ſpoile their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere ioyned, as afterwards in the ſeates which they poſſeſſed. For that the warlike Nations of *Germanie* were in elder ages accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authoritie of *Cæſar* affirming it is proofe ſufficient. But in times following they purſued richer conqueſts, and more eaſie though further diſtant, by which (to omit their other enterpriſes not here to be ſpoken of) they were drawne at length into *Aſia* the leſſe, and occupyed thoſe parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitors. I ſay not that they claymed thoſe Lands as theirs by deſcent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne pedigree. Neither can any man therefore denie, that they were of old ſeated in *Aſia*, becauſe in late ages they returned thither; vnleſſe he will thinke, that all thoſe Nations which from farre parts haue inuaded and conquered the land of *Shinaar*, may by that argument be proued not to haue iſſued from thence at the firſt.

Now concerning *Samothes* for his excellent wiſedome ſurnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which brother *Moſes* neuer heard of, who ſpake his knowledge of *Iaphets* ſonnes) they muſt finde him in ſome old Poet: for *Functius*, a great *Beroſian*, confeſſeth: *Quis his* SAMOTHES *fuerit incertum eſt*; *Who this* SAMOTHES *was it is vncertayne*; neither is there any proofe that he was that ſame *Dis*, whom *Cæſar* ſaith the *Gaules* ſuppoſe to be their Anceſter; yea, and *Vignier* confeſſeth with FVNCTIVS: *Mais on ne ſçayt qui il eſtoit*; *No man knowes who he was*. *In chron.* *Cæſar Comment.* *Vigni. pars 1. Chron.*

§. V.

Againſt the fabulous BEROSVS *his fiction, That the Italian* IANVS *was* NOAH.

BVt before I goe on with *Noah* his ſonnes, I thinke it neceſſarie to diſproue the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himſelfe: an inuention (indeede) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wreſted) by thoſe Authors of whom himſelfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Beroſus*, *Fabius*, *Victor*, *Cato*, *Lauinius* and others. For *Annius* ſeekes to perſwade vs, that *Noah* (ſurnamed *Ianus*) was the ſame which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein he lined 92. yeeres. This to diſproue, by *Moſes* ſilence, is a ſufficient argument to me, if there were nothing elſe to diſproue it. For if he vouchſafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* *Ann. de Hetruſ. Picl. de aut. ſæculo.* *Cato de origin. Lanin. illuſt. de Gall.*

Chalne and *Ninive* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disproue the authoritie of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned Men haue so demonstratiuely proued that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian* in his Oration against the *Greekes* auoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely three Books, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: but *Annius* hath deuised fiue Bookes, wherewith he honoreth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the world: And if we may beleeue *Eusebius* better then *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) consumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arriuall into *Italie* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who marryed *Booz*, in the Worlds yeere (as some reckon) 2717. after the floud 1064. and *Noah* dyed 350. yeeres after the floud: and so there past betweene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* surnamed *Ianus* 704. yeeres. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinus* liued at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Assyria*; with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Iudge of *Israel*. Now all these fiue Kings of the *Latines* hauing consumed but one hundred and fiftie yeeres; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fiftie yeeres, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

Ioseph. l. 1.

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeede the children of *Iauan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Iauan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*, which is the same. So had they *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*, whom they make the parent of the *Medes*, though they were descended of a farre more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*.

Ezech. 27. 19. 13 & so the place of *Esai 66. 19.* (for *Iauan*) *Hellada*: and (for the plurall *Iauanim*) *Hellene*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* language hath remayned among vs aboue 2000. yeeres, and the *English* speech euer since the inuasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance haue all Nations obserued among themselues, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spaine*, that no plaine resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could haue quite extinguished) should haue beene found in the languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall plantations of *Ianus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *&c.* in *Italie*, *Spaine*, or *France*, are meerely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselues with the *Grecian Ianus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus* the fist King: which also S. *Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disproue this vanitie, I may out of themselues adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camasena*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleeue that *Noah* himselfe (who is said by *Moses* to *haue walked with God*, to be a iust man, and whom God of all mankinde made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and vngratefull, as that vp or deuise any Heathen saluage, or idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any ceremonie, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

§. VI.

§. VI.

That GOMER *alſo and his ſonne* TOGORMA *of the poſteritie of* IAPHETH *were firſt ſeated about Aſia the leſſe: and that from thence they ſpred Weſtward into Europe: and Northward into Sarmatia.*

TO turne now to the ſonnes of *Noah*, and the worlds plantation after the floud: therein I obſerue, that as both reaſon and neceſſitie taught them; ſo, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and diſperſed themſelues into the next Countries bordering to their firſt habitations, & from thence ſent forth *Colonies* elſewhere, it was in ſuch a manner as that they might repaire to each other, and keep intelligence by Riuer: becauſe the Land was yet Deſart and ouer-preſt with Woods, Reedes, Bogs, and rotten Mariſhes. As when *Nimrod* ſeated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* tooke the South part of *Chaldæa*, downe the Riuer of *Gehon*, by which he might paſſe to and fro from *Babylon* to his owne plantation: thoſe alſo, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Vr* or *Orchoa* neere the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the ſame Riuer get vp to *Babylon*, and receiue ſuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land vpon *Gehon* Southward, *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* calleth the Land of *Chuſh*: becauſe the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cuſhite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and ſtayed not in the Eaſt) were for awhile oppreſt, till God afterward by the ſeede of *Abraham* made them his owne Nation and victorious. *Hauilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſonne of *Cuſh*, tooke both bankes of *Tigris*, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide of the Riuer: by which Riuer his people might alſo paſſe to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall ſeate of which Region of *Hauilah* or *Suſian*, was anciently called *Chuſian* or *Chuſan*, afterward *Suſa*. *Cuſh* himſelfe tooke the bankes of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe Countries Weſtward, and Southweſt-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Deſart, where *Ptolemie* placeth the Citie of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*. *Ptol. Aſia, tab. 4*

Seba, and *Sheba* with the reſt that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tigris* to conuey them into the *Perſian Gulfe*, which waſheth the bankes of *Arabia fœlix* on the Eaſt ſide: ſo as thoſe ſonnes of *Cuſh* might take Land downe the Riuer as they pleaſed. Alſo the Citie of *Niniue* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid Riuer of *Tigris*; and from thence a *Colonie* paſt to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo vpon a nauigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Iapheths* ſonnes ſettle themſelues together, and tooke their ſeates in *Aſia* the leſſe: from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelues Northward, and Weſtward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Iſles of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, ſate downe firſt of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Paleſtina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children paſt on into *Aſia* the leſſe, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* ſpred themſelues into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The firſt *Gomerians*, and firſt planters in *Aſia* the leſſe, held the Countrie of the *Cymmerians* (witneſſe *Herodotus*) the ſame Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-greekes* called *Galatia*, to whom S. *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the inuincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt plantations) gaue names to diuers places; as to the Mountaynes aboue *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the Citie of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* tooke appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was alſo a Citie of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Plinie* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, ſo called of the vnhealthfull waters, ſauouring of brimſtone, which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*. *Lib. 4.*

The

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meschech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolemie* calleth *Moschi*) inhabite *Syracena* a Prouince of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountaynes *Moschici*, in the Valley betweene the Mountaynes *Moschici*, and the Mountaynes *Paryardes*: out of whose North part springeth the Riuer *Phasis*; from the East part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meschech* are descended also the *Moscouians* (saith *Melanchton*) and it may be, that in processe of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth *extendens, enlarging* or *stretching forth*. *Togorma* also at first did inhabite amongst his parents and kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phœnicia*, the same which *Plinie* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of *Hierusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the lesse *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarta*: of which Cities *Tigranes* subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hierosolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbarie*: forgetting the prophecie of *Ezechiel* against the *Tyrians*. *They of the house of* TOGORMA, *brought to thy Fayres horses, and horse-men, and mules*, which could not well be driuen ouer the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Iosephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I doe not denie, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of *Nimrods* reigne. The *Iewes* conceiue that the *Turkes* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperor is called *Togar*. The *Chaldæans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirmes, that the *Turkes* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muscouia*. But for these subderiuations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the floud is the matter which I labour to discouer; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must *Note*, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse vnderstanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* sent out, their proper habitations can be hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion ouer the rest.

1. *King.* 1. v. 18.

Iun. in Gen. 10. *vers.* 3.

Iu. c. 27. 14.

Note.

From *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of IAVAN *the fourth sonne of* IAPHETH: *and of* MESCH, *of* ARAM, *and* MESHECH *of* IAPHETH.

OF *Iauan* the fourth sonne of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and so the *Latine* and *Greeke* Interpreters for *Iauan* write *Greece*, as in ESAY: *Et mittam ex iis qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam*; *And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italie and in Greece*. The *Geneua* here vseth the word (*Tarshich*) for *Tarsus*, a Citie in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneua* vse the names *Tubal* and *Iauan*, and not *Italie* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* wordes. Of these *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselues dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people sent Colonies into *Asia* the lesse, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts.

parts. Others deriue the *Athenians* from *Ion* the ſonne of *Xuthus*, the ſonne of *Deucalion*; but the antiquitie of *Iauan* marres the faſhion of that ſuppoſition, who ſo many yeeres preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pauſanias* tells vs that *Xuthus* ſtole out of *Theſſalie* with all his Fathers treaſure, and his Brothers portions, and arriuing at *Athens*, he was graciouſly receiued by *Erictheus*, who gaue him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he receiued two ſonnes, *Ion*, and *Achæus*, the ſuppoſed Anceſters of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*) who, when he had ioyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a piller in that *Iſthmos* or *Strait*, which faſtneth *Peloponneſus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the Eaſt, theſe wordes: *Hæc non ſunt Peloponneſus, aſt Ionia*; *Theſe Countries are not of Peloponneſus, but of Ionia*: and on the other ſide which looked towards the South and into *Peloponneſus*, this: *Theſe parts are Peloponneſus, and not Ionia.* *Thucyd.*

Strabo out of *Hecataus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certayne companies into *Aſia* the leſſe, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retayned. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof then he learned of the *Greekes* themſelues, yet I finde this coniecture of *Hecataus* reaſonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſſe had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Iauan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but tooke *Aſia* the leſſe in his paſſage; and from thence paſt ouer the neereſt way, leauing his owne name to ſome Maritimate Prouince on that ſide, as he did to that part of *Greece* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelfe beleeued, that *Ionia* tooke the name from *Ion* the ſonne of *Xuthus*: for ſo much he had learned from themſelues; which was alſo the opinion of *Pauſanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times caſt themſelues into that part of *Aſia* the leſſe, oppoſite vnto them, which they held for diuers yeeres. And howſoeuer the *Greekes* vaunt themſelues to be the Fathers of Nations, and the moſt ancient; yet all approued Hiſtorians (not their owne) deride and diſproue their pride, and vanitie therein. For this diſpute of Antiquitie (among prophane Writers) reſted betweene the *Scythians* and the *Ægyptians*, as *Iuſtine* out of *Trogus*, in the warre betweene *Vexoris* of *Ægypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded far the reigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was euer heard of. And it is alſo manifeſt, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all ſaluages without law or religion, liuing like brute beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) liued together with *Moſes*. *Lib. 18. de ciuit. Dei, c. 10.*

The ſixth ſonne of *Iapheth* was *Meſhech*, whom the *Septuagint* cal *Moſoch*: (a part of thoſe Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*.) But this we muſt remember, that betweene *Meſeth* the ſonne of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Moſoch*) the ſonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers Interpreters diuerſly written. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writeth *Meſch*, the ſonne of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneua*, *Maſh*; *Iunius*, *Meſch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Pſalme*, that either *Meſhech* the ſonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of thoſe people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein *Dauid* hid himſelfe: or elſe (which may rather ſeeme) that it tooke name from *Meſch* the ſonne of *Aram*. For *Dauid* bewayling his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious People) vſeth theſe words: *Woe is me that I remayne in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Iunius* conuerteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diù: habito tanquàm Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* giues it this ſenſe: *Woe is me becauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the *Latine* agreeth: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitaui cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwiſe, and in theſe wordes: *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitaui cum tabernaculis Arabum*; *O wretch, that I am, for I haue trauailed among thoſe of Aſia: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians.* But howſoeuer or which ſoeuer conuerſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Prouince *Pſal. 120. v. 5.*

of

of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldæan* putteth *Asia* in stead of *Mesech*, but the *Hebrew* it selfe hath *Mesech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answeres to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Mesh* the sonne of *Aram*, 1.*Chron.*17. is called *Meshec*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meshech* or *Mesh*, both bordering *Iudæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Mesech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Mesech* out of the word *Mosoch* (giuen by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muscouian*: sure they presume much vpon the affinitie of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am that *Dauid* neuer trauailed so farre North; (for to him *Muscouia* was vtterly vnknowne) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a Citie on the Mountaynes of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Mosoch* the father of the *Muscouians*: and herein also *Melanchton* runnes with the tyde of common opinion, and sets *Mesech* in *Muscouia*, though with some better aduice of iudgement; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence trauailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120.*Psalme*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Mesech*) to signifie, *Gentis eius feritatem insignem esse*; *That the feritie of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſſe or brutalitie of the *Muscouians*, *Dauid* neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the same feritie or crueltie which those Northerne *Muscouians* had, may aswell be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Countrie tooke name of *Kedar* the second sonne of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equall fierceneſſe to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, euen to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.*16. *v.*12. *And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against euery man, and euery mans hand against him.* Now *Arabia* the *Desart* (saith *Plinie*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the East, and the *Cedræi* Southward, both which ioyne together vpon the *Nabathai*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Mesech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did ioyne to *Mesech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the lesse, commanded by the Successors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the reestablishment of *Israel* and *Iuda*. But (as I haue alreadie said) it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of *Mesech* (or *Mosoch*) might passe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and giue names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountaynes *Moschici* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into *Muscouia*, and so all opinions saued. But all saluage Nations ouer-growne and vncultiuated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as Ciuilitie, Letters, and magnificent Buildings, witnesse antiquitie.

Gen.25.v.13.

Tiras, the seuenth sonne of *Iapheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the sonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthie the examination) affirme. *Iosephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the sonnes of *Gomer*, which were three:

Montan. in Chr.

Ascanez,
Riphath,
and
Togorma.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

of ASCANEZ *and* RIPHATH, *the two elder Sonnes of* GOMER.

ASCANEZ was the Father of those which the *Greekes* call *Regini*, (sayth *Iosephus*) but he giues no reason why.

Eusebius makes *Ascanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the root of the *Germane Nation*, but their exposi-
10 tions are commonly very idle. *Plinie* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Riuers of *Hylas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuiscones* were descended of the *Ascanez*, (for *Tuiscones*, sayth hee, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanez*, *præposito articulo die* ASCANEZ) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Ascania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the succour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius* (*Deo similis*, sayth *Homer*) *like vnto God*: because he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humerosq; Deo similis*, *in face and bodie like one of the Gods*. *Virgil* also remembreth such
20 a Riuer together with the Hils *Gargara*: as, *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara*, *transq; sonantem* ASCANIVM, *Appetite leades them both ouer the Mountaines Gargara*, *and the roring* ASCANIVS. But this *Plinie* maketh more plaine in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the Citie of *Brillion* vpon the Riuer *Ascanius*, which is adioyning to *Milia*. and is neere the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Ascanez* he directs vs to find by the description of *Prusia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth farre within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicea* are accounted fiue and twentie miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, euen betweene *Prusia* and *Nicea*. And so *Iunius* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Ascanez*, to bee the inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and those North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Vrbibus*
30 makes it a Citie of *Troâs*, built by *Ascanius* the sonne of *Æneas*: saying, that there was another of that name in *Mysia*. Of *Ascania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolomie* witnesseth: and *Strabo* giueth *Ascania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Mysia*, neere vnto *Cio*; which also agreeth with *Plinie*. For *Plinie* findeth *Prusia* (before spoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Iflands before *Troy Ascanes*.

Now, whether these places tooke name of *Ascanez* the sonne of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* the sonne of *Æneas*, it might be questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Æneas* sonne, who was then eyther exceeding yong, or rather vnborne: and it seemeth that the Countries whence those succours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Mysia*, but
40 farther off, and from the North parts of all *Asia* the lesse, which by *Hieremie* is called *Ascanez*, by the figure *Synechdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceiue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremie* we shall learne of what Nation the *Ascenez* were, whose wordes are these: *Set vp a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nation against her, call vp the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez against her, &c.* meaning against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name: (sayth *Iunius* and others before him) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which con-
50 tained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phœnicia* and *Palastina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Storie of *Iacob* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-padam*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Ascanez* ioyned with them (who altogether vnited vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoile of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shall erre much

Melan. in cat. l. 1

Hom. Iliad. 2.

Virg. Georg. l. 3.

c. 51. v. 27.

much to call *Askenaz Germanie* or *Almaine*, for wee heare of no *Swart Ruttiers* at that siege. But the *Askenaz* were of those Nations which were either subiect or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Iosephus*, who cals them *Rhegini*; or of the *Iewes*, who will haue them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphath* the second sonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* thinke that hee wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrarie, but that he might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no roome or soile in those dayes for all the sonnes and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to bee well vnderstood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (sayth *Melanchton*) signifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, *The greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti*; who spake the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the loue of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North part of *Europe*, contayning *Russia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croft thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, desirous (sayth *Melanchton*) of a warmer soile of fruit and Wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled al that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were possest of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the plantation of the *Boij* and *Hermondurij*. Therefore, it seemeth to mee, that of *Riphath* came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Riuers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by White-meates and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Melanch. in Cation.

Of the third sonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I haue spoken alreadie; now therefore of *Iauans* children, which were foure:

Elisa,
Tharsis,
Cethim,
Dodanim.

§. IX.

Of the foure Sonnes of IAVAN: *and of the double signification of Tharsis, either for a proper name or for the Sea.*

OF *Elisa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa* all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, sayth *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, or of both. And seeing the *Greekes* were descended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* and the *Elei*, tooke name of *Elisa*, his eldest Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the *Isles* of *Elisa*. *Hyacynthus*

V. 7.

&

& purpura de insulis Elisa facta sunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Isles of Elisa, was thy couering: The *Chaldæans* for *Elisa* write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneua*, and *Iunius*, keepe the word *Elisa:* and so I thinke they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in *Italie* in those dayes nor since, that I can read of: but those *Isles* of *Elisa*, were by a better coniecture the *Isles* of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Getulia*.

Tharsis, the second Sonne of *Iauan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, vnderstands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reseruing the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that coniecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authoritie, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharsis*, and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis* (*Africa.*) But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Esion Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, neere vnto *Madian*, where *Iethro* (*Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sayled to the higher part of the East *India*. For it had beene a strange Nauigation to haue spent three yeers in the passage betweene *Iudea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might haue beene sayled in six or ten daies. And if so great riches might haue beene found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would soone haue entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this sort written of in the first of Kings: *Also King* SALOMON *made a Nauie of Ships in Esion Gaber, which is beside Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and* HYRAM *sent with the Nauie his seruants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the seruants of* SALOMON: *and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence* 420. *Talents of Gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word vsed for the Sea in generall) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea then that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest Ships, and were the first Nauigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharsis* vsed often for the Sea. And whereas it is said that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharsis*, that phrase is not strange at all; for we vse it ordinarily where soeuer wee nauigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euery yeere, or euery three yeere to the Sea, and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, eyther for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chiefe Citie in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the second sonne of *Iauan*, or by his Successours in memorie of their first parent. To this Citie arriued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the first ouerthrow to *Darius*, and casting himselfe into the Riuer to bathe and wash his bodie, he fell into an extreme Feuer, and great danger of death: and in this Citie of *Tharsis* was Saint *Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sonnes inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Iauan*, who was to passe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gaue the *Islands* betweene *Asia* the lesse and *Greece*, to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* vpon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that Citie tooke name.

The third sonne of *Iauan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, saith *Berosaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plurall (saith he) and signifieth *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esai.* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab* ESAI *prædicta est, qui capite vicessimo tertio inquit,*

venturos esse euersores Tyri ex terra Cittim, This calamitie (sayth MELANCHTON) *was foreshewed by* ESAI *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Destroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cittim.* And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men *Islanders*, which came vnto them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italie*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet wee must take the first performance of the former Propheſie, which tooke effect with the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who after seuen Moneths siege entred that proud Citie, and cut in pieces 7000. principall Citizens; strangled 2000. and changed the freedome of 13000. others into bondage and slauerie. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it appeareth plainly in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these wordes. *After that* ALEXANDER *the Macedonian, the Sonne of* PHILIP, *went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew* DARIVS *King of the Persians and Medes*, IOSEPHVS sets *Cethim* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in which (sayth hee) there remaineth the Citie *Citium*, the Countrey of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witnesse *Laertius*) which Citie *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it stood in Saint *Hieromes* time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the *Hebrewes* were called the Islands of *Cethim*: and in that sense might *Cyprus* bee so called also; and yet because *Tharsis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent *Colonies* ouer the *Ægæan* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodanim the fourth sonne of *Iauan*, and the youngest Brother (by the most opinions) sate downe at *Rhodes*, as neere *Cethim*, *Tharsis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are vsed indifferently by many Translators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are so like, as the one may easily bee taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirme. There is also found in *Epirus* the Citie of *Dodona*, in the Prouince of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soile in *Cyprus*: so *Dodanim* (seated in a farre lesse Island) did of necessitie send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, hee passed a little farther on the Westward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the Citie of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodanim* himselfe, yet his Posteritie might giue it that name in memorie of their first parent, as it happened all the World ouer. For names were giuen to Cities, Mountaines, Riuers, and Prouinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselues, but by their successours many yeeres after: euery of their Families being desirous to retaine among them by those memories, out of what branch themselues were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And becausse great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their owne names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their iudgements) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Iauan* settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands, and neighbour Prouinces thereof, as *Iapheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Iauans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Meschech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the sonne of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the sonnes of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe) trauailed Southward in *Arabia fœlix*, and Southwestward into *Arabia petræa*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adioyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner tooke the way of *Ægypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adioyning. The Sonnes of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrewes*, and to those of the

sonnes

sonnes of *Shem*, which spred themselues towards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were foure:

Chush,
Mizraim,
Phut, and
Canaan.

§. X.

That the seate of CHVSH *the eldest sonne of* HAM, *was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded vpon the mistaking of this point.*

†. I.

Of IOSEPHVS *his Tale of an Æthiopesse wife to* MOSES, *grounded on the mistaking of the seate of* CVSH.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Psalme verse* 51. *Then* ISRAEL *came to Egypt, and* IACOB *was a stranger in the land of* HAM: and in the 78. *Psalme, Hee slew all the first-borne in Egypt, euen the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of* HAM. There is also found a great Citie in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis:* (as it were the Citie of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discouers an Iland in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder sonne of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I haue already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) prooued that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet seeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther proofe to the former. For the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseleſſe Interpretations. Surely, howsoeuer the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* haue herein failed, yet it is manifest that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia:* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happie and the Desart: which Regions *Chush* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sate downe altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleereth this Controuersie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speake of *Nabuchodonosors* Conquests. For whereas *Iosephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. as also elsewhere, vnderstand *Chush* for *Æthiopia*, we must giue credit to *Moses* himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that *Iosephus* was grosly mistaken, or vainely led by his owne inuention. For *Iosephus* presuming that *Chush* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, *Num.* 12. *verse* 1. is called a woman of *Cush*) was a woman of the land of *Æthiopia*, faineth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in loue with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers Citie; and to the end, to obtaine *Moses* for her Husband, shee practised to betray both her Parents, Countrie, and friends, with the Citie it selfe, and to deliuer it into *Moses* hands. The Tale (if it bee worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Iosephus*. After hee had described the strength of the *Æthiopian* Citie *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Cambyses* called so from the name of his Sister, (the olde name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these wordes: *Hic cùm* MOSES *de-*

Herod. in Euterpe.

Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.

sidere exercitum otiosum ægrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regi filia, nomine THARBIS, *&c.* which Tale hath this sense in English: *When* MOSES *was grieued that his Armie lay idle, because the Enemie besieged, durst not sally and come to handy strokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The Æthiopian King had a Daughter called* THARBIS, *who at some assaults giuen beheld the person of* MOSES, *and withall admired his valour. And knowing that* MOSES *had not only vp-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Æthiopians to the very brinke of subuersion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, shee made meanes to send vnto him by one of her trustiest seruants to offer her selfe vnto him, and become his Wife; Which* MOSES *on this condition entertained, that shee should first deliuer the Citie into his possession: whereunto shee condescending, and* MOSES *hauing taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.*

†. II.

A dispute against the Tale of IOSEPHVS.

THis Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Iosephus* fashioned, and therein also vtterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a Citie of *Arabia* for a Citie of *Æthiopia*: as he names *Æthiopia* it selfe to haue beene the Countrie of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, saying that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians* and not *Æthiopians*; except *Iosephus* can perswade vs, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wisedome of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Blacke-Moore*. And though *Damianus à Goes* speake of certaine Letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Prester Iohn*, of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perswade the *Portugals* that hee was descended of the Queene of *Saba*, and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Sonne by that great Princesse: which had it beene true, it is likely that when *Sishac* King of *Egypt* inuaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem*, his Brother (the Sonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who ioyned vpon *Egypt*, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as also giuen aide and succour to *Roboam* against *Ieroboam*, who drew from him tenne of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neyther is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to haue beene an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the bodie of *Egypt*, and neere *Esion Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well bee reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* ioyneth to the Tribe of *Iuda* by the North, to *Arabia Petræa* by the East, to the *Mediterran* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if wee marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appeare that hee was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it selfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeeres; where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing vp in *Egypt*, hee was instructed by *Iethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Iosephus* confesseth, and Saint *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisedome of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side this Text
v.15. makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second, *Therefore* MOSES *fled from* PHARAO, *and dwelt in the Land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as wordes can expresse, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When* MOSES *kept the sheepe of* IETHRO *his Father in Law, Priest of Madian, and draue the Flocke to the Desart, and came to the Mountaine of* GOD *in Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, euery Infant knoweth. And if wee may beleeue *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of

Moses

Moſes purchaſed in that manner which *Ioſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrie and Friends) neither had ſhee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhee a *Negra*, but a *Madianitiſh*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt meanes: ſo it pleaſed him from a Sepherd to call *Moſes*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people firſt and laſt. For *Moſes* ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate and a ſtranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel* from the other ſhepherds, and drew them Water to water their ſheepe: vpon which occaſion (by God ordayned) he was entertayned by *Iethro*, whoſe Daughter he marryed: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries. *Exod.2.*

From hence alſo came *Iethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumæa*, and finding the inſupportable gouernement of ſuch a multitude, he aduiſed him to diſtribute this waightie charge, and to make Gouernours and Iudges of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had beene an *Æthiopian*, it had beene a farre progreſſe for him to haue paſſed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moſes*, and to haue found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moſes* and all that fauoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* through *Arabia Petræa* (which ioyneth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moſes* was well acquainted in thoſe parts: in which the ſecond time he wandred fortie yeeres, and did by theſe late trauailes of his, ſeeke to inſtruct the children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plentie and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed vp with the milke of Idolatrie, and obſtinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that thoſe ſtiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſwaſion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deſarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe he might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne deſire, and Gods Commandements.

Laſtly, this opinion of *Ioſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chriſamenſis*, where alſo he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moſes* had marryed both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne wordes haue this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* APOLLINARIS *duas vxores habuiſſe* MOSEN, *&c.* APOLLINARIS *alſo lyeth in affirming that* MOSES *had two wiues: and who doth not perceiue theſe things fayned by them? for it is manifeſt that the wife of* MOSES *was* ZEPHORA, *Daughter to the Prieſt or Preſident of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for Æthiopia beyond Egypt; being the ſame that ioyneth to Arabia:* ſo farre *Chriſamenſis*. *Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl.*

†. III.

Chuſh ill expounded for Æthiopia, EZECH. 29. 10.

NOw as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* conuerted *Æthiopia*, and the wife of *Moſes* there ore called *Æthiopiſſa*: ſo in the conqueſt of *Nabuchodonoſor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the wordes of *Ezechiel* it is manifeſt that *Nabuchodonoſor* was neuer in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come vpon thee and vpon thy Riuers, and I will make the Land of Egypt vtterly waſte and deſolate, from the Towre of Seueneh, euen to the borders of the Black-moores*: which laſt wordes ſhould haue beene thus conuerted: *From the Towre of Seueneh to the borders of the Chuſites* or *Arabians*: betweene which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seueneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſenſe at all. *Seueneh* it ſelfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the black-Moores. So as if *Nabuchodonoſors* conqueſt had beene but between *Seueneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſſe no other victorie then the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrie, lying between *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries ioyne together; or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſenſe with the former, if any man ſought to expreſſe by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *Ezech.29.10.*

England.

England: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seueneh* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Ægypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the wordes of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* neuer entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and all other (in effect) haue written *Æthiopia* for *Chusb*.

†. IIII.

Another place of EZECHIEL, *cap.* 30. *vers.* 9. *in like manner mistaken.*

AND as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort conuerted: *In die illa egredientur nuncij à facie mea in triremibus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *English* by the *Geneuans*: *In that day shall there Messengers goe forth from me in ships to make the careless Moores afraid.* Now the *Latine* for (ships) hath the *Greeke* word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are Gallyes of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should haue beene (as in the former) amended by vsing the word *Chusb*, or *Arabia* for *Æthiopia* or the blacke *Moores*, euery man may see which meanely vnderstandeth the *Geographie* of the World, knowing, that to passe out of *Ægypt* into *Æthiopia* there neede no Galleys nor ships, no more then to passe out of *Northampton* into *Leicestershire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Ægypt*, and not diuided so much as by a Riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Ægypt Nabuchodonosor* should send Galleyes alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by which an Armie might be transported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all *Ægypt*, and the Desarts of *Pharan*) which Armie might thereby surprise them vnawares in their securitie and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Seueneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to passe into it: being all one large and firme Land with *Ægypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, then one In-land shire is parted from another; and if he had a fancie to haue rowed vp the Riuer but for pleasure, he could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and steepie Mountaynes) called *Cataduрæ Nili*, were at hand.

Lastly, as I haue alreadie obserued, the sonnes of euery father seated themselues as neere together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Asia* the lesse; *Iauan* and his sonnes in *Greece*, and the Ilands adioyning; *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the Sonnes and Grand-children of *Chusb* from the Riuer of *Gehon* (their Fathers first seat) inhabited vpon the same, or vpon some other contiguat vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrewes* had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any warre, treatie of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian* blacke *Moores*, as is alreadie remembred in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

†. V.

A place, ESAY 18. *v.* 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking Chusb for Æthiopia.*

AND as in these places before remembred, so in diuers other is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chusb*, which puts the storie (where it is so vnderstood) quite out of square; one Kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of Scripture *Esay* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alarum quæ est trans flumina Æthiopiæ*, or according to the *Septuagint* in these wordes: *Væ terræ nauium alarum quæ est trans fluuios Æthiopiæ? Woe to the land shaddowing with wings, which is beyond the Riuers of Æthiopia, sending Ambassadors by sea, euen in vessels of reeds vpon the waters. Væ terræ*

vmbrosæ

vmbroſæ oræ; *Woe to the Land of the ſhadie coaſt*, ſaith *Iunius*. The former Tranſlators vnderſtand it in this ſenſe. That the waters are ſhaddowed with the ſailes, which are ſignificatiuely called the wings of the ſhips, the other, that the Coaſt of the Sea was ſhaddowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpoſe: That this Land here ſpoken of by the Prophet *Eſay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that ſent this meſſage to the *Iſraelites*, which *Eſay* repeateth, and by the former tranſlation euery man may ſee the tranſpoſition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is tranſported vnto the other ſide of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* ſet next vnto *Iudæa*, when it is the Land of *Chuſh* and *Arabia* indeed that lyeth betweene *Iudæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is ſeated vnder the *Equinoctiall* line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall queſtion, (to wit) what Region that ſhould be, of which the Prophet ſpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the Riuers of ÆTHIOPIA: *Nam de ignota aqi regione dici nequit*; *For it cannot be ſaid that he treateth of an vnknowne Region*. Now if *Æthiopia* it ſelfe be vnder the *Equinoctiall* line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why ſhould any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations farre beyond it againe, and beyond the Riuers of *Æthiopia*? except we ſhall impiouſly thinke that the Prophet ſpake he knew not what, or vſed an impertinent diſcourſe of thoſe Nations, which were not diſcouered in 2000. yeeres after, inhabiting as farre South as the *Cape of good Hope*, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona eſperanza*.

†. VI.

That vpon the like miſtaking, both TERRHAKA *in the ſtorie of* SENACHERIB, *and* ZERA *in the ſtorie of* ASA *are vnaduiſedly made Æthiopians.*

AND by this tranſlation is the ſtorie of *Senacherib* vtterly miſtaken in the cauſe of his retrait. For *Senacherib* was firſt repulſed at *Peluſium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Iudæa*: when hauing certayne knowledge that *Thirrhaca*, (which all the Interpreters call King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to ſet on him, he began to with-draw himſelfe: and fearing to leaue his Armie in two parts, he ſent threatning Meſſengers to *Ezechia* King of *Iuda*, perſwading him to ſubmit himſelfe: the Tenor whereof is ſet downe in the ſecond of *Kings* in theſe wordes: *Haue any of the gods of the Nations deliuered his Land out of the hands of the King of Aſſur? Where is the god of Hamah? &c.* By which proud Ambaſſage, if he had obtayned entrance into *Hieruſalem*, he then meant to haue vnited that great Armie before *Hieruſalem*, commanded by *Rabſekeh*, with the other which lay before *Peluſium*, a great Citie vpon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had alreadie maſtered the moſt part of all thoſe Cities in *Iudæa* and *Beniamin* with a third Armie, (which himſelfe commanded) being then at the ſiege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumor of that *Arabian* Armie led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Ioſephus* calls *Tharſices*) *Rabſakeh* haſted from the ſiege of *Hieruſalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis* & ſet downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as ſome haue ſuppoſed. But while he had ill ſucceſſe at *Peluſium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himſelfe whom he leaſt feared, ſtrooke his Armie before *Hieruſalem* by the Angell of his power, ſo as 185000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Armie of *Tirrakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Ioſephus* himſelfe makes it plaine. For he confeſſeth in the tenth Booke the firſt Chapter of the *Iewes* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Armie which was afoote (both to releeue the *Ægyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the way of the *Deſart*: Now the *Deſart* which lay indifferent betweene *Hieruſalem* and *Peluſium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which alſo toucheth on the three *Arabiaes*, to wit, the *Stonie*, of which it is a part: the *Deſart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeede

Ioſeph. l. 10. c. 1.

Kings 2. 19.

Antiq. l. 10.

Kings 2. 19.

Lib. 10. cap. 1.

deede could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem*. But, that there is any Desart betweene *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath neuer yet beene heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this Scripture of the second of Kings, Verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chush*) is also translated *Æthiopia*; and in this sense haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse: *He heard also men say of* THIRRHAKEH *King of Æthiopia, &c.* whereas it should haue beene thus conuerted with IVNIVS: *Audiens autem de* THIRRHAKEH *Rege Chusi; Hee heard also of* THIRRHAKEH *King of the Chusites.* For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very smoke of *Iuda* flaming was blowne, being their neerest Neighbours: and so were not the *Æthiopian* blacke-Moores vnder the *Equinoctiall*, whom neither warre nor peace (which discouereth all Regions) euer found out, saith *Plinie*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* then *Zerah* was, who inuaded *Asa* King of *Iuda*, with an Armie of a Million and three thousand Charriots. Indeed, how such an Armie and those Charriots should passe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mightie Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, iudge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there euer any such strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Æthiopians* such trauailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chush* being first so conuerted for *Æthiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

Chron. 2. c. 14.

†. VII.

A farther exposition of the place, ESAY 18. 1.

CONcerning these wordes in that eighteenth Chapter of ESAY, *Nauium alarum*; *Winged ships*, (so the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *sayles whistling in the windes*, or *terræ vmbrosæ oræ* (after IVNIVS) *the Land of a shaddowed coast*, or *the Land shaddowing with wings*, as our *English Geneua* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierome* haue one sense in effect. For the sailes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we vse to say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that shee wanteth wings: (that is) when her sailes are either worne or too narrow; and we also vse the same phrase of the winde whistling in the sailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed so many of those small ships, as their sailes were said to giue a shaddow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Esay*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shaddow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of *Cymbaline* sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which doest promise to others safegard, vnder the shaddow of thy wings*, which (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*: and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the sixteenth Psalme: *Sub vmbra alarum tuarum protege me*; *Defend me vnder the shaddow of thy wings.* The Boates of reede spoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow couered with hides (as anciently in *Brittaine*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I haue seene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

†. I.

That MIZRAIM *the chiefe planter of Egypt, and the reſt of the ſonnes of* HAM, *were ſeated in order, one by another.*

THe ſecond ſonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabite. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſt *Chaldæa* on the Weſt ſide of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the South-eaſt-ſide of *Iudæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) paſt ouer into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thruſt farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Paleſtina*: and theſe foure brothers poſſeſt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as farre to the Weſt as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the nether is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the vpper *Egypt*) ſtretcheth it ſelfe toward the South as farre as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians* or black-*Moores*. All the reſt of the coaſt of *Africa* Weſtward *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Familie that dwelt betweene them. And in the ſame manner did all their ſonnes againe, and all the ſonnes of the reſt of *Noahs* children, ſort themſelues.

†. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be knowne: and of the Egyptians Lunarie yeeres, which made their antiquities ſeeme the more fabulous.

THis flouriſhing Kingdome poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at ſuch time as *Ægyptus* (otherwiſe *Rameſſes*, as ſome thinke) the ſonne of *Belus*, chaſed thence his elder brother *Danaus*, ſhifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argiues* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the floud, in the time of *Ioſua*, as S. *Auguſtine* coniectureth out of *Euſebius*. But in *Homers Odyſſes* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were ſo called at the time of the *Troian* Warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by diuers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Oſiriana*, *&c.* And *Manethon* (whom *Ioſephus* citeth in his firſt booke againſt *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moſes* departure, who conſumed 393. yeeres. By which other men coniecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after *Ioſua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the floud. But where *Ioſephus* in the ſame booke taketh *Iſrael* to be thoſe *Hycſos*, which he alſo calleth *Paſtores* or Shepherds, which are ſaid to haue reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom alſo he calleth his Anceſters, (meaning the Anceſters of the *Iewes*) in this I am ſure he was groſly deceiued, or that he vainely boaſted: for the *Iſraelites* had no ſuch Dominion as *Manethon* fayneth: nor abode in *Egypt* ſo long a time by many yeeres.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (ſaith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amaſis*, who was contemporarie with *Cyrus*; and

and that they had memorie and ſtorie of 13000. yeeres; and that the Starres had foure times changed their courſe, and the Sunne twice ſet in the Eaſt. Theſe Riddles are alſo rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient then *Iupiter* and the *Moone*, whereof *Ouid*:

De Faſt. l. 1.

Ante Iovem *genitum terras habuiſſe feruntur*
Arcades: & Lvna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The Arcadians the earth inhabited
Ere yet the Moone did ſhine, or Iove was bred.

But for thoſe 13000. yeeres it may well be true: ſeeing it is certayne that the *Ægyptians* reckon their yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not aboue 1000. or 1100. yeeres, whether we take their Moneths or Lunarie yeeres to haue beene of the firſt kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwiſe 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of thoſe fiue diuerſities of their Lunarie yeeres.

†. III.

Of certayne vaine aſſertions of the Antiquitie of the Ægyptians.

Gerardvs Mercator in his *Chronologie*, reaſoneth for the *Ægyptians* Antiquitie in this manner: That the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie* (where *Euſebius* begins to reckon the *Ægyptians* times) had beginning with the generall floud: and that therefore the firſt of the other fifteene reached the Creation, or ſoone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this anſwere. That therein *Mercator* was firſt deceiued, becauſe he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie* was at once with the generall floud: which *Euſebius* maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the ſhepherds *Dynaſtie* (being in number the 17.) in the time of their firſt King, *Saltis*, to haue beene in the yeere of the World 1846. which *Euſebius* findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynaſtie* was begunne but in the 292. yeere after the floud, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh euery *Dynaſtie* to endure 115. yeeres, *Euſebius* reckoneth many of them at leſſe then 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but ſixe yeeres; the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeeres.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all theſe 15. *Dynaſties* laſted but 162. yeeres: and that the firſt of the 15. beganne but in the 131. yeere after the floud: ſo as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the floud, and the 16. to haue beene then in being at the time of the floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrarietie of falſhood cannot be hidden, though diſguiſed. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Aſſertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod* with the ſonnes of *Noah* came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: ſo he forgets the time which was conſumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confuſion of Speech there was no diſperſion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And though he haſtily conueyed *Gomer* into *Italie*, and *Tubal* into *Spaine*, in the 101 yeere of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arriuall into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more vnaduiſed. For he makes *Ægypt* poſſeſt, and a gouernement eſtabliſhed in the very firſt yeere of the arriuall of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neere in queſtion: for *from thence* (that is, from *Babel*) *did the Lord ſcatter them vpon all the earth.*

†. IIII.

†. IIII.

Against PERERIVS: *that it is not vnlikely, but that Ægypt was peopled within* 200. *yeeres after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.*

BVT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquitie of the *Ægyptians* touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I doe not find any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was eyther vnlikely or impossible that *Ægypt* should be peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Floud, I doe verily beleeue the contrarie: and that not only of *Ægypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodò enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* ADAMI *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, vt ad Ægyptum vsq; habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c. For how could the children of* ADAM *bee so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred yeeres of the World, and so propagated as to inhabite and fill Ægypt?* for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) wee must also confesse, that there were then both the *Assyrians*, and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saluing beleefe, it is lawfull for euery man to bee guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cauelling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibilitie of vnion, then out of froward subtletie, and preiudicate resoluednesse, to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, to this opinion, that *Ægypt* was not planted so soone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I say that there is no reason why wee should giue a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, then to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the floud double; & (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and abilitie, to beget many Children: and at that time they obserued no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinitie. And that there was a speedie increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would haue beene reuenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues built a Citie, (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first borne. Now if it bee gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the Citie and Towre of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. yeeres by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderstood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancie of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeeres) aswell *Assyria*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt* might be possest before the Floud, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neyther doth it agree with the circumstance or true Storie of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeeres after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that euer *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoritie to prooue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Againe, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and shee left not

all her Kingdomes emptie) doe well prooue, that if the World had such plentie of people in so few yeeres after the Floud, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. yeeres after the Floud of *Noah*. And these Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now past from the Floud to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more then 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well bee giuen. And if but the one halfe be true of that which is said, That her Armie consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needes bee, that long before *Semiramis* Raigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* haue beene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he eyther feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well repleniſhed, I see no cause but *Ægypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may beleeue *Trogus Pompeius (Epitomiz'd by Iustine) Ægypt* was a most flouriſhing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For these be his owne wordes, speaking of NINVS. *Fuêre quidem temporibus antiquioribus* VEXORIS *Rex Ægypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient* VEXORIS *King of Ægypt, and* TANAIS *King of the Scythians*: of which the one inuaded *Pontus*, the other *Ægypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witnesse, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole bodie of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbreth the Armie, wherewith *Ninus* inuaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroasters* Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the World euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for forraine authoritie? for no man doubteth but that *Ægypt* was possest by *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure to prepare and cultiue a desolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must bee inhabited in a lesse time then 200. yeeres after the Floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Floud. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Floud; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Ægypt*, *Palæstina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neyther) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be compreſt, which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Floud? euen necessitie, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; especially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld liuing Nations of his owne bodie.

Iustin. l. 1.

†. V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of PERERIVS.

FOR what a strange increase did the long liues of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres. Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather then that they were not spred ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. yeeres, tenne for one are cut off in that passage, and yet wee find no want of people;

people; nay, wee know the multitude ſuch, as if by warres or peſtilence they were not ſometimes taken off by many thouſands, the earth with all the induſtrie of man could not giue them food. What ſtrange heapes then of ſoules had the firſt Ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeeres, as aforeſaid? Theſe numbers, I ſay, cannot bee counted nor conceiued. For it would come to the ſame reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which haue beene borne in *Brittaine* ſince 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conqueſt* (ſauing ſuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *Polygamie* might haue beene increaſed. For (to omit, that the Giants and mightie ones of the firſt Age obſerued no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that thoſe Louers of the world and of pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelues to any danger which they could flye from or eſchew. For what humane argument hath better perſwaſion to make men careleſſe of life, and feareleſſe of death, then the little time which keepes them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many paines and diſeaſes, which this enuious olde Age of the World mingleth together, and ſoweth with the ſeeds of Mankind?

Now if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may be alleaged for ſufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himſelfe in this queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Ioſephus* confirmed, that the Citie of *Enoch* was ſeated neere *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and it other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I ſee no cauſe why *Palæſtina* (which is alſo a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Ægypt* (which neighboureth it) could bee left deſolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times betweene his death and the Floud, which were by eſtimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And ſure though this Fragment of *Beroſus* with *Annius* his Comment bee very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to bee reiected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for ſuch Authours giues a good rule. *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; *Let vs chooſe what is good in them, and reiect the reſt.* And certainly in the very beginning of the firſt Booke, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the generall Floud: and in that firſt part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mightie men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and ſubiected the vniuerſall World: and though that phraſe *(of all the World)* bee often vſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at Hieruſalem Iewes: men that feared God of euery Nation vnder Heauen*: yet by wordes which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plaine that his words and ſenſe were the ſame: for hee addeth from the Sunnes riſing to the Sunnes ſetting, which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Againe, wee may ſafely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his ſonnes at aduenture, or left them as Diſcouerers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had beene inhabited. And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more paſſable and eaſie to trauaile ouer before the Floud, then after it. For *Pererius* himſelfe confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mudde and ſlime which the water left vpon the Earth) was vninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Floud, whereby wee may gather that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into farre Countries after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopſed for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and leſſe cumberſome to walke ouer, in the firſt Age then after the generall ouerflowing.

†. VI.

Of the words of MOSES, GEN. 10. v. *vltimo*, *whereupon* PERERIVS *grounded his opinion.*

LAstly, whereas *Pererius* drawes this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*, *And out of these were the Nations diuided after the Floud*: *Quo significatur talem diuisionem non fuisse ante diluuium*, *By which it appeareth* (sayth *Pererius*) *that there was no such diuision before the Floud*; which hee also seeketh to confirme out of the eleuenth of *Genesis*, because the diuision of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur*, *&c.* seemeth to me very weake: the Text it selfe rather teaching the contrarie: *for out of these* (sayth MOSES) *were the Nations diuided in the earth after the Floud*; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were diuided out of others, though after the Floud out of these only. But whatsoeuer sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way bee drawne to the times before the Floud, or to any Plantation or diuision in that Age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could bee diuided after the Floud, but *Noahs* Sonnes, wherein doth that necessarie diuision controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had neuer beene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would haue enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as *Berosus* sayes well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplyed, *Ad comparandas nouas sedes necessitas compellebat*, *They were driuen by necessitie to seeke new Habitations*. For we find (as is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not haue sustained those numbers with their increase for any long time: all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palæstina*, and *Ægypt*, with *Greece*, and the Ilands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Lybia* being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleeue *Berosus*, then not only those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Floud) *Spaine*, *Italie* and *France* were also planted: much more then may wee thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Floud, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were repleniſhed with people. And certainly seeing all the World was ouerflowne, there were people in all the World which offended.

Lib. 3.

†. VII.

A conclusion, resoluing of that which is most likely, touching the Ægyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of PHVT *(another Sonne of* HAM*) which peopled Lybia.*

THerefore, for the Antiquitie of the *Ægyptians*, as I doe not agree with *Mercator*, nor iudge with the *Vulgar*, which giue too much credit to the *Ægyptians* Antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, That *Ægypt* being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after *Adam*, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillors or Altars of stone or metall) of their former Kings or Gouernours: which the *Ægyptians* hauing added to the list and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glory or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memorie of Antiquitie was in such sort preserued, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldæans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write that the vse of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the *Babylonians* 3634. yeeres before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree

agree and reach to the time of *Eneſh*, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds deſtruction, both by Water and Fire; as alſo of *Chriſt* his comming in iudgement, as Saint *Iude* hath witneſſed. But leauing theſe Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and euery man to his owne reaſon, I will conclude this Plantation of *Ægypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it tooke the name of *Ægypt* from *Ægyptus* the ſonne of *Belus*, as aforeſaid. Being diuided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterran* Sea, was called the inferiour *Ægypt*; ſurnamed alſo *Delta*: becauſe the ſeuerall branches of *Nilus* breaking aſunder from one bodie of the Riuer, gaue it the forme of the *Greeke* letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a *Triangle*. That branch, which ranne toward the North-eaſt and imbraced the Sea, next vnto the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the Citie of *Peluſium*, where *Senacherib* was repulſed: The other branch, which yeelded it ſelfe to the Salt-water towards the North-weſt, is beautified by that famous Citie of *Alexandria*: The vpper part of *Ægypt* is bounded btweene *Memphis* and *Syene* neere *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient Citie of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Ciuitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greekes Dioſpolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which ſignifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Ioſephus* cals *Ægypt Merſin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirmes that it had once the name of *Thebais*. *Ioſ. l. 1. Ant. c. 7. Herod. Euterpe.*

Phut the third ſonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of Land to his other *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whoſe people were anciently called *Phutei*; (ſayth *Ioſephus*) and *Plinie* mentioneth the Riuer *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which Riuer from the Mountaine *Atlas* (knowne to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyrus*) hee maketh to bee diſtant the ſpace of two hundred miles. It alſo appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chuſh* and *Lud* were *contermini* and Aſſociates with the *Ægyptians*. *L. 5. c. 1.*

§. XII.

Of the eleuen ſonnes of CANAAN, *the fourth ſonne of* HAM.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen ſonnes.

CANAAN (the fourth ſonne of *Ham*) poſſeſt all that Region called by the *Romanes Palæſtina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*; in the latter times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and *Iurie*: the limits whereof are preciſely ſet downe by MOSES, *Geneſis* the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goeſt to Gerar vntill Azzah, and as thou goeſt vnto Sodome and Gomorha, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen vnto Laſha.* Now howſoeuer theſe words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goeſt*) be conuerted, *Moſes* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan* and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* and *Gomorha* the Eaſt, and the other Cities named ſtood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* ſtandeth in a right Line from *Gaza* in the way of *Ægypt*, the vttermoſt Territorie of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the ſonnes of *Canaan* which poſſeſt this Countrie, and inhabited ſome part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. *Zidon.*
2. *Heth* or *Chethus.*
3. *Iebusi* or *Iebusæus.*
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus.*
5. *Girgeshi* or *Girgeseus.*
6. *Heui* or *Chiueus.*
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus.*
8. *Seni* or *Sinæus.*
9. *Araadi* or *Aruadæus.*
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus.*
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamathæus.*

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

†. II.

Of the portions of ZIDON *and* HETH.

ZIDON the first borne of *Canaan*, built the famous Citie of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asser*: for *Asser*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* distributed among them; but the *Asserites* could neuer obtaine *Zidon* it selfe.

The second sonne of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seuen principall Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to bee rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Heuites*, and the *Iebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron* neere the Torrent *Besor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the vttermost limit of *Canaan*, hauing the Desart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus iuramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posteritie, as farre to the Northeast as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her selfe to *Isaac*, saying, *That shee was wearie of her life for the Daughters of* HETH. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the fourth of the Kings; *Israel hath hired against vs the Kings of the Hittites.*

Gen.10.v.19.
Gen.23.
Gen.27.v.46.
4.Kings c.7.v.6

†. III.

Of the Iebusites and Amorites.

IEBVSÆVS, the third sonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Iebusites*, and whose principall seat was *Iebus*, (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborne Nation, and held their Citie and the Countrie neere it, till such time as *Dauid* by Gods assistance recouered both: yet were not the *Iebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon.*

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Iordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, hauing *Arnon* and the Mountaines of *Galaad* on the East, and *Iordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (ouerthrowne by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœlesyria*, or *Syria Libanica.* They had also their

their being in the Mountaynes of *Iuda*, and in *Idumæa* neere the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Geneſis* the fifteenth: *For the wickedneſſe of the Amorites is not yet full.* And that this was also a powerfull Nation, we finde in the Prophet AMOS: *Yet deſtroyed I the Amorite before them, whoſe heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was ſtrong as the Okes.* *Deut.1. Num.13.* *Amos 2.*

†. IIII.

Of the Gergeſites, Heuites, and Harkites.

THe fift ſonne of *Canaan* was *Gergeſeus* or *Gergeſion*, (otherwiſe *Girgaſi*) who inhabited on the East ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemie* ſets the Citie *Geraſa*, which *Ioſephus* calls *Geſera* in the Territorie of *Decapolis*. Here it was that CHRIST diſpoſſeſt the poſſeſſed with Deuills; and the *Gergeſites* deſired him to depart their Coaſts: becauſe their Swine filled with the euill ſpirits, drowned themſelues in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeſeus* alſo built *Berytus* (ſometime *Geris*) afterward *Fælix Iulia*, three miles from the Riuer *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romanes* held a Garriſon: and to which *Auguſtus* gaue many large priuiledges.

Heueus the ſixth ſonne; and Father of the *Heuites*, inhabited vnder *Libanus* neere *Emath*. Theſe *Heuites*, howſoeuer the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the ſecond is remembred) yet many of them remayned all the warre of *Ioſua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleaſed vtterly to roote out theſe Nations, but they were ſometimes made Tributaries to the *Iſraelites*, and at other times ſerued (in their falling away from the true worſhip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Iudges* the third: *They remayned to proue* ISRAEL *by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God.*

The ſeuenth ſonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who betweene the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (ouer againſt *Tripolis*) built the Citie of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

†. V.

Of SINI *and* ARVADI.

SINEVS the eighth ſonne, *Hieroſolymitanus* ſets at *Caparorſa*, which *Ptolemie* findes in *Iudæa*, not farre from *Iebus*; to the South thereof, ſaith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which S. *Hierome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolemie*, *Simyra*: *Mela* and *Plinie*, *Simyrus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon*, (called *Synochis*) neere *Arca*. *Pererius* thinkes that *Sineus* inhabited the Deſarts of *Sinai* or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certaintie then the report of *Brochard*, who tooke view of all theſe places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is alſo another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter *C*. otherwiſe *Kenæi*) who deſcended of *Hobab* the ſonne of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their conduction through the Wilderneſſe of *Pharan*. But theſe *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Iſraelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beſide their habitations with the *Amalekites*: againſt theſe *Cinæi*, *Balaam* prophecied, that they ſhould be deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*. *Iudg.4.* *Ioſua 19.33.*

The ninth ſonne was *Aradeus* or *Aruadeus*, who in the Ile of *Aradus* built the Citie *Arados*: oppoſite againſt which Iland on the Maine of *Phœnicia*, they founded another Citie of that name, which for oppoſition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this Citie came S. *Peter* (ſaith *Clement*) and in this Ile preached the Goſpell, and founded a Church in honor of our Lady: but we finde no ſuch worke *Gul.Tyr. Vitria.*

of

of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*.

Cap.7. v.8. *The Inhabitants of Zidon and Aruad were thy Mariners.*

†. VI.

Of ZEMARI.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some thinke that he first inhabited in *Cœlesyria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Iosua* is placed in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is also *Samaraijm* (of the same Orthographie) vpon the Mountaynes of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles c.*13.*v.*4. which the *Latine* conuerteth amisse (saith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hierosolymitan Paraphrast* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emissani*, which *Plinie* calls the *Hemisceni*, in *Cœlesyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* Orthographie, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of *Omri*) disproueth: *And he bought the Mountayne Samaria or Shemeron of one* SHEMER, *for two talents of siluer, and built in the Mountayne: and called the name of the Citie which he built, after the name of* SHEMER, *Lord of the Mountayne Samaria.* But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoeuer the *Samaritanes* were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Iewes* stood vp, they alwayes called themselues *Iewes*: when it suffered or sanke, they then vtterly denyed to be of that Nation or Familie; for at such time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*; and partly of the naturalls.

Beroal. in Chron. lib. 4.

1. Kings 16.28.

†. VII.

Of HAMATHI.

THe last of *Canaans* sonnes was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*: (saith *Beroaldus*) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was parent. *Iosephus* and S. *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which standeth on the Riuer *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, betweene the Mountayne *Casius* and the Prouince of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which S. *Peter* was Bishop, and in which S. *Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne: but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth betweene *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassiotis*. Yet, indeede, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, then euer any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. *Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea*, betweene it and any part of the Land diuided. And if *Libanon* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betweene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proued. For *Iosua* counting the lands that remayned vnpossest, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Baalgad* vnder mount *Hermon*, vntill we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *Dauid* accepted the presents of

2. Sam 8.9.

Tohu

Toha King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which he would not haue done, if that Territorie had euer belonged to the children of *Iſrael*, but would haue recouered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great waight. For if the promiſe which God made, be conſidered, as it is written in *Deuteronomie*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though ſeated altogether without the bounds of the Land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Ioſua*: for *Emath* is indeede ſituate on the other ſide of the Mountayne of *Hermon*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Ioſua* the 19. *v.* 35. and written in the *Latine* conuerſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierome* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that ouer the Mountaynes, and the Citie in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (vnderſtanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeede belonged to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the South ſide of *Libanus*, to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which Citie S. *Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Ioſephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſakeh* vaunteth in the ſecond of KINGS: *Where is the god of Hamath?* *Cap.* 11. *v.* 24. *Cap.* 18. & 19.

§. XIII.

Of the ſonnes of CHVSH *(excepting* NIMROD*) of whom hereafter.*

The ſonnes of *Chuſh* were, { *Seba*, *Hauila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod*. } And the ſonnes of *Raama* were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan*. }

†. I.

That the moſt of the Sonnes of CHVSH *were ſeated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabæans that robbed* IOB: *and of the Queene that came to* SALOMON.

SEBA or *Saba* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Ham*, to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the ſonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a ſingle *(S) Samech*, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Regma* with an *(S)* aſperate, which is the *Hebrew Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt ſonne of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Regma* poſſeſt both the ſhores of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neereſt his Father *Chuſh*, and the Land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the Eaſt coaſt of the ſame *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Perſia*; of which PLINIE: *Sabæi Arabum populi propter thura clariſſimi ad vtrag, maria porrecti is gentibus habitant*; *The Sabæans people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincenſe, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas*, (to wit) the *Perſian, and the Arabian*, or *Red Sea*. This Countrie was afterwards called *Arabia*, *à populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemie*, who ſetteth the Citie of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red Sea*, and the Citie *Rhegama* towards the *Perſian*, with whom alſo we may leaue *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemie*, becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) neere the *Perſian* Sea; and *Maſſabatha* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rahma*) into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Ioſephus*, who only attended his owne fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Æthiopia*.

But

But *Beroaldus* thinkes it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Iobs* Cattle, ſhould runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and finde out *Iob* in *Traconitis*, betweene *Palæſtina* and *Cœleſyria* 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, ſo doe I thinke, that neither the *Sabæi* on the Red Sea, nor thoſe toward the *Perſian* Sea, could by any meanes execute the ſtealth vpon *Iob*, which ſoeuer *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neereſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Cittie *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolomie* calls *Saue*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Deſart, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſemen* which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe wordes are theſe: *The Magi came neither out of Meſopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of Arabia the Happie, as many wiſe men doe beleeue, but out of Saba in Arabia the Deſart: which Citie when my ſelfe was there, was (as I iudged it) called Semiſcaſac.* And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that theſe *Shabæi* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (aſwell thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the Red Sea) are ſo diſioyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibilitie for ſtrangers to paſſe them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattle, both in reſpect of the mountaines, of the ſands, and of the extreme want of water in thoſe parts: *Vbi nec homines, nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aues, imò nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, ſed non niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperrimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beaſts, no not ſo much as birds, or trees, nor any paſture or graſſe, but onely ſharpe, and high ſtonie, and craggie mountaines.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceiue, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to viſite *Salomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrarie ſeemeth more probable, and that ſhee was Queene of *Saba* towardes the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, twixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba* which inhabited the Weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any farre trauaile enter his Territories, free from all danger of ſurpriſe by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auoid tediouſneſſe, it is manifeſt that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the Happie, and the Deſart: onely *Hauilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the Eaſt ſide *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the Cittie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomie*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were ſometimes found ſixtie Temples. *Ezechiel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants.* And that they were the Eaſterne *Arabians* their merchandiſe witneſſeth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Ioſephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Æthiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Æthiopians Aſtabari*, they bee not worthie any farther anſwere then hath already beene giuen: eſpecially ſeeing theſe Citties preſeruing the memorie of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia* were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſtes adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cuſh*, with little alterations are preſerued. In *Arabia* the Deſart is found the Cittie *Saba* or *Saue*, (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the Cittie of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomie* himſelfe called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Happie is found the Cittie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the Cittie of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not far from the Eaſt coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chiefe Cittie in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the Weſt of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Cittie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabei*: & to the South thereof againe toward the ſtreight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his Brothers and Nephewes which were ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Hauilah* by the paſſage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might paſſe by Boate

Plin. l. 12. c. 14. *Ptol. tab. 6. Aſiæ.*

Ezech. 27. 22.

euen

euen vnto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set neere the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolemies* time.

†. II.

IOSEPHVS *his opinion of* DEDAN, *one of the issue of* CHVSH *to haue beene seated in the West Æthiopia, disproued out of* EZECH: *and* HIEREMIE.

AND whereas *Iosephus* (whom in this S. *Hierome* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the sonne of *Raamah* into West *Æthiopia*, it is strange that *Ezechiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verse, and *Sheba*, and *Raamah* in the 22. Verses to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Æthiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) aboue 4000. miles. Besides which the merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Black-mores. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Charriots; and these Westerne *Æthiopians* neuer saw cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those Coasts traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Giuet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or yron chiefly. Cap. 27.

But in those dayes the West part of *Africa* within the body of the land was known onely by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt *Zone* was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the West *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either passe by Sea or Land to *Tyre* in the bottome of the *Mediterran* Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chush*, which seates they held by that name in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, let vs heare *Hieremie* his owne words: *Fly, yee Inhabitants of Dedan, for I haue brought the destruction of* ESAV *vpon him.* Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Fœlix*, ioyned in that part to *Petræa*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chush*; which neighbourhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *I will stretch out mine hand vpon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.* Ier. 49. 8. Ezech. cap. 25. vers. 13.

§. XIIII.

Of the issue of MIZRAIM: *and of the place of* HIEREMIE, *Chap. 9. Vers. 7.*

AFter *Chush* it followeth to speake of *Mizraims* sonnes, whose names (saith Saint *Augustine*) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim*, the eldest sonne of *Mizraim*, was the father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the rest of his brothers dispersed themselues into all Regions adioyning. Among the sonnes of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the sonne of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the sonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the sonne of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For that *Ludim* the sonne of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not farre from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremie*, who ioyneth them in this sort together: *Come vp ye Horses, and rage ye Charriots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the shield:* for those Nations assisted the *Ægyptians* being of one

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a signe of the plurall number, as *aim* of the *dual*.

cap. 46. vers. 9.

one parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are ioyned together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chush*) saith *Ezechiel* c. 30. *v.* 5. *And* PHVT *and* LVD, *and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword*: which is as much to say, as the sonnes of *Chush*; (which were the *Chusites*) the sonnes of *Mizraim*, which were the *Ægyptians*) and the *Lybians* (descended of his sonne *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Ægypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. *Hieronymitanus* findes also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleeue it: because *Hieremie* ioyneth the *Lybians* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrewes* called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though 2. *Chron.* 12. 3. they seeme to be called *Lubim* or *Lubai*, a name somewhat neerer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seeme that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (vpon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Libyans* at all: for he will haue this threatning to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a Citie (saith he) betweene *Ægypt* and *Palæstina*, which opinion I could not mislike if the Citie of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the same Citie which was afterward *Diospolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the palsey) standeth neere the Torrent *Gaas*, not farre from *Ioppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this Citie might haue *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, so of diuers others. S. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third sonne of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Postellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraims* sonnes haue no proper Countries giuen them in the Scriptures, sauing *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleset*.

These *Casluhim* inhabited *Cassiotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Ægypt* from *Palæstina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountayne *Cassius* are found: not farre from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim seated neere *Casluhim* in that Tract of *Ægypt* called *Sethroitis*, not farre from *Pelusium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethroitis*; *Stephanus* and *Plinie*, *Sethroites*, of the Citie *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the same which *Ptolemie* calls *Hercules parua*. Of the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards *Ægypt*, of whom *Palæstina* tooke name. For the *Hebrewes* (saith *Isidore*) doe not vse the letter (*P*) but in stead of it (*ph.*) Their principall Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gasæi*, *Ascalonitæ*, *Azotij*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*. *Isidore* affirmes, that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that Citie the Countrie adioyning. But where *Isidore* had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the *Philistims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a couenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeede at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that he was also King of the *Philistims*, in these wordes: *Wherefore* ISAAC *went to* ABIMELECH *King of the Philistims vnto Gerar*. Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successors called themselues by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of land vpon the *Mediterran* Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cæsarea Palæstinæ*, or *Stratons* Towre) which was the South-border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gasa*, or to the Riuer of *Ægypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Gyants were of these *Philistims*: and *Goliah* was of *Geth* one of the fiue Cities aboue named. They had sometimes fiue Kings, saith *Lyranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at seuerall times aboue 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*, but

Basil vpon the 33. Psalme. *Hierome* vpon the 29. of *Ezechiel*.

in

in the end this yoke was taken off by *Dauid*, and laid on themselues.

It is obiected, that because these Cities and the Countries adioyning, were held by the sonnes of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossesse the sonnes of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palæstines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Iosua*, yet at the time of the promise it was possest by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomie*. The *Heuites* dwelt in the Villages vnto *Gaza*. And what maruaile, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphtor*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses* the Prophet *Hieremie* witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistims, the remnant of the issue of Caphtor*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphtorim*; *Haue not I brought vp* ISRAEL *out of the Land of Ægypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and* ARAM *from Kir?* so I reade this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, *& Palæstines de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this conuersion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a Citie directly West from *Ægypt*, betweene *Ptolemais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*: but *Kir* in *Asia* vnder the *Assyrians*: *Iunius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and so hath the *Geneua*. But *Pererius* cals *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane *Cappadocia* in *Palæstina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæstina*, it is not certainely knowne. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalasser* King of the *Assyrians* carryed away the Inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Iosephus* seemes to vnderstand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policie of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samarians* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captiued.

Hieremi.47.4.

Amos c.9.v.7.

Of which see in the second Booke, Chap.7 §.3. †.5.

cap.16.v.9.

§. XV.

Of the issue of SEM.

†. I.

Of ELAM, ASSVR, ARPHAXAD, *and* LVD.

It remayneth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of *Sem*, who were these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe posteritie of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Storie of the *Hebrewes*: For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.

Of these fiue sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him and *Aram*, the rest

are barely spoken of by rehearsall of their names, sauing that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Niniueh*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtayned, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (sauing *India*) which I beleeue *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Ioctan* afterward repayred. *Hij filij* SEM *ab Euphrate fluuio partem Asiæ vsq; ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; *These sonnes of* SEM (saith S. HIEROME) *held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.*

Ios. Ant. l. 1. c. 7. Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred *Acts* 2. *vers.* 9. and the Princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of vse and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchie being establisshed in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the Kings seate of *Persia* (witnesse *Cap. 8. vers. 2.* DANIEL:) *And I saw* (saith he) *in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of Susan, which is in the Prouince of Elam.* This Citie is embraced by the Riuer *Eulæus* (according to *Ptolemie*) in *Daniel, Vlai*: and seated in the border of *Susiana*. *Ptol. Asiæ tab. 5.* *Dan. 8. 2.*

Ashur (as most Historians beleeue) the second sonne of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdayning the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equall beautie and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disproue that opinion. Euery mans hand hath beene in this Storie, and therefore I shall not neede herein to speake much: for the *Assyrians* so often inuaded and spoyled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoeuer *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* extend this Empire, and honor this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfulleft Princes among them, had yet the Mountayne *Taurus* for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding those vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them whom my Fathers haue destroyed? as* GOZAN, *and* HARAN, *and* RESEPH, *and the Children of* EDEN *which were at Telassar. Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the Citie Sepharuaim, Hena and Iuah?* *Vers. 11.* All these were indeede but pettie Kings of Cities, and small Countries; as *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Iturea*, vnder *Libanus*: the Ile of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Ægypt* had but *Chaldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæstina* and *Phœnicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because he establisshed the first Empire: from whom the most memorable storie of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldæans*, saith *S. Hierome*, and *Iosephus*, but it must be those *Chaldæans* about *Vr*: for the sonnes of *Cham* possest the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*; and *Shela*, *Heber*; of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Sonne of *Shem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

† 11.

†. II.

Of ARAM, *and his Sonnes.*

ARAM the fift and laſt Sonne of *Shem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſayth *Euſebius* out of *Ioſephus*) which *Syrus* liued before *Moſes* was borne; the ſame which others call the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo being but a Prouince of *Syria* had the name of *Aram Naharaïm*, which is as much to ſay, as *Syria duorum fluuiorum, Syria compaſſed with two Riuers:* (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes Meſopotamia* ſimply. *Eſay 7. v. 8.* *Euſeb. p. 10. 6.*

Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram (ſayth *Iſaac* to *Iacob*) *to the houſe of* BETHVEL *thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife. Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as theſe his owne words conuerted witneſſe: *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipſi Syri Arameios & Arameos vocant*; *Thoſe which we call Syrians* (ſayth hee) themſelues call *Aramenians* and *Arameans*. *Gen. 28. 2.* See *Gen. 25. 20.* Alſo *Deut. 23. 4. Iudg. 3. Paral. 1. 19. Pſal. 59. Strabo l. 1.*

Againſt this opinion, that *Aram* the ſonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generall; (and not only of thoſe in *Syria*, *Inter-amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome reade, *Geneſ.* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the ſonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderſtand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the Hiſtorie of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Poſteritie could bee famous) wee find *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: ſometimes with *Naharaïm*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*, which (as it ſeemes) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Geneſ.* 25. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to bee reſtrained to ſome part of *Meſopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomie* cals *Ancobaritis* (ſo called from the Riuer *Chaboras*, which diuiding it runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſcuous vſe of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharaïm* (which latter appellation qheſtionleſſe comprehends the whole *Meſopotamia*) may ſeeme to refute this opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it ſignifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: becauſe the two Riuers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomie*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of *Aram* were, { *Vz* or *Hus*, *Hul*, *Gether*, and *Meſech* or *Mes*.

Vz or *Hus* inhabited about *Damaſcus*, and built that Citie, ſaith *Ioſephus* and Saint *Hierome*. But *Toſtatus* miſtaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who alſo followeth *Ioſephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldeſt ſonne of *Aram* dwelt neere vnto his father, who inhabited the bodie of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the ſame, adioyning to *Arabia* the Deſart, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremie*: *Reioyce and be glad O Daughter of Edom that dwelleſt in the Land of Hus. Hus* therefore is ſeated beyond *Iordan*, in the Eaſt Region of *Traconitis*, adioyning to *Baſan*, hauing *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the Eaſt, *Edrai* to the South, *Damaſcus* North, and *Iordan* Weſt: hauing in it many Cities and people, as may alſo bee gathered out of HIEREMY: *And all ſorts of people: and all the Kings of the Land of Hus.* *Hieron. in trad. Hebraic.* *Hierem. Lamt. cap. 4. ver. 21.* *C. 25. v. 20.*

In this Region dwelt *Iob*, descended of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham* (sayth Saint *Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Iacob*, sayth *Philo*.

Hul the second sonne of *Aram*, Saint *Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third sonne, parent to the *Arcananians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I find not where to set him) I doe not disprooue, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leaue the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom hee writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as farre as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolomie* setteth the Citie of *Cholle*.

Gether (sayth *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Iosephus* gaue all *Noahs* children feathers, to carrie them farre away in all haste. For mine owne opinion I alwayes keepe the rule of Neighbour-hood, and thinke with *Iunius*: (to wit) That *Gether* seated himselfe neere his brothers, in the bodie of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolomie* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Plinie* called *Gindareni*.

Iunius also giueth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, betweene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neere the Mountaine *Masius*. The certaintie of those Plantations can no otherwise be knowne then by this probabilitie, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sonnes in the same Land about him: for hee wanted no scope of Territorie for himselfe and them; neyther then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeeres after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so farre asunder. And as necessitie and policie held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these sonnes of *Aram*, and the sonnes of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselues within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein euery one also sought a Prouince apart, and to themselues; giuing to the Cities therein built their owne names, thereby to leaue their memorie to their Posteritie: the vse of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdayning the greatnesse of other, as they are thereby to this day subiect to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Noua Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessable to Strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth sonne is made the parent of the *Mœonians*: of whom something hath beene spoken alreadie. *Arphaxad* the third sonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sonnes, *Phaleg* and *Ioctan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth diuided.

Chap.8.§.7.

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†. III.

Of the diuision of the Earth in the time of PHALEG, *one of the sonnes of* HEBER, *of the issue of* SEM.

THE many people which at the diuision (at *Phalegs* birth) were then liuing, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were diuided at eyther. The *Hebrewes* (sayth *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeere after the Floud 101. and liued in all 239. yeeres, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeeres after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* seuered themselues. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeeres as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth) so many people could bee increased, *Pererius* giues this answere, that if 70. persons of the Family of *Iacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeeres, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more

more is it likely, that so soone after the Floud the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing receiued the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth?* What strength this answere hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. yeeres time: and the sonnes of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeeres of time, to the birth of *Phalegh*.

Others conceiue that *Phalegh* tooke that name after the diuision, in memorie thereof: as *Iosephus* and Saint *Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Phaleghs* death (which happened in the yeere, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. yeeres before his birth) then was the diuision 38. yeeres after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. yeeres: in the 43. yeere of whose raigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80 yeeres before this diuision (as this diuision is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then was the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not beene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Arieus* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (sayth DIOD. SICVLVS) *plurimum opibus atq; armis præstabant*, *Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; receiued *Barzanis* into grace; then inuaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seuen Children; vanquished all those Regions betweene *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdomes of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (alreadie remembred out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with foure hundred thousand, prooue it sufficiently, that if the diuision had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be Masters of all; and greater Armies were there neuer gathered then by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Ioseph. l. 1. Ant. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Peter. in Gen. li. 15. c. 10.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had beene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant that the earth could bee filled euery where at the instant, but by times and degrees: And surely whatsoeuer mens opinions haue beene herein, yet it is certaine, that the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neyther at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeere 101. after the Floud, which was the yeere that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or 10. yeeres after hee arriued, sayth *Berosus*.

Now if it bee obiected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision) must haue liued without a name, except the name had beene giuen him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this obiection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Iacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angell; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diuision had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, Saint *Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* a great Prophet, if that by giuing his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, hee foretold the diuision which followed: to this I say, I doe not find that *Heber* deserued any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessitie; and this Prophesie (if any such had beene) might also haue reference to the diuision, which afterwards fell among the *Hebrewes* themselues.

But if we giue a reasonable time to the building of the Towre and Citie of *Babel*, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstratiue proofe) might bee increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and diuision followed (where-

vpon *Phaleg* tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

†. IIII.

Of the sonnes of IOCTAN, the other sonne of HEBER.

The sonnes of *Ioctan* were:

1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Selep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Iare*, or *Iarahh*, or *Ierath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Vzal*, or *Vxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Hauila*, or *Chauila*, and
13. *Iobab.*

ALL those sonnes of *Ioctan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, euen from the Riuer *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being generall. *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest vnto Sephar a Mount in the East.* Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*. Concerning whose names, to auoide confusion it is to bee obserued, that among the Sonnes of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Seba* and *Hauilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-child by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the sonne of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, wee haue left in *Arabia Fœlix*: and *Hauilah* the sonne of *Chush* vpon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-childe of *Abraham* was (as some haue thought (the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ*, maketh mention. *Primùm Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ; prope verò hos sunt Tasci, The first are Sabæans: after these be Passagardæ; and neere these the Tasci.* And whereas it is written: *But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which* ABRAHAM *had*, ABRAHAM *gaue gifts, and sent them away from* ISAAC *his sonne (while hee yet liued) Eastward to the East-Countrey:* hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham* wandered into *Persia:* for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East-Countrey in respect of *Iudæa*; which also *Ouid* setteth vnder the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abrahams* sonnes seated themselues on the borders of *Iudea*, I rather choose to leaue *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desart, where *Ptolomie* setteth a Citie of that name.

Gen. c.10.v.30.

Gen.25.v.6.

Metam.lib.1.

But *Saba* the sonne of *Ioctan*, the sonne of *Heber*, (as I conceiue) inhabited *India* it selfe. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which hee wrote in *Greeke* Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilus hos inter medios habitat q; Sabæus: In the middest of these dwell the Sabæi, and the Taxili*, sayth this *Dionysius*.

τῶνδ' μέσοι ναίουσι Σαβαῖ τε Ταξίλοι ἀνδρες.

† V.

†. V.

Of OPHIR *one of* IOCTANS *ſonnes, and of Peru, and of that voyage of* SALOMON.

OPHIR alſo was an Inhabitant of the Eaſt *India*, and (as S. *Hierome* vnderſtands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull of gold, which are now knowne by the name of *Molucca*. *Ioſephus* vnderſtands *Ophir* to be one of thoſe great head-lands in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Cherſoneſi*, or *Peninſulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut*, and *Malacca*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint *Hierome* doth, but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther Eaſt.

Arias Montanus out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and ſixt Verſe, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the Weſt Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The wordes in the ſecond of the *Chronicles* are theſe: *And he ouerlayed the houſe with precious ſtones for beautie; and the gold was gold of Paruaim.* IVNIVS takes this gold to be the gold of *Hauilah*, remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: *And the gold of that Land is good*: finding a Towne in *Characene* a Prouince of *Suſiana* called *Barbatia*; ſo called (as he thinkes) by corruption for *Paruaim*: from whence thoſe Kings ſubiected by *Dauid* brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *Dauid* preſerued for the enriching of the Temple.

2 *Chr.* 3. 6.

Gen. 2. 11. & 12

Plin. lib. 6. *c.* 28.

But this fancie of *Peru* hath deceiued many men, before *Montanus*, and *Pleſsis*, who alſo tooke *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this queſtion may be a ſubiect of no farther diſpute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am that at leaſt *America* hath none, no not any Citie, Village, or Mountayne ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcouered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) ſome of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Countrie, and pointing with their hand athwart a Riuer, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderſtood them, ſet it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent ouer to *Charles* the Emperor, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer ſince as diuers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Ieſuite* in his naturall and morall Hiſtorie of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Iucatan*) tooke that name of *Ioctan*, who as he ſuppoſeth nauigated from the vtmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Iucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Countrie, but [*What is that*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the Saluages anſwered *Iucatan* (which is) *What aske you*, or *what ſay you?* The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountaynous Countrie on the South ſide of *Trinidado* and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcouered, pointed to the Hills afarre off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay; as *high Hills* or *Mountaynes*. For at *Paria* begins that maruailous ledge of Mountaynes, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*: from eight degrees of North latitude to 52. of South; and ſo hath that Countrie euer ſince retayned the name of *Paria*.

The ſame hapned among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneuile* to inhabite *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You weare*

good

good clothes, or gay clothes. The ſame hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelfe place which the Sea incompaſſed, they anſwered, *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iland. And in this manner haue many places newly diſcouered beene intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it ſelfe (towards *Perſia*) in *Hauilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plentie is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certayne Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Weſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Salomons* ſhips made from the Red Sea, (which was three yeeres in going and comming) it ſeemeth they went to the vttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeede theſe that now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that nauigation in two yeere, and ſometimes leſſe: and *Salomons* ſhips went not aboue a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they euermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vſe of the Compaſſe was knowne, it was impoſſible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ſhips could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themſelues (had it not beene for the plentie of gold in the Eaſt *India* Ilands, farre aboue the mines of any one place of *America*) to ſaile euery yeere from the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to haue ſtrongly planted, and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Ilands: wherein they haue built a Citie called *Manilia*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off then *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to haue ſped worſe: neither could he nauigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe dayes, whereas he had no coaſt to haue guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a fantaſticall opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrie, whoſe Mountaynes of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaynes *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe wordes: *Nam cùm auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent vniuerſa, alites ferociſſima, Arimaſpi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas theſe Countries abound in gold, and rich ſtone, the Griffins defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fierceſt of all other; with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimaſpi make warre.* Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to haue been men with one eye only, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*: and *D. Siculus* in the ſtorie of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleeue none of them. And for theſe *Arimaſpi*, I take it that this name ſignifying *One-eyed*, was firſt giuen them by reaſon that they vſed to weare a vizzard of defence, with one ſight in the middle to ſerue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any ſuch defect. But *Solinus* borroweth theſe things out of *Plinie*, who ſpeakes of ſuch a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Giſolitron*, or the Caue of the Northeaſt winde. For the reſt, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon ſome true ſtories or other things done: ſo might theſe tales of the *Griffins* receiue this Morall. That if thoſe men which fight againſt ſo many dangerous paſſages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect ſenſes, and were not depriued of halfe their eye-ſight (at leaſt of the eye of right reaſon and vnderſtanding) they would content themſelues with a quiet and moderate eſtate; and not ſubiect themſelues to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all ſorts of miſerable diſeaſes. And though this fable be fayned in this place, yet if ſuch a tale were told of ſome other places of the World, where wild Beaſts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be auowed. For there are in many places of the world, eſpecially in *America*, many high and impaſſable Mountaynes which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with Tygres, Lyons, and other rauenous and cruell beaſts: into which if any man aſcend (except his ſtrength be very great) he ſhall be ſure to finde the ſame warre, which the *Arimaſpi* make againſt the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any ſenſe of gold,

Flaccus, lib. 6.
Diod. Sicul. l. 16.

gold, or ſeeke to defend that metall, but being diſquieted, or made afraide of themſelues or their yong-ones, they grow inraged and aduenturous. In like ſort it may be ſaid that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Ægyptians* call the *Crocadyles*) defend thoſe Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they diue for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde ſauour in the fleſh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

†. VI.

Of HAVILAH *the ſonne of* IOCTAN, *who alſo paſſed into the Eaſt Indies: and of* MESHA *and* SEPHER *named in the bordering of the Families of* IOCTAN: *with a Concluſion of this diſcourſe touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing elſe to be ſaid, but that the generall opinion is, that he alſo inhabited in the Eaſt India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* paſt into the Ilands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is ſaid to water *Hauilah*, it is meant by *Hauilah* in the Eaſt India, which tooke name of *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Ioctan*: but *Hauilah*, which *Piſon* compaſſeth, was ſo called of *Hauilah*, the ſonne of *Chuſh*, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture: SAVL *ſmote the Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou commeſt to Shur, which is before Ægypt.* But that *Saul* euer made Warre in the Eaſt India, no man hath ſuſpected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene ſonnes of *Ioctan*, theſe three, *Saba*, *Hauilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the firſt ſeated by their brethren about the hill *Maſius* or *Meſh*, GEN. 10. 30 (to wit) betweene *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*; yet at length either themſelues or their iſſues remoued into Eaſt India, leauing the other Families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countries of their firſt plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue beene from *Meſh* vnto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Meſh* to be a Region of the Eaſt India, and *Sephar* a Mountaine of the ſame (which Mountaine, *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*) thoſe fancies are farre beyond my vnderſtanding. For the word (*Eaſt*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudæa*, is neuer farther extended then into *Perſia*. But *Meſch* is that part of the Mountaynes of *Maſius* in the North of *Meſopotamia*, out of which the Riuer *Chaboras* ſpringeth which runneth by *Charran*: and in the ſame Region we alſo finde for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moſes*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolemie*, ſtanding to the Eaſt of the Mountaynes *Maſius*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many ſonnes, ſome of them might paſſe into *India*, hearing of the beautie and riches thereof. But this was in proceſſe of time. 1. Sam. 15. 7.

The other faſhion of planting I vnderſtand not, being grounded but vpon mens imaginations, contrarie to reaſon and poſſibilitie. And that this Mountayne in the Eaſt was no farther off then in thoſe Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the ſame phraſe is vſed: as in *Numbers* 23. BALAC *the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountayne of the Eaſt*; which was from the Eaſt part of *Meſopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Meſopotamia*, (witneſſe this place of DEVTERONOMIE:) *Becauſe they hyred* BALAAM *the ſonne of* BEOR, *of Pethor in Aram Naharaïm, to curſe thee*: for *Aram Naharaïm* was *Syria fluuiorum*, which is *Meſopotamia*, as aforeſaid. Verſ. 7. Cap. 23. verſ. 4.

This plantation of the World after the floud doth beſt agree (as to me it ſeemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of Reaſon and probable coniecture; the Guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue choſen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publike, other then the diſcouerie of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himſelfe hath diſguiſed all things: ſo the factious and hireling Hiſtorians

of

of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many Volumes of vntrue reports left *Honor* without a Monument, and *Vertue* without Memorie: and (in stead thereof) haue erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to those, whom the darkest forgetfulnesse ought to haue buryed, and couered ouer for euermore. And although the length and dissoluing Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and memorie of the Worlds first planters after the floud (I meane the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the foot-steps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which hath beene spoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-growne: for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which Citie the eldest Sonne of *Canaan* gaue name; so hath *Cilicia Tharsis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moores*, and other Nations, haue preserued from the death of forgetfulnesse some signes of their first Founders and true Parents.

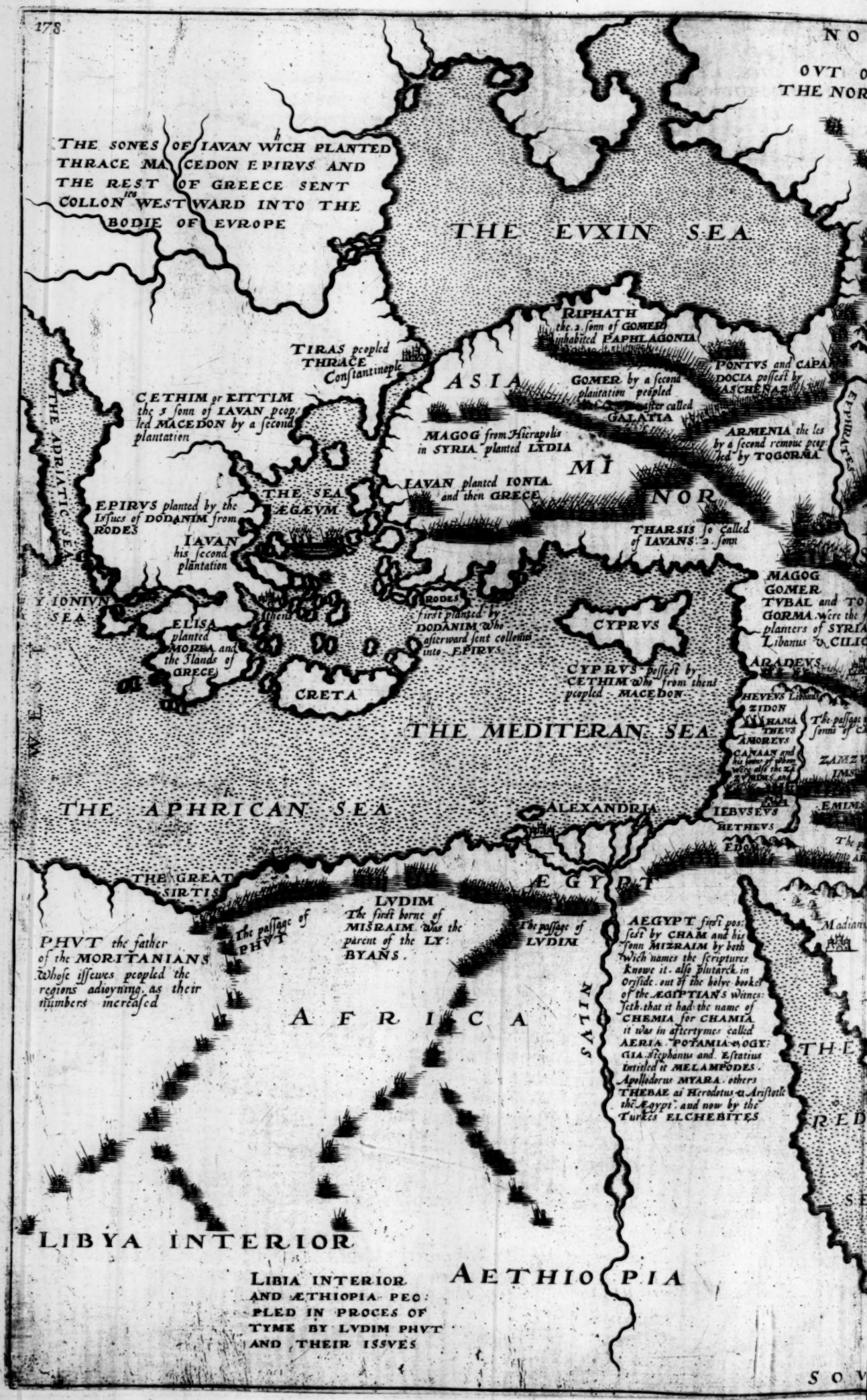
CHAP. IX.

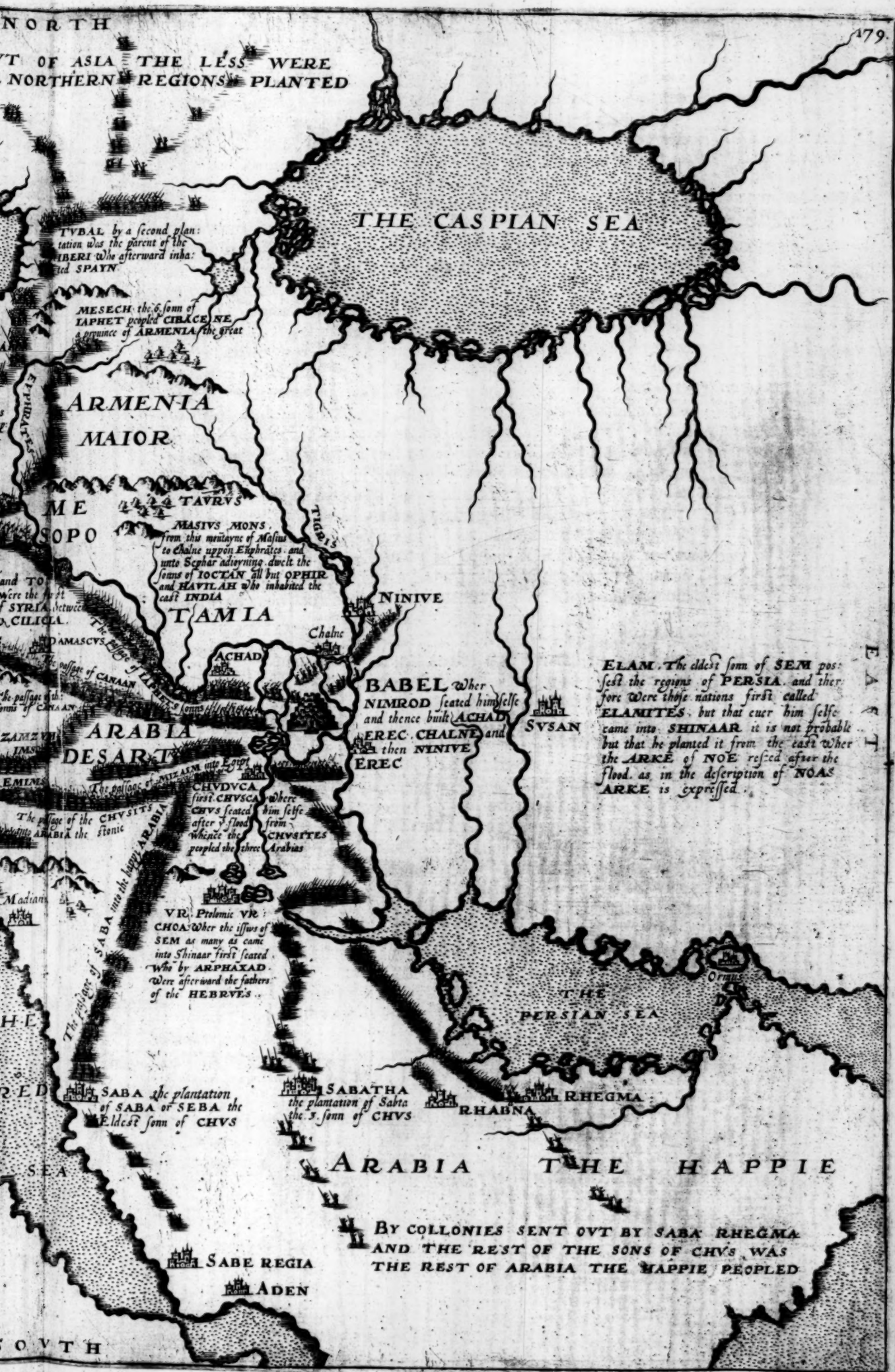
Of the beginning and establishing of Gouernement.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Gouernement vnder the eldest of Families to Regall, and from Regall absolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.

IT followeth now to entreate how the World beganne to receiue Rule and Gouernement, which (while it had scarcitie of People) vnder-went no other Dominion then Paternitie and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word *(Elder)* was alwayes vsed both for the Magistrate, & for those of Age and Grauitie: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleuenth of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gouernors ouer them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in SVSANNA, *Then the Assembly beleeued them as those that were the Elders and Iudges of the People.* And so in the words of those false Iudges and witnesses to DANIEL, *Shew it vnto vs, seeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder.* DEMOSTHENES vseth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Gratians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giueth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedæmonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, vt sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes*; *Among the Lacedæmonians the chiefe Magistrates, as they are, so are they called Eldermen*: and againe, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Maiores nostri appellâssent Senatum*; *If reason and aduisement were not in old men, our Ancestors had neuer called the highest Councell by the name of a Senate.* But though these reasons may well be giuen, yet we doubt not but in this name of *(Elders)* for Gouernours or Counsailers of State, there is a signe that the first Gouernors were the Fathers of Families; and vnder them


THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND THE REST OF GREECE SENT ITS COLLON WESTWARD INTO THE BODIE OF EVROPE
THE EVXIN SEA
RIPHATH the 2. sonn of GOMER inhabited PAPHLAGONIA
TIRAS peopled THRACE Constantinople
PONTVS and CAPPADOCIA possest by ASCHENAZ
ASIA
GOMER by a second plantation peopled
after called GALATIA
CETHIM or KITTIM the 3 sonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a second plantation
MAGOG from Hierapolis in SYRIA planted LYDIA
ARMENIA the les by a second remove peopled by TOGORMA
THE ADRIATIC SEA
IAVAN planted IONIA and then GRECE
EPIRVS planted by the Issues of DODANIM from RODES
THE SEA ÆGÆVM
THARSIS so called of IAVANS 2. sonn
IAVAN his second plantation
MAGOG
GOMER
TVBAL and TO
GORMA were the planters of SYRIA Libanus & CILIC
Y IONIVN SEA
RODES first planted by DODANIM who afterward sent colonies into EPIRVS
CYPRVS
ELISA planted MOREA and the Ilands of GRECE
ARADEVS
CYPRVS possest by CETHIM who from thens peopled MACEDON
CRETA
HEVEVS Libanus
ZIDON
HAMATHEVS
AMOREVS
CANAAN and his sonnes of whom were also the
THE MEDITERAN SEA
THE APHRICAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
IEBVSEVS
HETHEVS
THE GREAT SIRTIS
ÆGYPT
LVDIM The first borne of MISRAIM was the parent of the LYBYANS.
The passage of PHVT
The passage of LVDIM
AEGYPT first possest by CHAM and his sonn MIZRAIM by both which names the scriptures knowe it. also plutarck. in Orisde. out of the holye bookes of the ÆGIPTIANS witnes: seth that it had the name of CHEMIA for CHAMIA it was in aftertymes called AERIA POTAMIA LOGYGIA Stephanus and Estatius intitled it MELAMPODES. Apollodorus MYARA. others THEBAE as Herodatus & Aristotle the Aegypt. and now by the Turkes ELCHEBITES
PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS Whose issewes peopled the regions adioyning. as their numbers increased
AFRICA
NILVS
LIBYA INTERIOR
AETHIOPIA
LIBIA INTERIOR AND ÆTHIOPIA PEOPLED IN PROCES OF TYME BY LVDIM PHVT AND THEIR ISSVES


NORTH
VT OF ASIA THE LESS WERE
NORTHERN REGIONS PLANTED
THE CASPIAN SEA
TVBAL by a second plan:
tation was the parent of the
IBERI Who afterward inha:
ted SPAYN
MESECH the 6. sonn of
IAPHET peopled CIBACENE
a prouince of ARMENIA the great
ARMENIA
MAIOR
EVPHRATES
ME
SOPO
TAVRVS
MASIVS MONS
from this mountayne of Masius
to Chalne vppon Euphrates and
vnto Sephar adioyning dwelt the
sonns of IOCTAN all but OPHIR
and HAVILAH who inhabited the
east INDIA
TIGRIS
NINIVE
TAMIA
Chalne
ACHAD
DAMASCVS
The passage of IAPHETS sonns
The passage of CANAAN
BABEL Wher
NIMROD seated himselfe
and thence built ACHAD
EREC CHALNE and
then NINIVE
EREC
SVSAN
ELAM The eldest sonn of SEM pos:
sest the regions of PERSIA and ther
fore Were those nations first called
ELAMITES but that euer him selfe
came into SHINAAR it is not probable
but that he planted it from the east Wher
the ARKE of NOE rested after the
flood as in the description of NOAS
ARKE is expressed
EAST
ARABIA
DESART
The passage of MIZAIM into EGYPT
CHVDVCA
first CHVSCA
CHVS seated
after y flood
whence the
peopled the three
Where
him selfe
from
CHVSITES
Arabias
The passage of the CHVSITS
into ARABIA the stonie
ARABIA
VR Ptolemie VR
CHOA Wher the issues of
SEM as many as came
into Shinaar first seated
Who by ARPHAXAD
Were afterward the fathers
of the HEBRVES
The passage of SABA into the happy ARABIA
THE
PERSIAN SEA
Ormus
SABA the plantation
of SABA or SEBA the
Eldest sonn of CHVS
SABATHA
the plantation of Sabta
the 3. sonn of CHVS
RHABNA
RHEGMA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED
SABE REGIA
ADEN
SOVTH

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them the eldest Sonnes. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word *(Signor)* and out of it *(Seignourie)* for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in proprietie, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*; *Power or command*: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*; *Proprietie or Mastership*: the correlatiue of the one is the subiect, of the other the slaue. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas*; *Cæsar hath power ouer all*; *and euery man proprietie in his owne*: and againe, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio*; *Cæsar holdeth all in his power, and euery man possesseth his owne.* But as men and vice beganne abundantly to increase: so obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent seede seldome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouershadowed with pride, and ill examples vtterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall perswasions (after mankinde beganne to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after (when it became habituall) to constraine it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and steered by their owne fancies, and tost to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisedome was seuered from power, and strength from charitie: Necessitie (which bindeth euery nature but the immortall) made both the Wise and Foolish vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become farre more miserable then that of beasts, and that a generall floud of confusion would a second time ouerflow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion preuent it. For the Mightie, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mightie then themselues: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. In so much that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a libertie vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better tryall, no lesse perilous then an vnindurable bondage.

Necessitas est firmum iudicium, & immutabilis prouidentiæ potestas.

These Arguments by Necessitie propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselues to a Master, and to Magistracie in some degree. Vnder which Gouernment, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, then the former mischiefes) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection and corrosiue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessitie which inuented, and the same Reason which approued soueraigne power, bethought it selfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discerne her owne limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, priuate affections in supreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance both good and euill.

For as wisedome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings fore-went the inuentions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; *The people were not gouerned by any other lawes then the willes of Princes*: Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to bee good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*; *Loue sees one while too much, another while starke nothing.* Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeeres (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that gouernment which had this mixture of equalitie (holding in an euen ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancie of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues only so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dij & dicti*; *Princes, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.* *De aureo sæculo, part. 1.*

And

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessitie; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not liue and be preserued without a Ruler and Conducter: God himselfe by his eternall prouidence hauing ordayned Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the very Bees haue their Prince; the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safetie. *The most High beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth ouer it whomsoeuer he pleaseth. By me* (saith *Wisedome*, spoken by the Sonne of God) *Kings reigne; By me Princes rule*, and *it is God* (saith DANIEL) *that setteth vp Kings, and taketh away Kings*: and that this power is giuen from God, CHRIST himselfe witnesseth, speaking to PILATE: *Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from aboue*.

Dan.5.21. *Prouerb.8.v.15.* *Dan.2.v.21.* *Joh.19.v.11.*

It was therefore by a threefold Iustice that the world hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a Iustice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of families gouerned their Children, and Nephewes, and Families, in which gouernment the Obedience was called naturall Pietie: Againe, by a Iustice diuine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God: and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former: and the Obedience to this we call Dutie. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded: and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most euident: for *Adam* being Lord ouer his owne Children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creator; as we reade, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of mankinde.

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Gouernement with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane societie.

WHat other Policie was exercised, or State founded after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplyed before the floud, it cannot be certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Ægyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the generall floud; and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyrannie in Gouernement, or from some rougher forme of Rule, then the Paternall.

Beroſus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastred (saith he) all Nations from the Sunne-rising to the Sunne-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership fayled, three seuerall sorts of Gouernement were in seuerall times established among men, according to the diuers natures of Places and People.

Beroſ. lib 1.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Gouernement of one, ruling by iust Lawes, called *Monarchie*: to which *Tyrannie* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equitie: and of this condition ought euery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Iudges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.*

Deut.16.v.18.

The second Gouernement is of diuers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracie*, or *Optimatum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The

The third is a State popular, (or Gouernment of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is oppoſed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniuſt ruling of the confuſed multitude, ſeditiouſly ſwaying the State, contrarie to their owne Lawes and Ordinances. Theſe three kinds of Gouernment are briefly expreſt by *Tholoſanus*; *Vnius, paucorum, & multorum, Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of policie ſince the ſecond increaſe of Mankind, the ſame grew in this ſort: Firſt of all, euery Father, or eldeſt of the Family, gaue Lawes to his owne iſſues, and to the people from him and them increaſed. Theſe as they were multiplyed into many Houſholds (man by nature louing ſocietie) ioyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latines call *Vicus*; of the *Greeke* οἶκος, which ſignifieth a Houſe, or of the word *(Via)* becauſe it hath diuers wayes and paths leading to it. And as the firſt Houſe grew into a Village, ſo the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a ſocietie of diuers Villages) ſo called of the *Greeke* πήγη, which ſignifieth a Fountaine: becauſe many people (hauing their habitations not farre aſunder) dranke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the *Engliſh* Hundreds, or (as ſome thinke) Shires anſwereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impietie beganne to gather ſtrength, and as emulation and pride betweene the Races of the one and the other daily increaſed: ſo both to defend themſelues from outrage, and to preſerue ſuch goods as they had gathered, they beganne to ioyne and ſet together diuers of their Villages, inuironing them firſt with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being ſo compaſſed were then called *Oppida*; eyther *ab opponendo ſe hoſtibus, Becauſe wals were oppoſed againſt Enemies*, or *ab opibus, becauſe thither they gathered their riches for ſafetie and defence*: as alſo they were called *Vrbes, ab orbe*; becauſe when they were to build a Citie, they made a Circle with a Plough (ſayth *Varro*) therewith meaſuring and compaſſing the ground which they went to incloſe or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Ciuitas* bee often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* ſignified no other then the very wals and buildings, and *Ciuitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: ſo called of *Ciuis*; and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coiuit, of comming together.* But all inhabitants within theſe wals are not properly Citizens, but only ſuch as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Citie, may by turnes become Officers and Magiſtrates thereof: the reſt goe vnder the name of Subiects, though Citizens by the ſame generall name of Subiects are alſo knowne. For euery Citizen is alſo a ſubiect, but not euery Subiect a Citizen: perhaps alſo ſome Citizen (as the chiefe Magiſtrate, if hee bee to bee termed one of the Citizens) is no ſubiect; but of this wee need not ſtand to inquire. The word (Magiſtrate) is taken *à Magiſtro, from a Maſter*, and the word (Maſter) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as alſo *Magiſteria, Precepts of Art*) or elſe from the *Greeke* word *(Megiſtos:)* and ſo the *Greekes* call them *Megiſtanes*, whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magiſtratus.*

The office and dutie of euery Magiſtrate *Ariſtotle* hath written in few wordes. *A Magiſtrate or Prince* (ſayth hee) *is the keeper of right and equitie*; but the ſame is beſt taught by Saint *Paul*, who expreſſeth both the cauſe efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magiſtrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. *A Magiſtrate is the Miniſter of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the ſword for nought. For hee is the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill.* He alſo teacheth in the ſame place; *That euery ſoule ought to bee ſubiect to the higher powers, becauſe they are by God ordained*; and that *whoſoeuer reſiſteth that power, reſiſteth God*, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and ſhall not only be therefore ſubiect to the iudgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: *For yee muſt be ſubiect* (ſaith he) *not becauſe of wrath only, but alſo for conſcience ſake.*

Ethic. 5.

Rom. 13. 4.

V. 2.

Ibid. v. 5.

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods puniſhments vpon thoſe that haue reſiſted Authoritie, by God ordained and eſtabliſhed. Neyther ought any ſubiect

therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or crueltie: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himselfe subiected themselues to the power of Magistracie. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cæsar* should be giuen vnto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremie* commanded the *Israelites* (euen those that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Iacob* blessed the King of *Ægypt*: *And it is acceptable in the sight of our Sauiour* (sayth PAVL) *that yee make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authoritie*: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint *Chrysostome* in his Homily to the people preferre *Monarchicall* Gouernment, as hee rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum*; *Better a tyrannous King, then no King*: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (sayth *Tacitus* in the first of his Historie) *sub malo Principe esse quàm nullo*; *It is better to haue a bad Prince then none at all.* And bee they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no libertie more safe, then to serue them: *Neq; enim libertas tutior vlla est* (sayth CLAVDIAN) *quàm Domino seruire bono*: *No libertie* (sayth hee) *more safe for vs then to be seruants to the vertuous.* And certainly howsoeuer it may be disputed, yet is it safer to liue vnder one Tyrant, then vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wise man that is cruell, then vnder the foolish and barbarous crueltie of the multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the Gouernment, That kind of rule which a man would disdaine in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Hierem. 29. *v.* 7.

Gen 20. *v.* 17. 27. *v.* 10.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Houlholds ioyned themselues together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens ioyned together, and established Lawes by consent, associating themselues vnder one Gouernour and Gouernment, they so ioyned were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselues.

§. III.

Of the good Gouernment of the first Kings.

NOw this first Age after the Floud, and after such time as the people were increased, and the Families became strong and dispersed into seuerall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couetousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the seeds and effects wherof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territorie then themselues could compasse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curiositie of dyet, then to maintaine life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And sure if wee vnderstand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicitie of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truely be cast vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may bee attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may bee doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancie of Empirie, (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might bee called

called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times bee truely called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deseruings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberalitie ouerflow her bankes and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and shrinke the openest and most *Iouiall* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselues. And although there bee no Kings vnder the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner find their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times iniurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Raigne of euery King, so doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes be many: for our yonger yeeres are our Golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grieuous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make the times seeme so differing and displeasing: especially the qualitie of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how iust soeuer: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, vt semper veteri in laude, præsentia in fastidio sint*; *It comes to passe* (sayth TACITVS) *by the vice of our malignitie, that we alwayes extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious*: For it is one of the errours of wayward Age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti*; *That they are praysers of fore-passed times*, forgetting this aduice of SALOMON: *Say not then, Why is it that the former dayes were better then these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing*: to which purpose SENECA; *Maiores nostri querti sunt, & nos querimur, posteri querentur, euersos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi: Our Ancesters haue complained, wee doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth raigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill.* These are the vsuall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of ARNOBIVS? *Nouares quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus cæpit noua fuit & repentina: Whatsoeuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and sodaine.* Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times haue made Golden, this wee may set downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crownes: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of Subiects to Princes: so (relatiuely) hee gaue the care and iustice of Kings to the Subiects; hauing respect, not only to the Kings themselues, but euen to the meanest of his Creatures: *Nunquàm particulari bono seruit omne bonum*; *The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one only*: for hee that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*: *All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.*

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Eccles. 3.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Wisd. 6. 7.

§. III I.

Of the beginning of Nobilitie: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authoritie beganne also other degrees and differences among Subiects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselues were chosen, vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which haue continued from Age to Age to these dayes. But this Nobilitie, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning giuen to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may bee prooued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to bee knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeuour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glorie or worldly Nobilitie necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobilitie denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in vertue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ alijs notabilis.* But after such time as the deserued Honour of the Father was giuen in reward to his Posteritie, Saint *Hierome* iudged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to bee affected in Nobilitie, then that Noblemen are by a kind of necessitie bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancestors.* For if Nobilitie be *Virtus & antiquæ diuitiæ; Vertue and ancient riches,* then to excced in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glorie, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobilitie, then the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Viues*) bee a witnesse of vertue and well-doing: and Nobilitie (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of *Christ*, our *Ladie*, and other *Saints*: men, in whom there remaine but the dregges and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found prayse-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountaines, if in all the rest of their course they runne foule, filthie, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum; Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane: and out of barren soile precious Gold.* For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which giues life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the Commonweale. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike Vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrie, and being descended of Parents and Ancesters that haue done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our selues acquire by our Vertue and well deseruings) cannot bee ballanced with that which is both naturall by Descent, and also personall; yet if Vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (sayth this *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light vpon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which hee calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Siluer or fauour: and these bee indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies wish they knew well how to wipe off againe. But surely, if wee had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we haue of vanitie in deriuing our selues of such and such Parents, wee should rather know such Nobilitie (without Vertue) to bee shame and dishonour, then Nobleness, and glorie to vaunt thereof.

Verus nobilis nõ nascitur sed fit.

Pint. in Ezech.

What

What calamitie is wanting (sayth BERNARD) *to him that is borne in sinne, of a Potshare bodie and barren minde?* for (according to the same Father:) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris huius, & male coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glorie, that then thou maiest consider thy selfe nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Myter, or glissening with Iewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe ouer, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping because hee is borne, and repining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.* Bernard.l.2.de Consider.ad Eugen.Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust: which if *thou doest not beleeue* (saith Saint CHRYSOSTOME) *looke into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily perswade thee by their owne example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seeme more Noble and beautifull then dust, this proceedeth not from the diuersitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.* Chrysost.homil.2. de incomposita Dei natura. con.5.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is Diuine. Phaer.

And howsoeuer the custome of the World haue made it good, that Honours be cast by birth vpon vnworthy Issues: yet *Salomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Fellow-Princes: *There is an euill* (sayth hee) *that I haue seene vnder the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is set in great excellencie.* Eccles.10.

CHAP. X.

Of NIMROD, BELVS, *and* NINVS: *and of memorable things about those times.*

§. 1.

That NIMROD *was the first after the Floud that raigned like Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to haue beene of iust authoritie.*

HE first of all that raigned as Soueraigne Lord after the Floud was *Nimrod*, the Sonne of *Cush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to Saint *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: eyther for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten by *Chush*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time then some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howsoeuer, seeing *Moses* in expresse wordes calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chush*, other mens coniectures to the contrarie ought to haue no respect. This Empirie of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion.

But it seemeth to mee that *Melanchton* conceiued not amisse hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Authour of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirmes that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator, A bitter or seuere Gouernour*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authoritie. And therefore is he in this respect also called *a mightie Hunter*; because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts and Theeues. But Saint *Augustine* vnderstands it otherwise, and conuerts the word *(ante)* by *(contra)* affirming thereon, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter against God: *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be vnderstood, a Hunter against the Lord.* But howsoeuer this word *(a mightie Hunter)* bee vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinaar*: so, this charge was rather giuen him, then by him vsurped. For it is no where found, that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne bodie came with this troupe into *Babylonia*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeeres of his life excepted) in the succeeding Storie of the *Hebrewes*: nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient Troupe, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Ioctan* were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldaa* about the Citie of *Vr*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea*, were no partners in the vnbeleeuing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia* HEBER *remansit hæc lingua*; *In the Family of* HEBER *this Language remained* (saith Saint *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* vsed: yea it was anciently and before the Floud the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cœlestinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue.*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 6. c. 11.

We know that *Genebrius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Aegyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoeuer we determine of this point, we may with good probabilitie resolue, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

§. II.

That NIMROD, BELVS, *and* NINVS *were three distinct persons.*

BEROSVS, and out of him *Nauclerus* with others make many *Nimrods*. *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*; and so doth Saint *Hierome* vpon *Ose*: and these wordes of S. *Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion: *Ibi autem* NINVS *regnabat, post mortem patris sui* BELI, *qui primus illic regnauerat 65. annos*; *There did* NINVS *raigne after the death of his Father* BELVS, *who first gouerned in Babylon sixtie fiue yeeres.* But it could not bee vnknowne to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. *For the beginning of* NIMRODS *Kingdome* (saith he) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar.* Wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) suppose: for in *Ninus* time the World was marueilously repleniſhed. And if S. *Augustine* had

De Ciuit. Dei.

had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather then haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those wordes of S. AVGVSTINE *(qui primus illic regnauerat; Who was the first that reigned there)* supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those wordes doe not disproue that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Iulius Cæsar* ouerthrew the libertie of the *Romane* Commonwealth, making himselfe a perpetuall *Dictator*, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperor: and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraigne authoritie ouer the *Romanes*, as an Emperor. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, laying the foundation of soueraigne Rule, as *Cæsar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, becausse many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned: but such agreement of times proues it not. For so *Edward* the *Third*, and his grand-child *Richard* the *Second*, were Kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other in the same yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farre more probable then that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Ninive*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* ouercame and suppreſt the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrarie, then that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seate of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdayne thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recouered againe by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

——— Dicitur altam
Coctilibus muris cinxisse SEMIRAMIS *Vrbem.*

SEMIRAMIS with walls of bricke the Citie did incloſe.

Further, where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Iustine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might haue beene giuen to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleeue *Iustine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Ægypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia* mightie Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the wordes of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages, to haue inuaded and mastered those Cities so farre remoued from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which worke he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest vndertaking; and consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue beene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answere. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That euer *Nimrod* inuaded any of these Cities; but that hee founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand farre away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beliefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archad*, and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Iunius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*, Others vnderstand *Nisibis* and *Ninive* to be one Citie: so doe

doe *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot denie *Accedene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of S. *Hierome* cals *Achad*: and so doe the *Hebrewes* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the Citie of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Augustine*, *Oreg*; and *Pagninus*, *Erec*; this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Aracca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a Citie in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third Citie (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calinisis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*. S. *Hierome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others doe thinke it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Cities are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his wordes: *And the beginning of his Kingdome* (speaking of NIMROD) *was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbiensis*, that these foure made but one *Babylon*, then that they were Cities farre remoued, and in seuerall Prouinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Goe you* (saith AMOS) *to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistims*. The *Geneua* translation fauouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginall note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldæa*, from *Babylon* in *Ægypt*; but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrods* Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any Citie at all to be found in *Ægypt*: *Babylon* of *Ægypt* being all one with the great Citie of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient Citie, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrarie, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successiue Kings.

Lib. 23.

Cap. 6. *vers.* 2.

§. III.

That NIMROD, *not* ASSVR, *built Ninive: and that it is probable out of* ESAY 23. 13. *that* ASSVR *built Vr of the Chaldees.*

NOw as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controuersie wearisomely disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certaintie. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voyce of Reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessarie consequence doth not disioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort he conuerteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; è terra hac processit in Assyriam vbi ædificauit Niniuen*; (which is) *For the beginning of this Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar: and he went forth of this land into Assyria, and built Ninive.* So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainely, the other construction, (where the word (*Assur*) is taken for *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrarie vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth

tenth Chapter he ſetteth downe the ſonnes of *Noah*, in theſe wordes: *Now theſe are the Generations of the ſonnes of* NOAH: SEM, HAM, *and* IAPHETH, *vnto whom ſonnes were borne after the floud*: then it followeth immediately: *The ſonnes of* IAPHETH *were* GOMER, *&c.* ſo as *Iapheth* is laſt named among *Noahs* ſonnes, be he eldeſt or yongeſt: becauſe he was firſt to be ſpoken of: with whom (hauing laſt named him) he proceedes and ſets downe his iſſue, and then the iſſue of his ſonnes: firſt, the iſſue of *Gomer*, *Iaphets* eldeſt ſonne; and then ſpeakes of *Iauan* and his ſonnes: for of the reſt of that Familie hee is ſilent. Anon after hee numbreth the ſonnes of *Ham*, of which *Cuſh* was the eldeſt: and then the ſonnes of *Cuſh* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leauing *Shem* for the laſt, becauſe he would not diſioyne the Storie of the *Hebrewes*. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and ſo to *Iacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to haue brought in one of the ſonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene againſt order; neither would *Moſes* haue paſt ouer ſo ſlightly the erection of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, in one of the ſonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any ſuch meaning: it being the ſtorie of *Shems* ſonnes which he moſt attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the reſt of the ſonnes of *Cuſh*, becauſe he founded the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire: and in the eleuenth Chapter he returnes to ſpeake of the building of *Babel* in particular, hauing formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with thoſe other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, ſo alſo in the eleuenth he maketh no report of *Shem*, till ſuch time as he had finiſhed ſo much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the iſſue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Iſrael*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Aſſur*, was *Caluin*: to which I conceiue that *P. Comeſtor*, *in hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, gaue an entrance, who after he had deliuered this place in ſome other ſenſe, he vſeth theſe wordes: *Vel intelligendum non eſt de* ASSVR *filio* SEM, *&c. ſed* ASSVR *(id eſt) Regnum Aſſyriorum inde egreſſum eſt, quod tempore* SARVG *proaui* ABRAHAMI *factum eſt*, (which is) *Or elſe it is not to be vnderſtood of* ASSVR *the ſonne of* SEM, *&c. but* ASSVR *(that is, the Kingdome of the Aſſyrians) came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* SARVG *the great grand-father of* ABRAHAM. After which he reconcileth the differences in this ſort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the firſt Erecter of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, or the firſt Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Reſpecting the beginning*; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is alſo true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the enlargement of the Empire*. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Aſſur* to be the ſonne of *Nimrod*: and ſo doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbienſis*, S. *Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now laſtly *Torniellus*: who ſaith he tooke vpon him that name of *Aſſur* after he had beaten the *Aſſyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his conqueſt in *Africa*: and that *Aſſur* was a common name to the Kings of *Aſſyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Pſalme* 81. *Eſay* 10. *Oſe* 5. &c. but to helpe the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the ſonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz* in the yeere of *Chriſt* 854. an ancient and learned Writer, vnderſtands this place with *Commeſtor*, or *Commeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that tranſlation of *Iunius*: to which wordes of *Moſes* he giueth this ſenſe: *De hac terra Aſſyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine* NINI, BELI *filij, Ninum condiderunt, vrbem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the Empire of the Aſſyrians, who built Ninus the great Citie, ſo named of* NINVS *the ſonne of* BELVS. On the contrarie *Caluin* obiecteth this place of ESAY: *Behold the land of the Chaldæans, this was no people,* ASSVR *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderneſſe*; then which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diuerſitie in the tranſlation and vnderſtanding; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* vpon *Eſay* (though in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it ouer. But *Caluin* ſeemeth hereby to inferre, that becauſe *Aſſur* founded the ſtate of the *Chaldæans*, therefore alſo *Aſſur* rather

Torniell. Annal. ſacr. in Gen. 10.

Eſay 23. 13.

ther then *Nimrod* eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrarie to the former tranſlation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* tranſlation) it may be gathered that *Aſſur* both founded and ruined this Eſtate or Citie of the *Chaldæans*, by *Eſay* remembred: vnto which Citie, People, or State, he plainely telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot truſt, or hope for relieſe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldea*, and that Eſtate, an example vnto thoſe *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldea* being of ſtrength, and carefully defended, was (notwithſtanding) by the *Aſſyrians* vtterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre*, (inuincible, as themſelues thought) ſhould alſo ſoone after be ouer-turned by the ſame *Aſſyrians*: as (indeede) it was by *Nabuchodonoſor*. And theſe be the wordes after HIEROME: *Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis populus non fuit,* ASSVR *fundauit eam, in captiuitatem traduxerunt robuſtos eius, ſuffoderunt domos eius, poſuerunt eam in ruinam,* (which is) *Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, ſuch a people there were not* (or, *this was no people*, after the *Geneua*) ASSVR (or the *Aſſyrians*) *founded it, they carried away their ſtrong men captiue, they vndermined their houſes, and ruined their Citie.* The *Septuagint* expreſſe it but in a part of another Verſe, in theſe wordes: *Et in terra Chaldæorum, & hæc deſolata eſt ab Aſſyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit,* making the ſenſe perfect by the preceding Verſe, which all together may be thus vnderſtood: *If thou goe ouer to Chittim* (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) *yet thou ſhalt haue no reſt* (ſpeaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the Chaldæans, for this is made deſolate by the Aſſyrians, becauſe their walls fell together to the ground.* PAGNINVS and VATABLVS conuert it thus: *Ecce terra Chaſdijm, iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam* ASSVR *fundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriuerunt ædes eius, poſuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Engliſhed: *Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, this people was not onte therein inhabiting: for* ASSVR *built it a harbour for ſhips, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houſes thereof, and ruinated it.* IVNIVS in the place of ſhips ſets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneua, by the Barbarians.* But this is vndoubted that the Prophet *Eſay* (as may be gathered by all the ſenſe of the Chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future deſtruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe Places, Cities, and Regions, by whoſe Trade the ſtate and greatneſſe of the *Tyrians* was maintayned; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharſis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Græcians* vnder the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Ægyptians*, the *Chaldæans*, and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Towne of the World moſt renowned. And (as it appeares in our diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Vr* or *Vrchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chiefe ſtreame of *Euphrates* (euen that ſtreame which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his paſſage into the *Perſian Gulfe*: though now it be ſtopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the Eaſt bankes of the *Perſian Gulfe*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandiſe by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Vr* or *Vrchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by Riuer and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Vr* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Towne, and one of thoſe Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it ſtood by the great Lakes of *Chaldea*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ranne, which paſſage is now ſtopt vp. *Eius curſum vetuſtas aboleuit* (ſaith *Niger.*) And PLINIE, *Locus vbi Euphratis oſtium fuit, flumen ſalſum; Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates: and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of ſalt water.* Theſe things being thus, certainely (not without good probabilitie) we may expound the Citie of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Eſay* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Vr*; and (by *Hecatæus*)

Camerina:

Camerina; by *Ptolemie*, *Vrchoa*: and by the *Greekes*, *Chaldæopolis*, *The Citie of Chaldæa*: which the ſonnes of *Shem*, vntill *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas in all the Tranſlations it is ſaid, that *Aſſur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderſtood, that *Aſſur* the Founder was the ſonne of *Shem*; and *Aſſur* the deſtroyers were the *Aſſyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Vr* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-ſeeing commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and ſo into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* conuerted *(by ſhips)* doe beare that ſenſe, the ſame may be the better approued; becauſe it was a Port Towne: and the Riuer ſo farre vp as this Citie of *Vr* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word *(for the Barbarians)* or *(by the Barbarians)* be alſo in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no leſſe manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the Deſart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which ſignifieth deſart Lands, becauſe it ioyneth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are of all other people the moſt ſaluage; calling them, *Homines omnium maximè barbaros*.

So as this place of *Eſay*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former tranſlation of *Ninus*, nor the interpretation of *Comeſtor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceiued (for any thing that I haue read) that *Aſſur* is in this place diuerſly taken (as for the ſonne of *Sem*, when he is ſpoken of as a Builder of *Vr*; and when as a Deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Aſſyrian* Nation) yet certainely the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumſtances ſeeme to enforce it. And ſo this Founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Aſſur* (into which the moſt of the poſteritie of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were ſeparate for the Idolatrie of the *Chuſites* and *Nimrodians*, retyred themſelues) hath nothing in it to proue that the ſame *Aſſur* built *Niniue*, or that the ſame *Aſſur* was all one with *Ninus*; except wee will make *Aſſur*, who was the ſonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the ſonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the firſt notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the firſt that ſet vp a Statue to be honored as god. Now if *Aſſur* muſt be of that Race, and not of the Familie of *Sem*, as he muſt be if he founded *Niniue*, then all thoſe which ſeeke to giue him the honor thereof, doe him by a thouſand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Beſides, if this ſuppoſed *Aſſur* whom they make the Founder of *Niniue* (and ſo the ſonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the ſame with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainely he was very vnworthy and obſcure, and not like to be the Founder of ſuch an Empire and ſuch a Citie, if no man haue vouchſafed to leaue to poſteritie his expulſion thence, and how he loſt that Empire againe or quitted it to *Ninus*: whoſe acts and conqueſts are ſo largely written, and (according to my apprehenſion) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found beſt agreeing to Scripture and to Reaſon, and beſt agreeing with the ſtorie of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the firſt workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moſes*, and that theſe workes being finiſhed within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and ſet in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere vnto the ſame ſtreame that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which worke his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finiſhed, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to paſſe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundreſſe of the Citie which ſhee only finiſhed: ſo alſo *Ninus* of *Ninive*: *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit inſtaurare*; *She might repaire or renew Babylon*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*. For ſo did *Nabuchodonoſor* vaunt himſelfe to be the Founder of *Babylon* alſo, becauſe he built vp againe ſome part of the wall, ouer-borne by the furie of the Riuer: which worke of his ſtood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I haue built?* Dan. 4. 27.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Of the acts of NIMROD *and* BELVS, *as farre as now they are knowne.*

BVt to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*; and *Iulius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those foure Cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*; and in *Assyria* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Niniue*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Niniue*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his Successors in many yeeres after: to whose vndertakings time had giuen so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*, *à sermonis linguarum terrag, diuisione*; *By reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. yeeres; of whose acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes and ouer-flowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his Warres or Conquests there is no report, other then of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose sonne and successor *Barzanes* became subiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begunne.

§. V.

That we are not to maruaile how so many Kingdomes could be erected about these times: and of VEXORIS *of Ægypt, and* TANAIS *of Scythia.*

THat so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soone after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold, (namely) Oportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Oportunitie being a Princesse liberall and powerfull, bestoweth on her first Entertayners many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wisedome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding mindes of men receiue all those helps and supplyes, which they either want or wish for: so as euery Leader of a troupe (after the diuision of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they possest, and gouerned by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceiued, that when the Earth was first diuided, mankinde straggled abroade like beasts in a Desart; but that by agreement they disposed themselues, and vnder-tooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not haue beene possest in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were;

were; neyther did those that were sent, and trauailed farre off (order being the true parent of prosperous successe) vndertake so difficuld enterprizes without a Conducter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened euery humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolued all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enioy the harueft of their owne Trauailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselues against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatnesse, eyther possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vndertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the sonne of *Belus*) made it apparent: for hee found euery where Kings and Monarches, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him Soueraignetie and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others also rayled themselues to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his sonne and Successour) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts: which *Sabatius* I take to bee the same, which *Iustine* cals *Tanais*; and should coniecture, that *Mizraim* had beene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour, (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Sesostris*, that liued certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, raigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

See more of this, l. 2. of this first Part. cap. 2. §. 6.

§. VI.

Of the name of BELVS, *and other names affine vnto it.*

WHence this second King and Successour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath beene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) giuen by *Ninus*, then assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

Cyrillus against *Iulian* cals the Father of *Ninus Arbelus*, affirming that hee was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a God: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* bee thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many Learned Writers haue obserued, signifieth the Sunne in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* giue that name to their Father, that hee might bee honoured as the Sunne, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a God. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes, and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: so was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan* conuert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chiefe in the Warre*; though *Daniel* was so called (sayth SVIDAS) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honour of his expounding secrets*. Saint *Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to haue the same signification: and sayth, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his father set vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offendors. Hence (sayth *Lyranus*) came Idolatrie, and the first vse of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interprete *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: so in the *Punicke* or *Carthaginian* Language it signifi-

Hier. in Ose. 2.

Lyr. in Sapien. Salom. c. 11.
Isid. l. 8. c. 11.

eth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Assyrian* name properly; and *Iosephus* a *Tyrian*. Hee also affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountaine *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the God of Gardens; which was also the opinion of Saint *Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* soundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Iewes* expresse the Prince of Deuils. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth vs the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; *And at that day (sayth the Lord) thou shalt call mee* ISHI, *and shalt call mee no more* BAALIM: *for I will take away the name of* BAALIM *out of their mouthes*. For although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be iustly to bee vsed towards God; yet in respect that the same was giuen to Idols, God both hated it and forbad it. And the vsing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifieth the Sunne, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was; *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the wordes compounded (before remembred (as *Belphegor*, and *Belsephon*; *Belsephon* is expounded out of FACIVS, *Dominus specula vel custodiæ, The Lord of the Watch-towre, or of the Guard*: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Denudauit*; and therefore the word ioyned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the sonne of *Saturne*: for it was vsed among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the Sonne *Iupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. SATVRNI *dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui vrbes condiderunt senissimi; primogeniti eorum* IOVES *&* IVNONES; HERCVLES *vero nepotes eorum fortissimi; The ancientest of Noble Families, and Kings which founded Cities, are called* SATVRNES; *their first-borne* IVPITERS *and* IVNONES; *their valiant Nephewes* HERCVLES. But this *Belus* (sayth *L. Viues*) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne *Ninus*, who caused his Father to bee worshipped as a GOD by the name of *Iupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Ægyptians* (transported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) vpon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Iupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus* carrying a *Colonie* to the Riuer of *Euphrates* there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the *Ægyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the sonne of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis*, (*Cecrops* then raigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom wee speake, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Ægyptians* so much vaunted.

Hieron. in Ose. c. 4. & 9.

Author. de aequi. lib. 1.

Diod. l. 3.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begunne from BELVS *in Babel.*

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, hee was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inuentour of *Astronomie*, if *Plinie* say true: from whence the *Ægyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the same Authour affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Strabo. l. 13 c. 3.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. *Ouer the Riuer* (sayth hee) *there are Gardens, where they say the ruines of* BELVS *his Tombe, which* XERXES *brake vp, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramis made of Bricke, a furlong high, and on euery side it had a furlong in breadth.* It appeares by *Cyril* against *Iulian*, that hee obtained diuine worship yet liuing: for so hee writes of him (calling him ARBELVS.) ARBELVS, *vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: perseuerârunt igitur Assyrij, & finitimæ illis gentes sacrificantes ei.*

L. 4. cont. Iulian.

ARBELVS,

ABELVS, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was euer honoured by their subiects with title of Deitie*; (or with the name of God.) *The Assyrians therefore and the bordering Nations haue persеuered, sacrificing to him.* Euen *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* cals *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an Idoll-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* raigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to *Caucasus* of the Stocke of *Iapheth* slue him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus farre *Suidas*. Neither is it vnlikely but that many among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and *Statuæ* were first erected without diuine worship, only in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiueth; and so afterward the Deuill crept into those woodden and brazen carcasses, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt homines fuerunt, & pro vniuscuiusq; vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, eos apud suos post mortem cæperunt: sed (Dæmonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honorauerunt, minores Deos existimârunt: ad ista vero magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men* (sayth he) *whom the Pagans affirmed to be Gods: and euery one for his merits or magnificence beganne after his death to bee honoured of his owne. But at length (the Deuils perswading) they accounted them lesser Gods, whose memories, they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more superstitious.*

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregorie*: *Gentilitas* (sayth hee) *inuentrix & caput est imaginum*; *Gentilisme is the inuentresse and ground of Images*: and *Ambrose*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*; *The Gentiles adore wood as it were the Image of God.* *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of Images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Augustine* against ADIMANTVS. *Et verentur* (sayth LACTANTIVS) *ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent; They feare their Religion would bee vaine, should they not see that which they worship.*

Greg. Nyssen.
Ambros. in Psal. 108.
Euseb. li. 7. c. 18.
Aug. c. 15.
Lact. lib. 2. c. 2.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shift this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workemanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not only no where warranted, but expresly in many places forbidden, and cursed the Practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any grauen Image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him could remoue, weed it, or by feare, or by any perswasions lead the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction then these? *Take therefore good heed to your selues (for yee saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that yee corrupt not your selues; and make you a grauen Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it bee the likenesse of Male or Female.*

And besides the expresse Commandement, *Thou shalt make thee no grauen Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Booke of *Wisedome*, That *the inuention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neyther shall they continue for euer.*

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the worshipping

shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the liuing God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, *for you saw no Image* (sayth MOSES) *that day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently sayd of BASIL; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption vnlawfull to represent a patterne of the infinite God to our owne thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie Pensill of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer.

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the Deuill transport and speed this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Ægypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romanes* for a while resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. yeeres, obseruing therein the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impietie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Gracians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne most deluded by *Satan*) set vp the Images of their Gods; which (as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vtterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant, & cùm haec suspiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt; The Images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto with bended knees; those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Handi-craftsmen that made them:* which also *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this sort scoffeth at:

De ciuit. Dei. li. 4. cap. 31.

Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro
Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumq;
Factorem fugiunt, & quae fecere verentur.
Quis furor est? quae tanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt volucrem, turpemq; bouem, torumq; Draconem,
Semi-hominemq; canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise,
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.
What furie? what great madnesse doth beguile
Mens minds? that man should vgly shapes adore,
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and first, and many yeeres practised by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Iewes* were corrupted in *Ægypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorne the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inueighed against Images: and *Hospinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witnesse, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* neuer taught it the *Lacedemonians*, but thought it impietie to represent immortall natures by mortall Figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixt Booke *de præparatione Euangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authours might bee remembred that witnesse the disdaine which the Heathen themselues had of this childish Idolatrie: of which *Hospinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*.

imaginum. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta ſunt, All ill examples haue ſprung from good beginnings.* The Heathen at firſt made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memorie of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerued beſt of their Countries and Common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſayth PLINIE) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred.* And though of the more ancient *Papiſts*, ſome haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, vt per ea diſcerent homines Deum inuiſibilem cognoſcere: Images* (ſay they, and ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are in ſtead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the inuiſible God:* in which vnderſtanding (perhaps they no otherwiſe eſteemed them then Pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* ſet vp in memorie of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterwards the moſt reuerenced Idoll of the World, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelfe) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtockes and ſtones, and painted Canuaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderſtanding. *On theſe ſtockes wee call* (ſayth the Booke of *Wiſedome*) *when we paſſe through the raging waues, on theſe ſtockes more rotten then the Ship that carieth vs.*

This Heathen inuention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dij Conſentes, ſeu maiorum gentium; ſelecti, Patritij, inſigniores, dij medij: Counſelling Gods, or Gods of the mightieſt Nobilitie, ſelect Gods, Patrian, Gods of marke, and common Gods* (which the *Romanes* called *Medioxumi*) *dij infimi*, and *terreſtriall Heroes*, and multitudes of other Gods: of which Saint *Auguſtine* hath made large mention in his Booke *de Ciuitate Dei.* But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſoules and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angell mooued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication euen to the times of Saint *Paul*: who made them firſt know to whom thoſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth euery man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherin the Deuil had ſo many yeeres led and miſled them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe Gods was ſo great in generall, or that euerie Nation had ſome one which tooke particular and ſingular care of them; as *Iupiter* in *Creete*, *Iſis* in *Ægypt*, in *Athens Minerua*, in *Samos Iuno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but euery Citie, and almoſt euery Family had a God a-part. For as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*: the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Auins* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrak*, and the *Sepharnaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech.* All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? *Men cut downe Trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme themſelues by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a God; an Idoll, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their hearts from vnderſtanding.* It is therefore ſafeſt for a Chriſtian to beleeue the Commandements of God ſo direct againſt Idolatrie, to beleeue the Prophets, and to beleeue Saint *Paul*: who ſpeaketh thus plainely and feelingly, *My beloued, flye from Idolatrie, I ſpeake as vnto them which haue vnderſtanding, iudge yee what I ſay.*

Lib.14.

Cap.17.v.18.31

Cap.44.

§. VIII.

Of the Warres of NINVS: *and lastly of his Warre against* ZOROASTER.

VNTO this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that iniuriously inuaded his Neighbour Princes; and the first that without shame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose Storie is gathered out of Prophane Authours) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may bee disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented vpon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as *Chytraeus* noteth) to the vnderstanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halycarnassaeus*, and others: yet *Lodouicus Viues*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; prooving directly that it cannot bee the same *Berosus* which liued in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenaeus* and *Iosephus*: and whose *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, sayth *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefely, that many haue gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Ascatades*, and to the times of *Iosua*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certaine Papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian Monarchies*: but hee afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errours.

Athen. l. 14. Ioseph. cont. Appion. l. 1. & 7.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a Citie adioyning to *Halicarnassus*) who liued together with *Cyrus* the yonger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Historie out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as farre vpwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Storie of *Cyrus* the yonger, *Xenophon* approoueth him in some things, and *Athenaeus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he liued, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoeuer his reports were, times haue consumed his workes, sauing some very few excerptions lately published.

And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot bee pleasing to men of iudgement, I will passe ouer the Acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can expresse them. Saint *Augustine* affirmes that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the Companion of his Conquests, with whom hee entred into a straight league of amitie, because he commanded many people and was his Kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the neerest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was vpon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue; both because he inuaded it on the sodaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* hee bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I doe not beleeue, for none of his Successours had any possession therein.

His third Warre was against *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is sayd that hee ouerthrew, and cruelly murthered with his seuen children, though others affirme that they all dyed in one battaile against him. Whether hee inuaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Niniue*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill successe in the first, he returned, and set the worke of *Niniue* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000. sixe hundred Chariots:

riots: being encountred by *Zoroaster* with 400000. But *Ninus* preuayling, and *Zoroaster* slaine, he entred farther into the Countrie, and besieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (saith *Stephanus*:) which by a passage found, and an assault giuen by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and possest. Vpon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of loue in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonor, cast himselfe head-long into the water and dyed.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

Steph. de Vrb.

CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, *supposed to haue beene the chiefe Author of Magick arts: and of the diuers kindes of Magicke.*

§. I.

That ZOROASTER *was not* CHAM, *nor the first Inuenter of Astrologie, or of Magicke: and that there were diuers great Magicians of this name.*

ZOROASTER King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probabilitie. For *Cham* was the Paternall Ancester of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose sonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that booke which was called *Scriptura Cham*, deuised by some wicked Knaue, and so intituled: of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gaue the inuention of *Magicke* to *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his Scholasticall Historie: which Arte (saith he) with the seuen liberall Sciences he writ in fourteene Pillers: seuen of which were made of brasse, to resist the defacing by the waters of the Floud; and seuen of brick against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vnder the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like vnto this of *Comestor*: These be *Cassianus* wordes: CHAM *(filius* NOAH*) qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super hijs memorialem librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre iusto, &c.* CHAM *(the sonne of* NOAH*) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remayne with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard stone.*

Cassian. in Oct. Col. cap. 21.

S. *Augustine* noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to haue laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attayned vnto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall *Magick* and other Arts; for the Corrupter,

Corrupter, saith *Plinie* and *Iustine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* inuented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes* or *Natiuities*; or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and mineralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is also made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that these knowledges were farre more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sonnes. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned herein then any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wisedome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life and vertue to nature and all naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired the instruments, and attributed proper strength to the things themselues, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisedome, *which being one, and remayning in it selfe, can doe all things and reneweth all.*

Wisd. c. 7.

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (ouer-throwne by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* findes of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Scalig. in Eusseb.

Ioseph. lib. 1. Antiq. c. 4.

Againe, *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this arte had beene inuented by *Zoroaster*, he could not haue attayned to any such excellencie therein, in his owne life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular iudgement, he might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse iangling about the word and arte of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was giuen: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* seemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of arte, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the second, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphylius*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hostianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: betweene whom and *Cyrus* there past threescore and eighteene yeeres. *Suidas* remembreth a fift, called *Persomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the sonne of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainely, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word *(Chaldæan)* was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* diuers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris* EZRE ZOROASTRIS, *&* MELCHIOR *magorum oracula.*

§. II.

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Of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently farre diuers from Coniuring, and Witchcraft.

NOw for *Magicke* it selfe; which Arte (saith MIRANDVLA) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few vnderstand, and many reprehend. Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; As Dogs barke at those they know not*: so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse (leauing *Ninus* for awhile) to speake somewhat thereof. *Pic. Mir. fol. 81.*

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magus*) because of *Simon Magus*; who being indeede, not *Magus*, but *Goës*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For *Magicke*, *Coniuring*, and *Witcherie*, are farre differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant scoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent *Magicians* of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the arte after long studie and labour altogether ridiculous. *Plin. l. 30. hist. Nat.*

Magus is a *Persian* word primitiuely, whereby is expresst such a one as is altogether conuersant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the arte of *Magicke* is the arte of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (μάγος) saith, that the *Persians* called their gods ὦδγος: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς or θεραπευτὴς θεοῦ (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Matth.* 2. *v.* 1. And this is the first and highest kinde: which *Picolominie* calleth diuine *Magicke*: and these did the *Latines* newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wisemen*: *For, the feare & worship of God is the beginning of knowledge.* These *Wisemen* the *Greekes* call *Philosophers*; the *Indians*, *Brachmans*: which name they somewhat neerely retayne to this day, calling their Priests *Bramines*; among the *Ægyptians* they were termed Priests; with the *Hebrewes* they were called *Cabalistes*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldæans*: and among the *Persians*, *Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hostanes*, one of the ancient *Magicians*) vseth these wordes: *Et verum Deum merita maiestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, eius venerationi nouit assistere, Idem damonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos*; SOSTHENES (for so *M. Fœlix* calleth him, not HOSTANES) *ascribeth the due maestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are Deuills earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankinde.* *Piccol. de Defin. Prouerb. l. 7.* *Piccol. de Defin. Iohn Ring.* *Linschot.* *In octauio Minutij Fœlicis cum Arnobio, pa. 360.*

HIS MAIESTIE also in his first Booke of *Dæmonologie c.* 3. acknowledgeth, that in the *Persian* tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine & heauenly sciences; but vniustly so called, because the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is also right which HIS MAIESTIE auoweth, that vnder the name of *Magick* al other vnlawfull arts are comprehended, and yet doth HIS MAIESTIE distinguish it from *Necromancie*, *Witchcraft*, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the *Magicke* which HIS MAIESTIE condemneth, is of that kinde whereof the Deuil is a partie. *Daniel* in his second chapter nameth foure kindes of those *Wisemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* translation calleth *Sophistes*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists*: *Nempè sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) diuinarum humanarumq; rerum scientiam profitentes*; *For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Græcians* (that is) *men that professe the knowledge of things both diuine and humane.* The *Greeke* and the *English* call them *Inchanters*; *Iunius*, *Magicians*; *Castalion*, *Coniecturers*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wisemen of Babel.* *Dæmonolog. l. 2. cap. 1.*

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The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *English*, call *Astrologers*; *Hierome* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kinde are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierome*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches*, or *Poysoners*: in *Iunius*, *Prastigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *English*.

That *Witches* are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poysoners*; and that indeede there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any arte of *Magicke* or *Necromancie* vse the helpe of the Deuill to doe mischiefe, HIS MAIESTIE confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldæans*: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their euents: and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magicke*, hauing chiefly sought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfait the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they haue also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kinde of *Magicke* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kindes of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Philo Iudæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magicke* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heauenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldæa*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem*, (saith Io. DAMASCEN.) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* IOSEPHVS reporteth of *Abraham*, that *he instructed the Ægyptians in Arithmeticke and Astronomie, who before* ABRAHAMS *comming vnto them knew none of these sciences.*

De vit. sanct. Glyc. Annal. fol. 180.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garsias*: ALEXANDER & EVPOLEMON *dicunt, quod* ABRAHAM *sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus Chaldæos primum, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes Astrologiam & diuina docuerit*; ALEXANDER (saith he, meaning ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR) *and* EVPOLEMON *affirme, that* ABRAHAM *the holyest and wisest of men, did first teach the Chaldæans, then the Phœnicians, lastly, the Ægyptian Priests, Astrologie and diuine knowledge.*

The third kinde of *Magicke* contayneth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabblings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of natures hidden bosome to humane vse, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Vertues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villanoua*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyaneus* remembred by S. *Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romanes*: among the *Indians*, *Thespian*: among the *Ægyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperborians* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Apponensis*. The *Magicke* which these men profest is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, vt inde opera prodeant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant*; *Magicke is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.* In all these three kindes which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the Vniuersall: he beleeueth of the * *Trinitie*, which he could not inuestigate

See vpon his Comment. *in Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.*

* *Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cuius Monas est princeps. Cuncta namque perfecit pater, & menti tradidit secũde.*

uestigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approueth the immortalitie of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Psellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others haue gathered and translated. *Psell. & Ficin.*

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phœnicians*, vsing *Zoroasters* owne wordes: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith EVSEBIVS) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibiipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ unicus inuentor, &c.* Thus writeth ZOROASTER *word for word. God the first incorruptible, euerlasting, vnbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, hauing learn'd iustice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the onely inuenter thereof.* *De præp. Euang. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

Sixtus Senensis speaking of the wisedome of the *Chaldæans*, doth distinguish those wise men into fiue orders, (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldæans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which he translates *Arioli*, or *Sophists*) *Mecasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; *Witches*; or *Poysoners*; and *Gazarim Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diuiners*. *Lib. 2. fol. 46.*

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hij cælorum motus diligentissimè spectârunt*; *These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens*: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam diuinarum quàm humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; *Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well diuine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the sonne of *Beor*) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the inuention of this arte to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*. *Laert. l. 1.*

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith Saint *Augustine*, *Plinie*, and *Iustine*) of another *Zoroastres*: who corrupted the admirable wisedome of the *Magi*, which he receiued from his Ancesters.

Mecasphim, or *Venefics*, or *Witches*, are those of which we haue spoken alreadie out of HIS MAIESTIES booke of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after S. *Hierome*) which diuine from the entrailes of beasts slaine for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderstand *Augures*, who diuine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceiue the difference betweene those wise men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertayned; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truely obserueth, *Præerant religioni Persicæ, vt in populo Dei Leuitæ, studijsq; veræ Philosophiæ dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; percepisset*; *The Magi* (saith he) *were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the Leuites among Gods people, and they were giuen to the studies of true Philosophie: neyther could any be King of the Persians, who had not first beene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi.* SIXTVS SENENSIS in defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kindes of *Magicke*, his owne wordes are these: *Et ne quem moueant præmissa* POLYCHRONIJ *&* THEOPHILI *testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam*; *alteram vbiq; ab* ORIGINE *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur*; *alteram ab* ORIGINE *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the testimonies of* THEOPHILVS *and* POLYCHRONIVS (saith he) *may not moue any man, it is to be vnderstood that Magicke is of two sorts, the one euerywhere condemned by* ORIGEN; *which worketh (whether truely or seemingly) by couenants made with Deuills*; *the other commended by* ORIGEN; *which appertayneth to the practick part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally.* This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his *Peucer. de Diuinat. in c. de mag. fol. 135. & 136.* *Bibl. l. 6. fol. 424.*

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Commentaries vpon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene these foure kindes of wise Men formerly remembred, he vseth this distinction: *Quos nos hariolos; ceteri* [illegible] *(id est) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; malefici, qui sanguine vtuntur & victimis, & sæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quòd sint Philosophi Chaldæorum: & ad artis huius scientiam Reges quoq; & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt; vnde & in natiuitate Domini Saluatoris ipsi primum ortum eius intellexerunt, & venientes in sanctam Bethlehem adorauerunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente; They whom we call* Sorcerers, *and others interpret* Inchanters, *seeme to me such as performe things by words; Magicians, such as handle euery thing philosophically; Witches, that vse bloud and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the Chaldæans I take them to be signified by the name of Coniecturers vpon natiuities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their owne Nation: for they are the Philosophers of the Chaldæans: yea Kings and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this arte: whence at the natiuitie of the Lord our Sauiour they first of all vnderstood his birth, and comming vnto holy Bethlehem did worship the Child: the starre from aboue shewing him vnto them.* By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference betweene the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto vtitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunq;; That he is called a Magician now adayes, who hauing entred league with the Deuill, vseth his helpe to any matter*: yet (as our Sauiour said of *Diuorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Arte of *Magicke* is of the wisedome of Nature; other Artes which vnder-goe that title, were inuented by the falshood, subtletie, and enuie of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, then the vse of certayne ceremonies, *Per malam fidem; By an euill faith*: in the former no other ill, then the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties, which God hath giuen to his Creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worke to things that suffer. And though by the *Iewes*, those excellent *Magicians, Philosophers*, and *Diuines*, which came to worship our Sauiour *Christ*, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason, then common custome therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit;* (saith S. HIEROME) *Common custome* vnderstandeth *Witches vnder the name of Magicians: And antiquitie* (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word *(Magi) vnderstood good and wise men. Quid igitur expauescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Euangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem? O thou fearefull one* (saith FICINVS) *why doubtest thou to vse the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Gospell, which doth not signifie a witch or Coniurer, but a wise man and a Priest?* For what brought this slander to that studie and profession but only idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit innocentia quorundam operum, quæ vera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum naturas ipsas vel coniungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus huiusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant; The marueilousnesse of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath beene the cause of this slander: but because these workes haue beene done by procurement of Deuils, ioyning the natures together or mingling them, or howsoeuer fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the Deuils by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall Magicke, which men call very improperly Necromancie.*

Hieron. in Daniel.

Pet. Mart. Loci.

Mar. Ficin part. prim. fol. 573.

Gul. Parisien. de Lege, cap. 14.

Fol. 80.

Mirandula in his *Apologie* goeth further: *For by vnderstanding* (saith he) *the vttermost actiuitie of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Diuinitie of Christ*: for otherwise (to vse his owne wordes) *ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturalium fiat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not vnderstood, we must needes doubt whether those very*

verie workes which Chriſt did may not bee done by naturall meanes: after which he goeth on in this ſort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non ſuperſtitiosè dixi, ſed veriſsimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adiuuari nos in cognoſcenda diuinitate Chriſti*: *Therefore I ſaid not heretically, not ſuperſtitiouſly, but moſt truly and Catholikely, that by ſuch Magicke wee are furthered in knowing the Diuinitie of Chriſt.* And ſeeing the *Iewes* and others the enemies of *Chriſtian* Religion, doe impudently and impiouſly obiect, that thoſe Miracles which *Chriſt* wrought were not aboue Nature, but by the exquiſite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeeres fuller of knowledge then any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reaſon auow, that the vttermoſt of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which *Chriſt* did, and which (as himſelfe witneſſeth) no man could doe, doe manifeſtly teſtifie of themſelues, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature therein but as a Pencill, and by a power infinitely ſupreme and diuine; and thereby thoſe that were faithleſſe, were eyther conuerted or put to ſilence.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to bee condemned: though the Deuill here as in other kinds hath ſought to obtrude euill things, vnder the name and colour of good things.

SEeing therefore it is confeſſed by all of vnderſtanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Perſian* word) is no other then, *Diuinorum cultor & interpres*: *A ſtudious obſeruer and expounder of diuine things*: and the Art it ſelfe (I meane the Art of naturall *Magicke*) no other, *Quàm naturalis Philoſophiæ abſoluta conſummatio*; *Then the abſolute perfection of naturall Philoſophie*: Certainely then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way ſorteth with wiſe and learned men *promiſcuè* and without difference and diſtinction, to confound lawfull and praiſe-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to vſe Saint *Pauls* words) *with thoſe beggerly rudiments*, which the Deuill hath ſhuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleſſe men. For if we condemne naturall *Magicke*, or the wiſedome of Nature, becauſe the Deuill (who knoweth more then any man) doth alſo teach Witches and Poyſoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, and Excrements: then may wee by the ſame rule condemne the Phyſician, and the Art of healing. For the Deuill alſo in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for ſuch and ſuch diſeaſes. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the Deuill from the beginning hath ſought to thruſt himſelfe into the ſame imployment among the Miniſters and Seruants of God, changing himſelfe for that purpoſe into an Angell of Light. Hee hath led men to Idolatrie as a doctrine of Religion; he hath thruſt in his Prophets among thoſe of the true God; hee hath corrupted the Art of *Aſtrologie*, by giuing a diuine power to the Starres, teaching men to eſteeme them as Gods, and not as inſtruments. And (as *Bunting* obſerueth) it is true, that iudiciall *Aſtrologie* is corrupted with many ſuperſtitions: but the abuſe of the thing takes not away the Art; conſidering that heauenly bodies (as euen generall experience ſheweth) haue and exerciſe their operation vpon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moiſten, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they haue ſeuerall and proper names, ſo haue they ſeuerall and proper vertues: the Starres doe alſo differ in beautie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God giuen alſo their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celeſtiall influences, the Deuill ceaſeth not to ſhuffle in his Superſtitions: and ſo to the knowledge of the ſecret vertues of Nature hath he

Bunt. in Chron.

Pſal. 147.

faſtened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to beleeue in the ſtrength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby eyther to equall his owne with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminiſh the glorie of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreouer, hee was neuer ignorant, that both the wiſe and the ſimple obſerue when the Sea-birds forſake the ſhores and flye into the Land, that commonly ſome great ſtorme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bathing of Duckes foreſhew raine: for they feele the Ayre moiſtened in their Quils. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Euen the Storke in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemie of Mankind working vpon theſe as vpon the reſt of Gods creatures, long time abuſed the Heathen by teaching them to obſerue the flying of Fowles, and thereby to iudge of good or ill ſucceſſe in the Warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the ſame, as if God had written the ſecrets of vnſearchable prouidence in the liuers and bowels of birds and beaſts. Againe, becauſe it pleaſed God ſometimes by Dreames, not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apoſtles, but Heathen Princes alſo; as *Abimelech* to reſtore *Sara* to ABRAHAM; becauſe he admoniſhed *Ioſeph*, and by Dreame informed *Iacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the Eaſt, and others. For as it is remembred in IOB: *In Dreames and Viſions of the night when ſleepe falleth vpon men, &c. Then God openeth the eares, that he might cauſe man to returne from his enterprize:* therefore, I ſay, doth the Deuill alſo practiſe his Diuinations by Dreames, or (after *Pariſienſis*) *diuinitatis imitationes, his mocke-diuinitie.* This in the end grew ſo common, as ARISTIDES compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mithridates* of thoſe of his *Concubines.* Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconuenience hereof, becauſe all Dreames (without diſtinction of cauſes) were drawne to Diuination, forbad the ſame by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis ſomnijs occultam aliquam artem diuinandi*) it may appeare. Likewiſe by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie cap.* 13. ſeducing Dreamers were ordered to be ſlaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedie in his Dreame for two grieuous diſeaſes that oppreſt him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poyſoned wound; nor that which Saint AVGVSTINE reporteth of a *Millanoiſe*; whoſe ſonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt alreadie payed, was told by his Father in a Dreame where the Acquittance lay to diſcharge it: nor that of *Aſtyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reaſon of all which, foraſmuch as the cauſe is not in our ſelues, this place denieth diſpute.

Ca. 8. ver. 7.

Gen. 12. 17.

Iob. 33. 17.

G. Pariſien. de leg. 24. cap.

Codex de malefic. & Mathemat. leg. & ſi acepta.

Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

§. IIII.

That DANIELS *miſliking* NABVCHODONOSORS *condemning of the Magicians doth not iuſtifie all their practices.*

BVT it may be obiected, that if ſuch Diuination as the Heathens commonly vſed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them verie many and ſtrange Reuelations: how came it to paſſe that *Daniel* both condemned the haſtie ſentence of *Nabuchodonoſor* againſt the *Magicians* of *Chaldea*, and in a ſort forbad it? eſpecially conſidering that ſuch kind of people God himſelfe commanded to be ſlaine. To this diuers anſweres may be giuen. Firſt, it ſeemeth that *Daniel* had reſpect to thoſe *Chaldeans*, becauſe they acknowledged that the Dreame of the King, which himſelfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art eyther Naturall or Diabolicall: *For there is none other* (ſayd the *Chaldeans*) *that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whoſe*

Deut. 13. & 18. Leuit. 20.

whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Euer-liuing God.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselues in any euill or vnlawfull Artes, but were meerely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrarie, and called it a hastie iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* instruction: for himselfe had beene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters; of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi* or *Wisemen*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that iudgement, because it was vniust. For howsoeuer those men might deserue punishment for the practice of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Deuill himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute iustifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may bee found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right vse of them.

NOtwithstanding this mixture euery where of good with euill, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Deuill in the Image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Neyther did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleeue the most ancient and religious Historians) from obseruing the motions and natures of heauenly bodies; neyther can it dehort wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures. *Euseb. ex Artapan. & Polybist.*

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other vtmost vertues, sometimes taught by the Deuill, and applyed by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the vsing of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neyther can the illusions, whereby the Deuill betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vse of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or euill successe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes against Raine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may bee giuen. For if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, wee shall not only condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceiue in all professions) but wee shall in a short time burie in forgetfulnesse all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and couer it ouer with a most scornefull and beggerly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) wee should shew our selues *ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaq; lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce*: *Vnthankefull we should shew our selues towards those, who with paines and care haue discouered vnto vs light in this light.* *Deut. 18. 20.*

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematickes* also and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned iudge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, relucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate: In the Glasse of the Mathematickes that Truth doth shine, which is sought in euery kind of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a neere and manifest representation.*

Cusan. Comp. Theolog. c. 1.

§. VI.

Of the diuers kindes of vnlawfull Magicke.

IT is true that there are many Artes, if wee may so call them, which are couered with the name of *Magicke*: and esteemed abusiuely to bee as branches of that Tree, on whose root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancie* or *Goetia*: and of this againe there are diuers kinds. The one is an Inuocation at the Graues of the dead, to whom the Deuill himselfe giues answere in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the liuing: death being nothing else but a separation of the bodie and soule: and therefore the soule is not to be found in the Graues.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with *Satan*, is that of coniuring or of raysing vp Deuils, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distract, as they beleeue that by terrible words they make the Deuill to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselues against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Deuill is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrarie to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull Word of the Almightie: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that hee made no scruple to tempt our Sauiour *Christ*, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolue himselfe, that hee can draw the Deuill out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phrase: whereas in verie truth, the obedience which Deuils seeme to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselues of the bodies and soules of those which rayse them vp; as *His Maiestie* in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Deuils obedience is only, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectiuè*, that is, *vpon bargaine.*

Sunt in mundo genus quoddam potestatum valde diuisum, indiscretum & inconsideratum; & quod neq; verum à falso neq; possibile discernit ab impossibili. L. Viues in cap. 11. lib. 10. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 10. Cusan. exerc. l 2.

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Deuils, which inhabite *Iamblicus* imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalled: and alwayes attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, doe no way need any such inforcement.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale altogether with *Cardans* mortall Deuils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Auornathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kind of Deuils liued not aboue a thousand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great *God Pan*. For were it true that the Deuils were in awe of wicked men, or could bee compelled by them, then would they alwaies feare those wordes and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the *Familiar* of *Simon Magus* when hee had lifted him vp in the Ayre, cast him headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure hee should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. *Peters* Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same pranck at other times vpon his own accord the Deuill played with *Theodotus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to haue beene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had *Budæ*, a principall pillar of the *Manichæan* Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie witnesseth: and for a manifest proofe hereof wee see it euery day, that the Deuill leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times hee maketh

Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 16.

Lib. 1 c. 21.

keth himſelfe a *Pegaſus*, to conueigh them in haſte to places farre diſtant, or at leaſt makes them ſo thinke: *For to thoſe that receiued not the truth* (ſayth Saint PAVL) *God ſhall ſend them ſtrong illuſions.* Of theſe their ſuppoſed tranſportations (yet agreeing with their confeſſions) *His Maieſtie* in the ſecond Booke and the fourth Chapter of the *Dæmonologie*, hath confirmed by vnanſwerable reaſons, that they are meerely illuſiue. Another ſort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glaſſes and Criſtals: of whom CVSANVS: *Fatui ſunt incantores, qui in vngue & vitro volunt ſpiritum includere: quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are fooliſh Inchanters which will ſhut vp their ſpirits within their nailes or in Glaſſe: for a Spirit cannot be incloſed by a body.* 2 Corint. 5. 5. Exercitat. l. 2.

There is alſo another Art beſides the afore mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *white Magicke*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and Communicate withall. But the adminiſtring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creatour: ſo ſeeing they are moſt free Spirits; there is no man ſo abſurd to thinke (except the Deuill haue corrupted his vnderſtanding) that they can bee conſtrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the profeſſours thereof couer themſelues how they pleaſe by a profeſſed puritie of life, by the miniſterie of Infants, by faſting and abſtinence in generall; yet all thoſe that tamper with immaterial ſubſtances and abſtract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or inforcement, are men of euill faith and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be conſtrained; and the reſt are Deuils which willingly obey.

Other ſorts there are of wicked Diuinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Mataotechnia*, and the like.

The laſt, and (indeed) the worſt of all other is Faſcination or Witchcraft: the Practiſers whereof are no leſſe enuious and cruell, reuengefull and bloudie, then the Deuill himſelfe. And theſe accurſed creatures hauing ſold their ſoules to the Deuil, worke two wayes; either by the Deuill immediately, or by the art of poyſoning. The difference betweene *Necromanciers* and *Witches*, *His Maieſtie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a ſort) command; the other obey the Deuill.

There is another kind of pettie Witcherie (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beaſts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accuſed, becauſe an Eagle lighted on his ſhoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the ſame exceeded the Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomets* Doue, which he had vſed to feed with Wheate out of his eare: which Doue, when it was hungrie, lighted on *Mahomets* ſhoulder, and thruſt his Bill therein to find his breake-faſt: *Mahomet* perſwading the rude and ſimple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghoſt that gaue him aduice. And certainely if *Bankes* had liued in elder times, hee would haue ſhamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whoſoeuer was moſt famous among them, could neuer maſter or inſtruct any Beaſt as he did his Horſe. Ælian. l. 6. nat. hiſtor.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marſians* a people of *Italie* practiſed: *Colubros diſrumpit Marſia cantu: Inchanting Marſia makes the Snakes to burſt.*) That it hath beene vſed it appeares, *Pſal.* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impoſtures may bee in this kind; and euen by naturall cauſes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or deſtroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be laied in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magicke* or Inchantment, then to draw out a Mouſe with a piece of toſted Cheeſe. Lucil. in Satyr.

§. VII.

Of diuers wayes by which the Deuill seemeth to worke his wonders.

BVT to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not giue to the Deuil any other dominion then he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when hee is the Minister of Gods vengeance, as when *Ægypt*, according to *Dauid*, was destroyed by euill Angels) he otherwise worketh but three wayes. The first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, G. *Parisiensis* giueth three causes: the first, a naturall impotencie: the second, their owne reason disswading them from daring ouermuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercie of the Creatour, *Tenens eas ligatas* (sayth the same Authour) *velut immanissimas belluas*. Saint *Augustine* was of opinion that the Frogges which *Pharaos* Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Deuill (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Varius* obserueth, those Frogges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof sayth Saint AVGVSTINE: *Nec sanè Dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creata sunt commutant, vt videantur esse quod non sunt*: *The Deuils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to bee that which they be not*: of which in the 83. Question he giueth the reason. *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet*, (that is) *The Deuill fils with certaine cloudes all passages of the vnderstanding, by which the beame of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.*

Sinl. parisi. de vniuerso. p. 2. c. 70.

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke *de anima* rightly conceiueth, if the Deuill can possesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Deuill entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantasie is most apt to bee abused by vaine apprehensions.

Maxima vis est phantasiæ ad errores.

Aquinas on the contrarie held that those Frogges were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to THOMAS) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*: *By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not bee deceiued by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Augustine* in another case like vnto this, (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his Companions into Birds, *per actiua cum passiuis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that Saint *Augustine* beleeued that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, G. *Parisiensis* a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of naturall *Magicke* hee vseth these words: *De huiusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium querundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adiutorijs, quæ ipsa semina naturæ confortant & acuunt, ita vt opus generationis tantum accelerent, vt eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consueuit) sed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in hijs docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in hijs glorificant*: *In such workes* (sayth he) *the sodaine generation of Frogges, and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by meanes strengthning the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they so hasten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to bee the worke of Nature, which vsually worketh more leisurely, but they thinke it is done by the power of Deuils. But they who are learned in these Arts maruaile not at such working, but glorifie the Creatour.* Now by these

De leg. c. 24. fol. 67.

theſe two wayes the Deuills doe moſt frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vttermoſt of nature; and by illuſion: for there is no incomprehenſible or vnſearchable power, but of God only.

For ſhall we ſay, he cauſeth ſometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempeſts; and can infect the ayre, as well as moue it or compreſſe it; who knowes not that theſe things are alſo naturall? Or may it be obiected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illuſion? it is true, that he ſometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he ſtole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he fore-told the death of *Saul*, at ſuch time as he was in his owne poſſeſſion and power to diſpoſe of. And he that hath liued from the infancie of the world to this day, and obſerued the ſucceſſe of euery counſaile: he that by reaſon of his ſwift motions can informe himſelfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counſaile with al thoſe that ſtudie and practiſe ſubuerſion and deſtruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better iudge, then thoſe that inhabite the earth: if he ſhould not ſometimes, yea if he ſhould not very oftentimes gheſſe rightly of things to come (where God pleaſeth not to giue impediment) it were very ſtrange. For we ſee that wiſe and learned men doe oftentimes by comparing like cauſes conceiue rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Deuill doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, he euermore anſwereth by Riddles, as

Ephes. 2. 2. & 6. 12.

Diabolus magnũ habet rerum vſum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quouis negotio, Aug. de Anima, c. 26. 27. &c.

CRŒSVS *Halym penetrans magnam ſubuertit opum vim.*

If *Cræſus* ouer Halys goe,
Great Kingdomes he ſhall ouerthrow.

Which anſwere may be taken either way: either for the ouerthrow of his owne Kingdome, or of his Enemies. And thus farre we grant the Deuill may proceed in predictions, which (otherwiſe) belong to God only; as it is in ESAY: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that yee are Gods: ſhew vs at all times and certaynely what is to come. Solius enim diuinæ intelligentiæ ac ſapientiæ eſt, occulta noſſe & reuelare; It is only proper to Gods vnderſtanding and wiſedome, to know and reueale hidden things.*

Guil. Pariſienſis de legib. c. 24.

§. VIII.

That none was euer rayſed from the dead by the power of the Deuill: and that it was not the true SAMVEL *which appeared to* SAVL.

TO conclude, it may be obiected that the Deuill hath rayſed from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the example giuen of *Samuel* rayſed by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that ſome of the Deuils acts exceed all the powers of nature, falſe ſemblance, and other illuſions. *Iuſtine Martyr* was ſometimes of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeede: and ſo was *Ambroſe*, *Lyra*, and *Burgenſis*; from which authorities thoſe men borrow ſtrength which ſo beleeue. But *Martyr* changed his opinion: and ſo did *S. Auguſtine*, who at firſt ſeemed to be indifferent: For in his queſtions vpon the Old and New Teſtament, he accounteth it deteſtable to thinke that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and theſe be his wordes elſewhere to the ſame effect: *In requie ſunt animæ piorum à corpore ſeparatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec iſtarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ ſecunda dicitur corpora reuiuiſcant; The ſoules of the godly ſeparated from their bodies are at reſt, but thoſe of the wicked ſuffer puniſhment, till the bodies*

Iuſt. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in reſp. ad Ortho. quæſt. 52. Ambr. in Luc. l. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simpl. l. 2. q. 3. De ciuit. Dei, l. 13. c. 8.

dies of the iust rise to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and second death.

Aug. de verb. Apost. 18. Iust. Mart. ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilar. Psal. 2. in fine. Tert. de Anima. in fin. Athanas. q. 13. Chrysostom. hom. 19. in Euang. Matth.

And (besides S. *Augustine*) *Iustine Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, and others, beleeued firmely, and taught it: that the soules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith CYRIL) *quum à corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati diuinæ commendari*; *We must beleeue when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the diuine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father.* If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Deuill cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*; *From hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death: *Vnum* (saith AVGVSTINE) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*; *The one in eternall fire*; *the other in Gods eternall Kingdome.* And though it be written in *Iure Pontificio*, that many there are who beleeue that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing; yet the *Glosse* vpon the same Text

26. q. 5. Episcopi.

findes it ridiculous: *Credunt, & malè, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Glosse) *They beleeue, and they beleeue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes*, or *Apparitions.* For whereas any such voice hath beene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atq; deceptione diabolica est*; *That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Deuill*, saith *Chrysostome.* Likewise of the same, saith TERTVLLIAN: *Absit vt animam cuiuslibet sancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam*; *God forbid that we shoula thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should be drawne vp againe by a Deuill.*

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so doe they the woodden images *Cherubins*: and false brazen gods are called gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrarie opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonicall* Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himselfe in his Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Deuill would willingly perswade, that the soules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust and mercifull nature, and so contrarie to all diuine reason, as Saint *Augustine* (or whosoeuer wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answere him either by *dreames*, by *Vrim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceiue, that he would permit the Deuil, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrarie to his owne diuine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Deuill, and not the soule of a dead body, that gaue answere and aduice.

1. Kings 17. 12. 2. Kings 4. 34. Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum verè vnquam excitauit, Wier. de fascin.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Deuils which S. *Augustine* calleth *Iudificatores animantium sibi subiectorum*; *Mockers of their owne vassals*, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe also perswade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselues both possesse, and haue power ouer the soules of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith L. VIVES; *The Deuill beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Deuils power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntarie vassall: *Potest ad malum inuitare, non potest trahere*, saith S. AVGVSTINE, *he can allure, but he cannot inforce to euill.* Such as thinke otherwise, may goe into the number remembred by *Lucretius.*

Nam

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq; omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of NINVS, *and of his wife* SEMIRAMIS: *and of other of her acts.*

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Ninive by NINVS: *and of Babylon by* SEMIRAMIS.

BVt to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Ninive*: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is vncertayne. As for the Citie it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compasse 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such a bredth as three Charriots might passe on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towres which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times. *Iustin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. 8. 1.*

But this Citie (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the bankes of *Tigris*, and in the Region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campsor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Ninive* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninive*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein shee sought to exceede her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded: labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themselues and their people, without either Walls or Towres; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it the more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing in that Age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had vnder-taken, gaue that beautie and strength to *Babylon* which it had. *Herod. l. 1. Iustin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. & 3.*

§. II.

§. II.

Of the end of NINVS: *and beginning of* SEMIRAMIS *reigne.*

THis shee did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had mastred *Bactria*, and subiected vnto his Empire all those Regions betweene it and the *Mediterran Sea* and *Hellespont* (*Asia* the lesse excepted) and finished the worke of *Ninive*, he left the World in the yeere thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeeres. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant vnto her the absolute soueraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenæus*, and others, speakes of fiue dayes. In which time (moued either with desire of rule, or licentious libertie, or with the memorie of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) shee caused *Ninus* her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the *Greekes*, then that it had any truth.

Howsoeuer *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* tooke on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which, *Ninus* was said to be the first *Monarch*, because he changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldæa* to *Niniue* in *Assyria*. *Iustin* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to inuest herselfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the people in the person of her sonne *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

Ælian. l. 7. ex Didone.

This report I take also to be fayned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which shee sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and vndertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne *Ninias* had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vnlikely that she could haue held the Empire from him 42. yeeres after by any such subtiltie: (for so long shee reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly giuen to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous gouernement and vnder-takings.

§. III.

Of SEMIRAMIS *parentage and education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to haue beene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Countrey, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her Citie wherein shee was borne, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*; of *Ascalon*, the ancient Citie and *Metropolis* of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say, that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the Mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the banke of a Lake adioyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly yong man, she was by him made with child, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conuayed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild beasts) the same was fed by certayne birds, which vsed to feede vpon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby

thereby hope the better to couer her diſhonor and breach of vow; notwithſtanding which ſhe was caſt from the top of her Temple into the Lake adioyning, and (as the Poets haue fayned) changed by *Venus* into a Fiſh, all but her face, which ſtill held the ſame beautie and humane ſhape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the inuention of that Idoll of the *Philiſtims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fiſhes body: into whoſe Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the grounde: and at the ſecond fall there remayned only the Trunke of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For ſo S. *Hierome* hath conuerted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which ſignifieth a fiſh, and ſo it only appeared: the head thereof by the ſecond fall being ſundred from the body.

For my ſelfe I rather thinke, that this *Dagon* of the *Philiſtims* was an Idoll repreſenting *Triton*, one of thoſe imaginarie Sea-gods vnder *Neptune*. For this Citie being maritimate (as all thoſe of the *Philiſtims* were, and ſo were the beſt of *Phœnicia*) vſed all their deuotions to *Neptune*, and the reſt of the pettie gods which attended him.

§. IIII.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after diſcomfiture: with a note of the improbabilitie of her vices.

BVt for her Pedigree, I leaue it to the *Aſſyrian Heralds*: and for her vicious life, I aſcribe the report thereof to the enuious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacie and eaſe doe more often accompanie licentiouſneſſe in men and women, then labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princeſſe more worthy of fame then *Semiramis* was, both for the workes ſhe did at *Babylon* and elſewhere, and for the warres ſhe made with glorious ſucceſſe: all but her laſt enterpriſe of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that ſhe neuer returned: and that of all her moſt powerfull Armie there ſuruiued but only twentie perſons: the reſt being either drowned in the Riuer of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or ſlaine by the ſword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more then reaſon hath numbred: ſo were thoſe that returned leſſe then could haue eſcaped of ſuch an Armie, as conſiſted of foure millions & vpwards. For theſe numbers which ſhe leuied by her Lieutenant *Dercetæus* (ſaith *Suidas*) did conſiſt of Foot-men three millions; of Horſe-men one million; of Charriots armed with hookes on each ſide one hundred thouſand; of thoſe which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thouſand; of raw Hides for all vſes three hundred thouſand; of Galleyes with brazen heads three thouſand, by which ſhee might tranſport ouer *Indus* at once three hundred thouſand Souldiers: which Gallies were furniſhed with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. Theſe incredible and impoſſible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nouriſh (had euery man and beaſt but fed vpon graſſe) are taken from the authority of *Cteſias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many friuolous reports: ſo *Diodorus* himſelfe hath nothing of certaynetie, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whoſe Armie (though the ſame was farre inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to ouerlode the beliefe of any reaſonable man. For all Authors conſent, that *Xerxes* tranſported into *Greece* an Armie of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to paſſe the *Helleſpont*) three thouſand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the ſeuerall Prouinces whence thoſe Galleyes were taken hath collected the number.

Suid. f. 845. lit. S.

But of what multitude ſoeuer the Armie of *Semiramis* conſiſted: the ſame being broken and ouerthrown by *Staurobates* vpon the banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantauit extremum*:

tremum: *shee sang her last song*; and (as Antiquitie hath fayned) was changed by the gods into a Doue (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gaue a Doue in their ensignes.

§. V.

Of the Temple of BELVS *built by* SEMIRAMIS: *and of the Pyramides of Ægypt.*

AMong all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes (besides the wall of the Citie of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this Citie, inuironed with a wall carryed foure-square of great heighth and beautie, hauing on each square certayne brazen gates curiously engrauen. In the *Core* of the square she raised a Towre of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it againe (taking a *Basis* of a lesse circuit) she set a second Towre; and so eight in all, one aboue another: vpon the top whereof the *Chaldæans* Priests made the obseruation of the starres, because this Towre ouer-topped the ordinarie cloudes.

By beholding the ruines of this Towre haue many Trauailers beene deceiued; who suppose that they haue seene a part of *Nimrods* Towre, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense euery yeere (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorne with the spoiles of *Hierusalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* redeliuered. This temple *Xerxes* euened with the soile; which *Alexander* is said to haue repaired by the perswasions of the *Chaldæans*. I denie not that it might haue been in his desire so to doe; but he enioyed but a few yeeres after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The *Ægyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and leuell ground, and giuen to the same superstition of the starres that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conspicua vndiq; nauigantibus*, saith *Plinie*. Of these *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull obseruer of rarities (who being in *Ægypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui serout a sa sommite, & tirant vne fleche en l'air, a peine pouroit l'ennoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez*; *The best archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting an arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as he can, with great difficultie shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall vpon some of the degrees or steps.*

Procl. in Timæo, lib. 1.

Bellon. l. 2.

Finis Libri primi.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM The birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of ABRAHAM: *and of the vse of this question, for the ordering of the Storie of the Assyrian Empire.*

§. I.

Of some of the successours of SEMIRAMIS: *with a briefe transition to the question, about the time of the birth of* ABRAHAM.

AFTER the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestowes the conquest of *Bactria*, and the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Iustine*, *Orosius*, and all other approued writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subiected to ease and delicacie, there is no probabilitie in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other then that out of iealousie he euery yeere changed his Prouinciall Gouernors, and built Colledges for the *Chaldean* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced againe the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, reuolted as it seemeth in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arius*; but that he added sumptuosity, inuented iewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose wayes are warrantable, (till wee meet these *Assyrians* againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues we shall best giue date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* liuing at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*,

nias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and *Xerxes* or *Balanius.* For otherwise if we seeke to proue things certaine by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, which the Scriptures set vs down without error, by the raignes of the *Assyrian* Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at aduenture, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare, No maruaile if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.*

Plut. in Theseo.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these *Assyrian* Kings raigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abrahams* birth, and in what yeere the same hapned after the floud. Now since all agree, that the fortieth three yeere of *Ninus* was the birth-yeere of *Abraham*; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeere after the floud the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling betweene those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeeres; others 352. yeeres between *Abrahams* birth and the floud: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we finde him in *Annius*) makes but 250. yeeres from the floud to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeere of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius*, and S. *Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeere of *Abrahams* birth was in the yeere after the floud 293. or as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, the yeere 292.

Now, since I doe here enter into that neuer-resolued question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoueth me to giue reason for my owne opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walke aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those dartes, which Enuie casteth at nouelty, than to goe on safely and sleepily in the easie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuersity.

§. II.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue ABRAHAM *was borne in the yeere 292. after the Floud, and not in the yeere 352.*

THose which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeeres, betweene the generall floud and *Abrahams* birth, ground themselues, first on these words of the Scripture: *So* TERAH *lined 70. yeeres, and begot* ABRAHAM, NAHOR, *and* HARAN: secondly, vpon the opinion of *Iosephus*, S. *Augustine, Beda, Isidore*, and many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are slightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the latter *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the wordes as they lie; that TERAH *at 70. yeeres begot* ABRAHAM, NAHOR *and* HARAN: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the sonne of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the seuentieth yeere of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly obiected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can bee no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. yeere of

Terah

Terah his age, then in the 131. 132, &c. *Moſes* hauing no where ſet downe preciſely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeere, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. yeere: ſeeing *Abraham* himſelfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeeres.

§. III.

The anſwere to one of the obiections propoſed, ſhewing that ABRAHAM *made but one iourney out of Meſopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.*

TO anſwere all which obiections it is very eaſie, the way being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long ſince, and to which I will adde ſomewhat of mine owne, according to the ſmall talent which God hath giuen me. Now foraſmuch as the ſtate of the queſtion cannot well be ſcanned, vnleſſe the time of *Abrahams* iourney into *Canaan* be firſt conſidered of; before I deſcend vnto the particular examination of theſe arguments, I will make bold with order and method ſo farre, as to ſearch into a ſtrange tradition concerning his trauailes, that ſerueth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwarke againſt all that can be ſaid to the contrary.

But it is conceiued that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*: the latter after his Fathers death, the former preſently vpon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not ſtaying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the *Epiſtle to the Hebrewes*, where it is written, *By faith* ABRAHAM *(when hee was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place, which he ſhould afterward receiue for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither hee went.* Heb. 11. 8. This ſuppoſition (if it bee granted) ſerues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill ſtand without it. Let vs therefore ſee whether we may giue credit to the ſuppoſition it ſelfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* firſt departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the ſame is proued, without the admiſſion of any diſtinction, by theſe words of S. STEPHEN: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Act. 7. 4. Againſt which place ſo direct, and plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or ſuppoſition, perſwading, that *Abraham* made two iourneys into *Canaan*; one before *Terah's* death, and another after: no ſuch thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumſtance, probability, or reaſon to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can picke any argument, prouing, or affording any ſtrong preſumption, that *Abraham* paſt into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Haran*, from whence he departed a ſecond time: then I thinke it reaſon, that he be beleeued in the reſt. Heb. 11. 8. But that hee performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leauing *Vr* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themſelues are true. *For after his Father was dead*, (ſaith the *Martyr Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land*. And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then muſt it be inferred, that *Moſes* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, ſaith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* comming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moſes*? For if *Stephen* had ſpoken any thing of thoſe times, differing from *Moſes*, he had offered the *Iewes* his aduerſaries too great an occaſion both of ſcandalizing himſelfe, and the Goſpell of *Chriſt*. Indeed we ſhall finde ſmall reaſon to make vs thinke that *Abraham* paſſed and repaſſed thoſe wayes, more often than he was enforced ſo to doe, if we conſider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearieſome iourney, than the ſtrength of his faith in Gods promiſe: in which if any thing would haue brought him to deſpaire, he had more cauſe then euer man had to fall into it. For hee came into a Region of ſtrong and ſtubborne nations: a Nation of valiant and reſolued Idolaters. He was beſieged with famine at his firſt arriuall, and driuen to flie into

Ægypt for reliefe. His wife was olde, and he had no ſonne to inherit the promiſe. And when God had giuen him *Iſaac*, he commaunded him to offer him vp to himſelfe for Sacrifice: all which diſcomforts hee patiently and conſtantly vnderwent.

Secondly, let vs conſider the wayes themſelues, which *Abraham* had to paſſe ouer, the length whereof was 300. Engliſh miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to tranſport himſelfe ouer the great riuer of *Euphrates*, to trauaile through the dangerous and barren Deſarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether theſe were eaſie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforeſaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reaſonable man iudge. For if hee trauailed it twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Vr* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to diſproue this fancie; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe, that hee had not *animum reuertendi, not any thought of looking backward*, than any mans bare coniecture, be he of what antiquity or authority ſoeuer. For thus it is written of him, *Then* ABRAHAM *tooke* SARA *his wife, and* LOT *his brothers ſonne, and all their ſubſtance that they poſſeſt, and the ſoules that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the Land of Canaan they came*. Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him; his wife, and kinſmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleaſure, in ſo warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if hee could haue beene thereto mooued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnſettled, and preſt with extreme famine at his firſt arriuall. For had his Father beene then aliue, hee might haue hoped from him to receiue more aſſured comfort and reliefe, then among the *Ægyptians*, to whom hee was a meere ſtranger both in Religion and Nation.

Gen. 12. 5.

What the cauſe might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue ſent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: ſo they perhaps, if they were vrged, could ſay little elſe, than that without ſuch a ſecond voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reaſon they ſhould doe well to make plaine, if it be not ouer-troubleſome. They ſay that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or ſome time after, being then by their account 135. yeeres old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite vndone the buſineſſe, which as wee reade, was within foure or fiue yeeres after that time his greateſt, or (as may ſeeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very ſolemne oath his principall ſeruant, in whom hee repoſed moſt confidence, to trauaile into thoſe parts, and ſeeke out a wife for *Iſaac* his ſonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumſtances, that neither he nor his ſeruant were ſo well acquainted in *Meſopotamia*, that they could particularly deſigne any one woman, as a fit match for *Iſaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had beene there in perſon ſo lately, as within foure or fiue yeeres before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of ſuch importance; but would haue truſted his owne iudgement, in chooſing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other deſireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely ſonne, who was then 35. yeeres old; before which age moſt of the Patriarches after the floud had begotten children, rather than haue left all at randome to the conſideration of a ſeruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be ſuppoſed (if it may be beleeued) that either *Abraham* forgot this buſineſſe when he was there, or that ſomewhat hapned which no man can deuiſe. What might be the reaſon, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his maſters errand, was faine to lay open the whole ſtory of his maſters proſperity, telling it as newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a ſonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himſelfe, a more certaine Author, had ſo lately beene among them, would not all this haue beene an idle tale? It were needleſſe to ſtand long vpon a thing ſo euident

Gen. 24.

Gen. 24. 35, 36. &c.

Wheter.

Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to haue returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how auerse hee was from permitting his sonne to bee carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kindred could not haue beene obtained without his personall presence. *Iacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his owne linage; not without Gods especial approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that iourney: yet hee lined there as a seruant; suffered many iniuries; and finally was driuen to conuey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence hee hath taken, and transplanted them. That briefe saying, *Remember Lots wife*, containes much matter. Let vs but consider *Mesopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Ægypt*, out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was deliuered: we shall finde, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that hee conceiued great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Esai*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainely appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they sate downe and wept. Concerning *Ægypt* we reade, that *Sesac* and *Neco* Kings of *Ægypt* brought calamitie vpon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Ægyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Ægypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomie*, that God had said, *They shou'd no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Ægypt*, for the muliplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that hee neuer did returne, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

Gen.24.6. & 8. Gen.28. 2.Kings.20. Psal.137. 1.Kin.14.25. & 2.Kin.23.v.29. Deut.17.v.16.

But because this double passage of *Abrahams* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of iudgement or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleeue as they doe. For all the trauailes of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Vr* or *Camerina* in *Chaldæa* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he remooued to a mountaine betweene *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Ægypt*: from *Ægypt* hee returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flockes and heards of Cattle were more, then could bee fed in that part: from thence the second time hee remooued to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron*: and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, hee after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after neere vnto it at *Bersabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retrait to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now if it may bee supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former iourney into *Canaan*, as *Leuita* in his *Cabala* hath fained; it should in reason bee therewithall beleeued, that he would in those his first trauailes haue prouided himselfe of some certaine seat, or place of abiding: and not haue come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, familie, goods and Cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himselfe. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabite, he departed thence to *Bethel* and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and finde out some fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleuenth, *He went foorth going and iourneying towards the South*: and alwayes vnsettled. By occasion of which wandring to and fro, some say, the *Ægyptians* gaue him and

Gen.12.v.6.

Mont. in Caleb. his the name of *Hebræi*. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly beene in the Countrie, we may note, that ere he came to *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared vnto him, saying, *Vnto thy seed will I giue this Land*, shewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a land to him vnknowne. For *Abraham* without any other prouident care for himselfe, beleeued in the word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being arriued, he receiued a second promise from God, that hee would giue those Countries vnto him and his seede to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted any such double iourney of *Abrahams*, seeing hee setteth downe all his passages elsewhere, long and short? as when he moued from *Sichem*, and seated betweene *Haie* and *Bethel*; the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but twentie foure miles: and when hee left *Mamre*, and sate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse then sixe miles; no, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuity, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting vp all betweene the Creation and the Floud in six chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeeres: but hee bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fiue and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeere. It hath therefore no face of trueth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* trauailes, or other actions: or that hee would set downe those small remooues of fiue miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a iourney in going and comming would haue ministred some varietie of matter, or accident, worthie the inserting and adding to *Abrahams* storie.

§. IIII.

The answere to another of the obiections proposed, shewing that it was not vnlikely, that TERAH *should beget* ABRAHAM *in his hundred and thirty yeere.*

NOw touching the obiection, where it is said, that it was very vnlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeere, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to haue a sonne at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and mistaken: *Abraham* hauing respect only to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many yeeres. For when the Angell saide vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe*, SARAH *thy wife shall haue a Sonne*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now* ABRAHAM *and* SARAH *were olde and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with* SARAH *after the manner of women: therefore* SARAH *laughed, &c.*

So then, in that it is said, *it ceased to be with* SARAH *after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, & not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his secõd wife *Keturah* had many sons after *Sarah's* death, as *Zimron, Iockshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeeres after *Isaac*: and the yongest 40. yeeres after. What strangenesse then, that *Terah* being 130. yeeres old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may bee gathered from this supposed despaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeeres? For *Sarah* died in the yeere of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was borne in the yeere 2109; and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if wee deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat fiue sonnes 36. yeeres after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. yeeres old: it is not strange that his Father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz, Obed*, and *Iesse*, who liued so many yeeres and ages after *Abraham*, begat sons at 100. yeeres, or neere it, it cannot be mer-

Origen. homil. 11 in Gen. Aug. de Ciuit. dei. l. 16. c. 34. Caietan: & Pererr. in Gen.

nailed

nailed at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130; and *Abraham* others at the same age and seuen yeeres after.

§. V.

The answere to two more of the obiections: shewing that wee may haue certaintie of ABRAHAMS *age from the Scripture, though we make not* ABRAHAM *the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of* ABRAHAM *his two brethren should be respected.*

IT followeth now to speake something to the obiection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne when *Terah* was 70. yeeres old. For *Abrahams* age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That wee cannot be certaine of *Abrahams* age, vnlesse we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the yeere of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answere, that S. *Stephen* hath told vs, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; so as the 75. yeere of *Abraham* was the 205. yeere of *Terah*: which knowne, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the obiection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect vnto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God established the Couenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh, &c. I answere, that *Moses* for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, & *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*: & *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Iacob*: *Milcah* also the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Iacobs* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to giue her a sonne at 90. yeeres, and when by nature she could not haue conceiued. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselues, yet because both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-childe of *Nahor*; and *Iacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-childe also of *Nahor*: It was not superfluous in *Moses* to giue light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is *Ios.* 24. 2. yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleeued and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leauing their naturall Countrey, and Citie of *Vr* in *Chaldaa*, as *Abraham* did, and remooued thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldaa*; but *Lot*, his sonne, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nabor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gaue his sonnes daughters to *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, his own kinsemen: he himselfe hauing also married in his owne family; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselues with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleeued in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seene the seruant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, hee inuited him to his Fathers house in this manner: *Come in, thou blessed of* IEHOVAH, *&c.* And when this seruant of *Abrahams* demanded an answere as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said; *This thing is proceeded of* IEHOVAH: meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods prouidence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; *Take, take, goe that shee may bee thy*

Gen. 24. v. 31.

Gen. 24. v. 50.

thy Masters sonnes wife, euen as IEHOVAH *hath said.* This their often vsing of the name of IEHOVAH, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knoledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint *Chrysostome*, and some later writers, as *Caietan*, *Oleaster*, *Musculus*, *Caluin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, because he retained certaine Idols, or houshold Gods, which *Rachel* stole from him; yet that he beleeued in the true God it cannot bee denied. For hee acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* seruant, blessed of IEHOVAH, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of ABRAHAM *first of the three brethren,* Gen. 11. v. 26. *doth not proue that hee was the eldest: together with diuers reasons prouing that* ABRAHAM *was not the eldest sonne of* TERAH.

TO the maine obiection which I answere last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that striue to shorten the times, endeuour to proue that *Abraham* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeere of *Terahs* life: grounding themselues first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, *And* TERAH *liued 70. yeeres and begat* ABRAHAM, NAHOR, *and* HARAN: To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proofe at all that he was the eldest & first born sonne of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first borne of *Adam*; nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Iacob* of *Isaac*; nor *Iuda* and *Ioseph* of *Iacob*: nor *Dauid* the eldest of *Iesse*; nor *Salomon* of *Dauid*: as is formerly remembred.

Gen. 11. v 26.

But it is written of NOAH; NOAH *was 500. yeres old, and* NOAH *begat* SHEM, HAM, *and* IAPHET: shewing that at the 500. yeere of his age he began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to S. *Augustine*, speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit* ABRAHAM. *The order of natiuitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignitie: in which* ABRAHAM *was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of *Noah*: so is it here; where it is said, *that* TERAH *liued 70. yeeres, and begat* ABRAHAM, NAHOR, *and* HARAN: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father *Nachor* at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to *Noah*: for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130; *Enosh* *Kenan* at 90; *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70; *Mahalaleel Iered* at 60: *Noah* was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And S. *Augustine* in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the yongest of *Terahs* sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellencie he was worthily named first. His owne words are these: *Fieri enim potuit vt posterior sit generatus* ABRAHAM: *sed merito excellentiæ, quæ in Scripturis valdè commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, saith he, that* ABRAHAM *was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellencie, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of *Noah*, or in these of *Terah*: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spirituall blessing, for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. *Pietas ergò vel ipsa potiùs electio diuina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat* SEMO *in liberis* NOA, *&* ABRAHAMO *in liberis* THARE. *Pietie, saith he, or rather diuine election*

Aug. quæst. super Gen. 25.

election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it pietie and the feare of God, gaue place and precedencie to SEM *among the children of* NOAH, *and to* ABRAHAM *among thoſe of Thare.*

For the reſt it is manifeſt, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. yeere of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Iſmael*, when *Abraham* had liued 86. yeeres. *Gen.12.4.* It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Iſaac*, when *Abraham* *Gen.16.16.* had conſumed 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roſe out, when he reſcued *Lot* and ouerthrew *Amraphel:* and he had then but the age of 83. yeeres: and it is as manifeſt that he parted from *Haran* after his Father *Act.7.4.&* *Terah* was dead. But if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. yeere old, then muſt *Abraham* *Gen.14.* haue beene 135. yeeres when hee firſt ſet his foote in *Canaan*: ſeeing *Terah* muſt bee dead ere he parted, and ſo 70. added to 135. made 205, the true age of *Terah*, which is contrary to all thoſe places of Scripture before remembred. For hee entred at 75: hee reſcued *Lot* at 83: hee had *Iſmael* at 86: hee had *Iſaac* at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreouer, if *Abraham* were the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeere of his age: then had *Terah* liued till *Iſaac* had beene 35. yeeres old, and *Iſmael* 49. both which muſt then haue been borne in *Meſopotamia*, and therein foſtered to that age: vnleſſe we ſhould either denie credit to S. *Stephen*, who ſaith that *Abraham* departed from *Meſopotamia* after his Fathers death: or elſe giue credit to the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, ſaith it was about his Fathers death: becauſe the Greeke word, μετὰ, may bee tranſported by the Latine *ſub*, aſwell as by *poſt:* which though elſewhere it may bee, yet cannot it be ſo in this place. For it were moſt improperly ſpoken, to ſay that thoſe things were done about *Terahs* death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore ſuppoſing *Abraham* to haue beene borne in the 70. yeere of *Terah*; we muſt giue thoſe times and places of birth to *Abrahams* children, which no authoritie will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Vr* of *Chaldea*, nor in *Haran*: nor in 10. yeeres after his arriuall into *Canaan*. For the yeere of *Terahs* death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the yeere of the World 2083. and the yeere of *Iſmaels* birth was the Worlds yeere 2094: which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that *Iſaac* was borne in *Canaan*, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Berſabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* firſt of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abrahams* ſonnes were borne in *Meſopotamia*; nor while *Terah* liued; nor in leſſe then 10. yeeres after *Terahs* death: and conſequently was not *Abraham* the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, nor borne in the 70. yeere of *Terahs* age.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75: if *Terah* had begotten him at 70, then had *Terah* liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which muſt alſo haue *Gen.12.* been the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* liued 205. yeere: and therefore was not *Abraham* borne in the 70. yeere of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifeſt, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldeſt brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iſcah* wanted but 10. yeeres of *Abrahams* age: *Iſaac* beeing borne when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. yeeres olde.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had beene the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* muſt haue begotten *Sarah* at 9. yeeres old: for granting that *Harah* was borne but one yeere after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within 10. yeres as old as *Abraham*, then of neceſſitie muſt *Haran* beget her, when hee had liued but 9. yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iſcah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, ſaith he, bearing the ſame ſignification; and names of principalitie. Againe, to what end was the word *Iſcah* or *Iſhcah* inſerted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? for to

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thy Masters sonnes wife, euen as IEHOVAH *hath said.* This their often vsing of the name of IEHOVAH, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knoledge of him.

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Aug. quæst. super Gen. 25.

election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it pietie and the feare of God, gaue place and precedencie to SEM *among the children of* NOAH, *and to* ABRAHAM *among those of Thare.*

For the rest it is manifest, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. yeere of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Ismael*, when *Abraham* had liued 86. yeeres. *Gen.12.4.* It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had consumed 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* rose out, when he rescued *Lot* and ouerthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83. yeeres: and it is as manifest that he parted from *Haran* after his Father *Act.7.4.&* *Terah* was dead. But if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. yeere old, then must *Abraham* *Gen.14.* haue beene 135. yeeres when hee first set his foote in *Canaan*: seeing *Terah* must bee dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205, the true age of *Terah*, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For hee entred at 75: hee rescued *Lot* at 83: hee had *Ismael* at 86: hee had *Isaac* at 100. proued by the former places. *Gen.16.16.*

Moreouer, if *Abraham* were the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeere of his age: then had *Terah* liued till *Isaac* had beene 35. yeeres old, and *Ismael*, 49. both which must then haue been borne in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: vnlesse we should either denie credit to S. *Stephen*, who saith that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his Fathers death: or else giue credit to the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greeke word, μετὰ, may bee transported by the Latine *sub*, aswell as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may bee, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about *Terahs* death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore supposing *Abraham* to haue beene borne in the 70. yeere of *Terah*; we must giue those times and places of birth to *Abrahams* children, which no authoritie will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Vr* of *Chaldea*, nor in *Haran*: nor in 10. yeeres after his arriuall into *Canaan*. For the yeere of *Terahs* death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the yeere of the World 2083. and the yeere of *Ismaels* birth was the Worlds yeere 2094: which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that *Isaac* was borne in *Canaan*, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* first of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abrahams* sonnes were borne in *Mesopotamia*; nor while *Terah* liued; nor in lesse then 10. yeeres after *Terahs* death: and consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest sonne of *Terah*, nor borne in the 70. yeere of *Terahs* age.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75: if *Terah* had begotten him at 70, then had *Terah* liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also haue been the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* liued 205. yeere: and therefore was not *Abraham* borne in the 70. yeere of *Terah*. *Gen.12.4.*

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iscah* wanted but 10. yeeres of *Abrahams* age: *Isaac* beeing borne when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. yeeres olde.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had beene the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must haue begotten *Sarah* at 9. yeeres old: for granting that *Haran* was borne but one yeere after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within 10. yeres as old as *Abraham*, then of necessitie must *Haran* beget her, when hee had liued but 9. yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iscah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principalitie. Againe, to what end was the word *Iscah* or *Iisheah* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For to

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speake of any thing superfluous it is not vsed in Gods Bookes: and if *Iscah* had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscah* in this place, were she not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last.

The age also of *Lot* disproueth the eldership of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83. yeeres: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Harans* daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* also being within ten yeeres as old as *Abraham*: it may appeare to euery reasonable man (not obstinate and preiudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his Father left *Vr* in *Chaldea*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abrahams* eldership, vpon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10. yeeres yonger than *Abraham* himselfe. *Lyra* his wordes are these: *Si igitur* HARAN *fuit iunior ipso* ABRAHAM, *sequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* SARAM: *imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quòd* ABRAHAM *fuit vltimò natus de tribus filijs* THARE, *tamen nominatur primò, propter eius dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & quia primò facta est ei repromissio expressa de* CHRISTO, *sicut supra dictum est de* SEM, *&c.* *If therefore* (saith *Lyra*) HARAN *was yonger then* ABRAHAM *himselfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat* SARAH: *And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that* ABRAHAM *was the last borne of the three sonnes of* THARE, *neuertheless he is named first for his dignitie, both because he was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following, and because the promise of* CHRIST *was first made vnto him, as before it is said of* SEM.

§. VII.

The conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides: with an admonition that they which shorten the times, make all ancient stories the more vnprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terahs* life, and not in the 70. yeere. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to *S. Stephen*, and that iourney by *Abraham* performed when hee was 75. yeeres old, these two numbers added make 205. yeeres, the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my selfe, I haue no other end herein then to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story: I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint *Augustine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuersie. For whatsoeuer is borrowed from him out of his 16. Booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, ca. 15. the same may bee answered out of himselfe in his fine and twentieth question vpon *Gen.* But S. *Augustine* herein followed *Iosephus*, and *Isidor*: and *Beda* followed S. *Augustine*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the *Hebrews* and *Iosephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Iosephus* together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Iewish Nation*) make *Abraham* a king, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queene Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captaines, of which euery one had an infinite multitude vnder him: *trecentos & octodecem præfectos habuit:*

Act. 7. 4.

Gen. 12. 4.

habuit: quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that *Pharao* inuading him with a great armie, tooke from him his wife *Sarah*: Such fables argue that *Ioſephus* is not to be beleeued, but with diſcreet reſeruations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeeres from the Floud to *Abraham*, is vpheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how ſhould wee value the opinion of ſuch *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their iudgement in ſuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would haue appeared in ſetting downe the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian Kings*, vnder whom they liued, whoſe Hiſtorie was not ſo farre remote in time, as theſe antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet groſſely haue they erred therein, and ſo familiar are their miſtakings in all things of like nature, that we ſeldome finde their opinion rehearſed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the *Romane* religion are alſo generally on the ſame ſide: it being a thing vſuall among them, to maintaine whatſoeuer they haue beene formerly knowne to holde, and beleeue. Contrariwiſe, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and ſome following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Caluin*, *Iunius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with diuers of the *Proteſtants*, hold *Abraham* to haue been borne in the 130. yeere of his Father *Terah*. From theſe, (as in a caſe not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the ſame Religion, and thoſe neuertheleſſe good Authours, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very auerſe herein, eſpecially *Ioſephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Caluiſius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poyſonous. Contrariwiſe, *Auguſtinus Torniellus* a Prieſt of the Congregation of S. *Paul*, a iudicious, diligent and free writer, whoſe *Annales* are newly ſet forth, very earneſtly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered; not alleadging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Proteſtant* writer, as beeing perhaps vnwilling to owe thankes to heretikes. For my ſelfe I doe neither miſlike the contrary opinion, becauſe commonly thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion labour to vphold it, Nor fauour this larger account of times, becauſe many notable men of the *Proteſtant* writers haue approued it; but for the trueth it ſelfe. To ſtrengthen which, after all theſe former reaſons, and teſtimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the reſt. Firſt, it is apparant to all men of iudgement, that the beſt approoued Hiſtorians, Diuine and prophane, labour to inueſtigate the trueth of times, thereby to approue the ſtories, and forepaſt actions of the world: and not the trueth of hiſtories to approue the times by. Let vs then make iudgement to our ſelues, which of theſe two accounts giue the beſt reputation to the ſtorie of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuancie of Gods Church: either that of *Ioſephus*, and thoſe which follow him; who makes but 292. yeeres, or thereabouts, betweene the floud and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeeres betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the firſt borne of *Thare*, in the 70. yeere of his life: the other a yonger ſonne of *Thare*, and borne when hee had liued 130 yeeres. And if we looke ouer all, and doe not haſtily ſatisfie our vnderſtanding with the firſt things offered, and thereby being ſatiated doe ſlothfully and drowſily ſit downe; wee ſhall finde it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to ſome editions, make it aboue 1072. yeeres betweene the Floud and *Abrahams* birth: then to take away any part of thoſe 352. yeeres giuen. For if we aduiſedly conſider the ſtate and countenance of the world, ſuch as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea, before *Abraham* was borne, wee ſhall finde that it were very ill done of vs by following opinion without the guide of reaſon, to pare the times ouer-deepely betweene *Abraham* and the Floud: becauſe in cutting them too neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole ſtorie might perchance bleede thereby, were not the teſtimonie of the Scriptures ſupreme, ſo as no obiection can approch it: and that wee did not follow withall this precept of S. *Auguſtine*, That whereſoeuer any one place in the Sctiptures may bee conceiued diſagreeing to the whole, the ſame is by ignorance of interpretation miſunderſtood.

For

For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Ægypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palæstina*, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walles and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plaineſt, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or drawe all things into wonders and marualles? giuing also strength thereby to common cauellers, and to those mens apish braines, who onely bend their wits to finde impossibilities, and monsters in the storie of the World and Mankinde.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians and others, grounded vpon the times noted in the storie of ABRAHAM.

An. mundi 2008 did. 352. natus Abraham, Euſ. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alleadged, I conclude, that from the generall Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeeres were consumed: and taking the *Assyrian* Historie with vs, the same number of yeeres were spent from the Floud to the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeere of *Ninus Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeere of the World, 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeeres, wee must giue one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. yeere to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, we may the more safely giue the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Hauila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth *Gen.* 10. which S. *Augustine* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeeres more to *Raama* ere hee begat *Sheba*, and fiue yeeres to the fiue elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may bee gathered that 65. yeeres were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age ere any of his sonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the same yeere of his life.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

Gen. 11. 18.

Let vs then allow 60. yeeres more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shal hardly find people to build *Babel*: for sure wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: becaus it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which yeere they arriued in *Shinar*, whereof there are 6. yeeres remaining) wee may giue them for their trauels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattell: and as some ancient writers haue conceiued, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaines sides, for feare of a second Floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remaines 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* borne: both which S. *Augustine* approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeeres of the 352. from the Floud to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. necessitie bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

An. à salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cæpit regnum Babylonicum sub nostro Saturno patre Iouis Beli, qui imperauit annis 65. Berosus.

And if it be obiected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-short. For *Nimrod*, by this accompt, liued in all but one hundred seuenty nine yeeres: whereof hee reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the sonne of *Arphaxad* the sonne of *Sem*, liued foure hundred thirty three yeeres:

yeeres: and of the ſame age of the World was *Nimrod*, the ſonne of *Chus*, the ſonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne,

Ninus reigned 9. yeers: which added to 43. make——————————52.

Ninus dieth and leaueth *Semiramis* his ſucceſſor.

Semiramis gouerned the *Empire* of *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* 42. yeeres, and died in the 52. yeere compleat of *Abrahams* life. Of the World 2017. Of the Floud 761. 2059. *mundi.* 403. *a dil.* 2083.

Ninias or *Zameis* ſucceeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeeres, in the ſecond yeere of whoſe reigne *Abraham* left *Meſopotamia*. 427. 2093. 437.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeeres old, he reſcued his nephew *Lot*, and ouerthrew by ſurpriſe *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeeres, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeeres after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeere of his age: ſo that *Amraphel* may ſeeme to haue beene this *Ninias* the ſonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whoſe 23. yeere, as aforeſaid, being the 75. yeere of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might haue receiued this ouerthrow in the 85. yeere of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeere of his own reigne: after which he reigned fiue yeeres: which make in all 38. But the trueth is, that the reaſons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not eaſily anſwered. Howbeit for the times of the *Aſſyrian* kings, that they are to bee ordered as wee haue ſet them downe, according to the times noted by *Moſes*, in the ſtorie of *Abraham*, it is moſt certaine: vnleſſe we will either derogate from the trueth of *Moſes* his computation, which were impietie: or account the whole Hiſtorie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to bee a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Hiſtorians for fablers.

§. IX.

That AMRAPHEL, *one of the foure Kings whom* ABRAHAM *ouerthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to haue beene* NINIAS *the ſonne of* NINVS.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moſes* makes king of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the reigne of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Aſſyrians*, the ſonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how hee could bee at this time king of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the anſwere which firſt offereth it ſelfe as moſt probable, is that which hath beene alreadie noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other then our *Amraphel*: who inuaded *Traconitis* or *Baſan*, and ouerthrew thoſe fiue kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was king of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the ſucceſſour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life: wherein he reſcued *Lot*, ſlew *Chedorlaomer*, and ouerthrew the reſt. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greateſt Monarke: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* bee firſt named by *Moſes* in the firſt verſe of the 14. Chapter of *Geneſis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or of the fiue Cities, were the vaſſals of *Chedorl.* and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written. *Twelue yeeres were they ſubiect to* CHEDORLAOMER, *but in the* 13. *yeere they rebelled, and in the* 14. *yeere came* CHEDORLAOMER *and the kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorl.* the principall in this enterpriſe, who was then king of *Elam*, which is *Perſia*: Now *Perſia* being ſeated ouer *Tigris*, and to the Eaſt of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being ſeated to the Weſt of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelfe, ſeemeth at this time to haue had no great ſcope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* beene ſo great a Prince as prophane Hiſtorians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* Gen. 14.4.

whom hee succeeded, he should not haue needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those foure Kings, (as it is manifest that hee was: For these little kings of *Sodome, Gomora, &c.* were his vassals, and not *Amraphels*) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainely in that which followeth) receiued a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the kingdomes betweene *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

Of ARIOCH *another of the foure Kings, and that* ELLAS, *whereof he is said to haue beene King, lies betwene* Cœlesyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw the two other kings ioyned with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorl.* were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellassar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should bee *Hellespont*: which opinion *Pererius* fauoureth. But this is onely to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellespont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*: which Countries these foure Kings chiefly inuaded: Besides that, it is certaine, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the inuasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commaunders: but vsed all the Arte they had to inuite *Cræsus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could bee more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. *These Kings* (saith the Text) *made warre with* BERA, *king of Sodome*, BIRSHA *king of Gomorha*, SHINAB *king of Admath, and* SHEMEBAR *king of Zeboim, and the king of* BELA *which is Zoar*. All which fiue kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Iosua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territorries adioyning; of which *Canaan* had 33. all slaine or hanged by *Iosua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are saide also to haue inuaded, bee imagined to haue beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellespont*, had manifested a great impotencie and weakenesse in the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

Xenophon.

Gen. 14.

And though it bee alleadged for an example, that diuers kings farre off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*: yet these same examples without like occations and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these pettie kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtfull then fearefull: But the whole Countrie by these foure kings mastered in their passage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene *Iordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: inclosed by the riuer of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of the two small Prouinces of *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*: a conquest farre vnualuable, and little answering the power of the *Assyrian Empire*, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subiected all the great kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellespont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the Vulgar and *Aquila* conuert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to ioyne with the *Assyrians* in

in this warre, as the World had any at that time. The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellassar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines wherof the Arke did rest, so doe they in this place retaine the *Hebrew* word *Ellassar*, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable then this of *Pontus* or *Hellespont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Vrbibus* a *Gracian Cosmographer*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœlesyria*: and S. *Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cœlesyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly ioyned with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Machabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of S. *Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the *Lieutenant* of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian Empire*. It is true that wee finde in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was Generall of his armie, and the principall Commander vnder him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* heere spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre remooued from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Iudith*, by the name of *king of the Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* sets it betweene the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that house (knowne by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta* or *Aretas*) had the gouernment of that *Persian Prouince* called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Iudith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* heere spoken of may with more reason bee taken for the king of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the *Confederate* of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and bloud: which *D. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Mac. 2. c. 5. v. 2.
Cor. 2. 11.
Dan 2.
Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1

§. XI.

Of TIDAL *another of the foure Kings.*

THe fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrowne was *Tidal*, king of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Goiim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Caluin* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilæa* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Ægyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nàm tales sunt qui Galilæam habitant*; *Such are the inhabitants of Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called king of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilæa* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Cananite* was then in the Land, howsoeuer they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettie kingdomes adioyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these doe also ioyne themselues to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselues together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest coniecture.

Strab. li. 16. fol. 523.
Gen. 12. 6.

§. XII.

That CHEDORLAOMER *the chiefe of the 4. Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.*

LAstly, wheras it is conceiued that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Assyrian Emperor*, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape, Viceroy*, or *Prouinciall* gouernour of *Babylonia*, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* too well acquainted with the names of *Assur*, and *Shinar*, to call the *Assyrian* a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of *Chaldæa, Shinar, Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but neuer by *Elam*; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedorlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim* which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *Regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleeue that the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Empire* stood in any greatnesse at the time of this inuasion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, doe not long last; *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-looke what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioined a short life: and whatsoeuer things Nature herselfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before him.

Ninus beeing the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her *Paramor*: enlarged the *Babylonian Empire*, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feminine then shee was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reuenge the other: so those kings adioyning (whose subiection, and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grieuous) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successour. For in *regno Babylonico hic parùm resplenduit*, *this King shined little* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) in the *Babylonian* kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing beene neuer before galled with the yoke of forraine dominion, Nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slauery: no long descent hauing as yet inuested the *Assyrian* with a right: nor any other title being for him to bee pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a mind lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had vsed before him. And hee that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to raigne 42. yeeres, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indeuoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perill enioy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moses*, by which wee finde that *Amraphel* king of *Shinar* was rather an inferiour to the king of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equall, make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great trauaile vpon *Abraham*, from *Vr* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which hee wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeere of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, tooke this great iourney in hand: in which time of 23. yeeres after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recouered their libertie and former estates. For *Semiramis* armie of foure millions, with herselfe vtterly consumed in *India*, and all her armes and engins of war, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie. *Strab. l. 15.*

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the sonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, inuaded the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not beene reuolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recouered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balaneus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest reuolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that hee conquered from *Ægypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes, id est, Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher*, which vndertakings had beene no other then the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselues, from the *Babylonian* subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt heereof, that is, of the reconqueft of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, wee may as well thinke the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if wee graunt this reconqueft, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Assyrian Empire* was torne asunder, according to that which hath beene gathered out of *Moses* as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not vnprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselues: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that AMRAPHEL *was* NINIAS, *nor trouble our selues with many other difficulties.*

THe consent of all writers, whose workes haue come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that these 4. kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellowes were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intituled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the Historie must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundrie regions: then may we otherwise conceiue of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps haue beene vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolue them. For as it had been a strange coniecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sodomite*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very vnlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should haue beene once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were king of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those fiue Townes, whose very names how they should come to his eare, being disioined by so many great Nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the *Babylonian* himselfe, yea the kingdom of *Ellasar*, & that of *Tidal*, so far off remoued, were become his dependants, what reason can we finde that might haue induced him to hearken after *Sodome* and *Gomorah*? & when he should haue sought the establishment of his new-gotten *Empire*,

by rooting out the posteritie of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other kings, against fiue pettie townes, leauing *Tyrus*, and *Sidon*, and the great Citie of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and farre neerer vnto him, vnsubdued? Now as these doubts which may bee alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the obiections to be made against his reconquest of these fiue Cities, when they had reuolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small *Prouince* to rebell against so powerfull a *Monarch*? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to bee forgotten, then that hee should come or send to reclaime them: was it not more then madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselues a dissolute and therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene *Euphrates*, yea betweene themselues and the riuer of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should finde no greater wisedome, if he knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces hee might haue subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrie, was not sufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of so huge an armie. How small then must his valour haue beene, who with so mightie preparations effected no more then the wasting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although hee had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inuasion (supposed so great) make any fearefull matter: but compose the two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were foure kings against fiue: yea, if the place be literally
Gen.14.17. expounded, we shall finde that *Abraham* slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the raigne of *Ninias*, who liued foure or fiue yeeres longer, permit that he should haue died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if hee had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appeares, that these foure kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well bee true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne companie, which he carried foorth as a *Colonie*, seeking place where to settle himselfe and them, as was the vsuall manner of those times.

Neither is it vnprobable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoeuer will consider the beginning of the first booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infancie of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* inuading *Affrica*, and *Spaine*, with almost as many kings as seuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceiue, that it was neither vnusuall, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receiue title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commaunders, it may seeme the more likely, by the slothfull qualitie of *Ninias* then raigning in *Assyria*: whose vnmanlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vndertaking spirits, as wanted the imploiments whereunto they were accustomed, in the raigne of *Semiramis*, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remain at home vnregarded: whilst others more vnworthie than themselues, were aduanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers vpon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then wee may

hold

hold our selues to the former coniecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his Ancestours being by his sloth decayed, hee might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not satisfie, wee may say that *Amraphel* was an Vnder-king or *Satrapa* of *Shinar*, vnder *Ninias*; who may be supposed to haue had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Ninive*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom hee hated as an vsurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That these foure kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not kings of the Countries themselues, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* seemes rather called a *Persian* king, then king of *Persia*; and that *Arioch* (whose kingdome vndoubtedly was betweene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie kings. These and such like things heere to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthie to haue cost bestowed vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he finde any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people soeuer these foure were kings, this expedition is the onely publique action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews *Esau* and *Iacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand vpon things generally knowne to all *Christians*, nor to repeate what hath beene elsewhere alreadie spoken, nor to preuent our selues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, wee passe them heere in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posteritie, there is much mention of *Ægypt*: by which it appeares that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing kingdome, it will not bee amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.

* * *

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the deliuerie of the Israelites from thence.

§. I.

A briefe of the names and times of the first Kings of Ægypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resoluing of the truth in these points.

One after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seemes) *Cham* with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubtlesse knowne the fertilitie of *Ægypt* before the Floud) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrie: in which they built many Cities: and beganne the kingdome one hundred ninetie one yeeres after the deluge. The ancient Gouernours of this Kingdome till such time as *Israel* departed *Ægypt*, are shewne in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Osiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* } *Hercules.* }
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Sesostris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Sesostris* the blinde.
2438.	782.	*Busiris* or *Oris* the second.
2476.	820.	*Acenchere* or *Thermutis* or *Meris.*
2488.	832.	*Rathoris* or *Athoris.*
2497.	841.	*Cheucres* drowned in the red Sea.

The Table and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and coniectures, because in such obscurity manifest and restlesse truth cannot be found. For S. *Augustine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Ægyptian* Kings: which he would not haue done, if they had not been more vncertaine then the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Ægyptian* Storie, was the ambition of the Priests: who to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings, and recounted vnto strangers, the names of many Kings that neuer reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in *Ægypt*, such as are neuer found but in States that haue greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes were of marueilous greatnesse: and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether

ther false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Ægyptian* History, was the too much credulitie of some good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Ægyptians*, & publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; haue confirmed them, and as it were inforced them vpon vs, by their authoritie. A third and generall cause of more than *Ægyptian* darkenesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *Iohn Annius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That *Annius* hauing seene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what he would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approued writers confirme him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to passe that the account of Authours, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Ægyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Annius* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Ægyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appeares that CHAMS *reigne in Ægypt began in the yeere after the Floud, 191.*

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controuersie, the best meane is by helpe of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authoritie of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is ioyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seuen yeeres, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater Gods: so that all the yeeres of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynast* indured foureteene yeeres: the fourteenth 26: the fifteenth 37. These three last, are sayd to haue beene vnder the three yonger Gods. So the fifteene first *Dynasties* lasted one hundred sixty one yeeres. As I doe not therfore beleeue that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such-wise limits out their time: so I cannot reiect the account vpon this onely reason, that *Annius* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, as aforesayd: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summe of 161. yeeres, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352. yeeres, which were betweene the Floud and *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Ægypt*, was in the yeere 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankinde which came into *Shinar*, arriued at *Babel*, *Anno à diluuio* 131. In building the Tower were consumed fourtie yeeres, as *Glicas* recordeth: whose report I haue elsewhere confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wiues Children, Cattell, and substance, through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forrests, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentie one yeeres had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselfe in *Ægypt*, wee allow twenty yeere: and these summes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirtie one yeeres after the Floud, before they arriued at *Babel*,

Babel, 40. yeeres for their stay there, and 20. for *Cham*'s passage into *Ægypt*, and setling there, make vp the summe of 191. yeeres: at which time we said that *Cham* began his reigne in *Ægypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summe of 191. yeeres if we adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prooue that these first *Dynasties* must needes haue beene very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their seueral times aboue 161. yeeres: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Ægypt* haue been peopled as soone as *Babel* after the Floud: or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinkes) must haue beene before the Floud. That the arriuall at *Babel* was many yeeres before the plantation of *Ægypt*, after the Floud, enough hath been said to prooue: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Floud, the number of the long-liu'd generations betweene *Adam* and the Floud, which was lesse than the number of the *Dinasties*, may sufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) bee diuided into many *Dynasties*, then may this haue beene as well after the Floud, as before: considering that the sonnes of *Noah* did not in euery Countrie erect such forme of Policie, as had beene vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties were not diuers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many vnder one King.

THe short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not seuerall races of Kings, as the vaunting *Ægyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly bee warranted. For in restitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirme. But this may be said partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest proofe, That it was the manner of the *Ægyptian* Kings, to put the gouernment of the Countrie into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, onely referuing the Soueraignty to themselues, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Visier*. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, and more then one vnder *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore haue beene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsailors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to *Ægypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistim* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoste; though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his priuate carriage, hee followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech* the sonne of *Gideon* it was said: *Is not hee the sonne of* IERVBBAAL? *and* ZEBVL *is his Officer?* Also *Ishbosheth* the sonne of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, *Dauid* himselfe hating *Ioab* for his crueltie did not punish him, in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* liuing then in *Ægypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to haue layd the burden of gouernement vpon others; and vpon iealousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. Aboue all other proofes is the aduancement of *Ioseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to IOSEPH; *Onely in the Kings throne will I be aboue thee: behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Ægypt.* *William*, *Archbishop of Tyre*, who flourished about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the like

William. Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19. ca. 17, 18, 19. & 20.

like or very ſame forme of gouernement by *Viceroys*, was in his time practiſed in *Ægypt*, hauing there beene in vſe (as he beleeued) euer ſince the time of *Ioſeph*. He plainely ſhewes, that the *Soldans* of *Ægypt* were not Lords of the Countrie, how-euer they haue beene ſo deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duetie of ſubiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who reſiding in a moſt magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of ciuill gouernement, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office and authority royall into the *Soldans* hands. He that ſhal reade in *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the *Caliphe*, or *Mulene Elhadeth*, with the forme of his Court, ſhall plainely behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authoritie as *Ioſeph* was, though farre inferiour in wiſedome. *Lib.19.c.20.*

To thinke that many names of ſuch *Regents* or Lieutenants as *Ioſeph* was, haue crept into the Liſt of the *Ægyptian* Kings, were no ſtrange imagination. For *Ioſephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie*: Beſides, it is not vnlikely that the vaineglorious *Ægyptian* Prieſts would as eaſily report him a King to poſterity, as ignorant men and ſtrangers deeme him ſuch, vnder whoſe hand all diſpatches of importance, and royall managing of the State had paſſed, whileſt that the King himſelfe intending his quiet, had giuen his office to another. How ſtrangers haue miſtaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Ioſephs* brethren, doth ſufficiently witneſſe. The reports of Prieſts doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authoritie, ſay; *Diodorus*, that *Seſoſtris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that hee was the 332. after *Menas*: which could not haue been, if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therfore we may well conclude, That the *Dynaſties* were not ſo many races of Kings, but ſucceſſions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of ſo many ſundry linages or ſorts of men. Now by whatſoeuer meanes a *Dynaſtie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: ſure it is that it was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office. But the Crowne royal alwaies paſſed by deſcent, & not by election: which (beſide conſent of *Authors*) the Scriptures alſo proue. For whereas *Ioſeph* bought all the land of *Ægypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had paſſed by election, then ſhould *Pharaoh's* children hereby either haue been inthralled amongſt the reſt of the people, to the next ſucceſſour: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his eſtate, haue been more mighty then the King: as Land-lords of all *Ægypt*, and the King himſelfe their Tenant. Likewiſe we find in *Exod.12.* that *God ſmote the firſt borne of* PHARAOH, *that was to ſet on his Throne*. And in *Eſay* it is ſaid of PHARAOH: *I am the ſonne of the ancient King*. *Gen.42.30.& 33.* *Eſa.19.*

℣ IIII.

Of CHAM, *and his ſonne* MIZRAIM, *or* OSIRIS.

THat the ſucceſſion of Kings began, and continued in ſuch wiſe as the Table hath ſhewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to ſhew. *Ægypt* is called in the Scripture, *the land of* HAM. That this name is not giuen to it, becauſe the poſterity of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himſelfe did firſt plant it, we may gather by many circumſtances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cuſh*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Ægypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Oſiris* calleth himſelfe the eldeſt ſonne of *Cham*, ſaying, *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium iunior*: alſo, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoſo ortum*: which muſt needs be vnderſtood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Ægyptius* was *Cham*: as it is ſaid, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inſcription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewiſe the Temple of *Hammon*, not farre from *Ægypt*, doth teſtifie, that *Ham* reſided in thoſe parts: And S. *Hieronie in quæſtionibus Hebraicis*, *Pſal.78.51. 105.23. 27. 106.22.* *Diod.Sic.l.1.*

cis saith, that the *Ægyptians* themselues did in his dayes call their Countrie *Ham*: as in foure seuerall places in the *Psalmes* this Countrie is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Ægyptians* this Countrie of *Ægypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*: *vt puto* (saith he) *à Chamo* NOES *filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Ægyptum vsq; hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* KAM *vocari*: *that Ægypt vnto this day in the tongue of the Ægyptians is called* KAM. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleadged, which I haue already giuen in proofe of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham* should last so long as 161. yeeres: considering that *Sem* liued 600. *Arpachshad* and *Shelah* each aboue 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-liued generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesostris*. *Reineccius in histor. Iulia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith hee was the sonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitie and sound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoeuer it bee, wee know that *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Ægypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that *Ægypt* is now called by the naturalls in their owne language, *Mezre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessarie, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where precisely set downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainely saide by *Annius* his *Berosus*, to haue begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebai* began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius*: who auoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynast.* I can well beleeue: assenting so farre to *Reineccius*, who thinkes the *Dynasties* were named only, according to the seuerall seates of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when OSIRIS *reigne ended: and that* IACOB *came into Ægypt in the time of* ORVS *the sonne of* OSIRIS.

THe death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainely affirme. The onely coniecture that I know is made thus: *Lehabim* the sonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Lybius*, made warre in *Italy*, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the associats of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeere of *Baleus* King of *Assyria*: before which yeere he had made many great warres in *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spaine*: and hauing ended his *Ægyptian* warres, left the Kingdome to *Orus*. Thus farre *Berosus*, or authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the Gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdome of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainely saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all old Histories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon inferres, that sixe yeeres may bee allowed to the warres, which *Hercules* made in so many Countries, after the *Ægyptian* warres were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* haue beene the 34. of *Baleus*, when himselfe had reigned 297. yeeres. I thinke that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For surely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now, but all Nauigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would haue been required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtlesse) to finde the trueth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had beene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* haue come into *Ægypt* but seuen yeeres before the death of *Osiris*: and haue liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleeued. For it was the same king

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1 Plut. l. de Isid. & Osid.

king who aduanced *Ioſeph*, bad him ſend for his Father; and gaue him leaue to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers funerall: as may eaſily bee gathered out of the booke of *Geneſis*. Whereas therefore the raigne of *Oſiris* cannot be extended by any poſſible allowance in account of times, beyond the ſeuenth yeere of *Iſraels* comming into *Ægypt*: wee muſt needes cut off 23. yeeres from that number, which *Krentzhemius* coniectures his raigne to haue continued: namely ſeuen which hee ſhould haue liued after *Iacobs* comming into *Ægypt*: nine in which *Ioſeph* had there flouriſhed, ere his fathers comming: and other ſeuen in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Oſiris*, yet before *Ioſephs* aduancement.

Neither will this diſagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars. For the warre which *Hercules* made in *Italie*, is ſaid to haue indured 10. yeeres: After which proportion we may well giue not only ſixe yeeres, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to ſo many wars in ſo many and ſo far-diſtant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeeres, which paſſed betweene the time of *Ioſephs* being ſold into *Ægypt*, vnto his aduancement: conſidering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whoſe daughter he may ſeeme to haue married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to haue been, if ſo violent alterations had hapned the whileſt in *Ægypt*, as the tyrannous vſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs haue brought in. If citing ſome fragment of a loſt old author, I ſhould confidently ſay, that *Putiphar* for his faithfulneſſe to *Orus*, the ſonne of *Oſiris*, was by him in the beginning of his raigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Ioſeph* and finding him a iuſt man, and one vnder whoſe hand all things did proſper, he rather committed his eſtate into *Ioſephs* hands, than vnto any of his *Ægyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falſe-hearted, or weake and vnlucky in the troubleſom daies of *Typhon*) I know not what could be obiected againſt this. Perhaps I might proceed further & ſay, That when the ſaying of *Ioſeph* pleaſed *Pharaoh*, and all his ſeruants: then *Putiphar* Prieſt of *On*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioſeph*, the ancient graces of God, & his iniurious impriſonment: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife: and being old, reſigned his office of chiefe Steward vnto him: who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did fauour the Prieſts, when hee bought the lands of all other *Ægyptians*. This might appeare to ſome a tale not vnlike to the frierly booke of *Aſenath*, *Putiphars* daughter: but vnto ſuch as conſider that God workes vſually by means: and that *Putiphar* was the Steward of that king, vnder whom *Iacob* died: it would ſeeme a matter not vnprobable, had it an Author of ſufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning hee ſhould haue ſpent 42. yeeres after he left *Ægypt*, ere he began in *Italie*, it is a circumſtance which (the length of his *Italian* wars conſidered, and his former enterpriſes & atchieuements proportioned to them) doth not make againſt vs, but for vs: or if it were againſt vs, yet could it not ſo weaken our ſuppoſition, as theſe probabilities collected out of the vndiſputable trueth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuertheleſſe I freely grant that all theſe proofes are no other, than ſuch as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in ſuch obſcuritie, otherwiſe than by likelihoods, anſwerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of TYPHON, HERCVLES ÆGYPTVS, ORVS, *and the two* SESOSTRES, *ſucceſſiuely reigning after* MIZRAIM: *and of diuers errors about the former* SESOSTRES.

CONcerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I finde none that preciſely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giueth three yeeres to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is ſo peremptorie without proofe, as if his owne word were ſufficient authoritie, in many points very queſtionable; alleadging no witneſſe, but as it were ſaying, *Teſte me ipſo*: yet herein we may thinke him to ſpeake probably, foraſmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very ſoone

vndertake his Fathers reuenge: and was not long in performing it: and that leauing *Ægypt* to his brother, hee followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath beene shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Auentinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also beleeue it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seuen yeeres were spent, howsoeuer diuided betweene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seuen yeeres after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set downe his reasons, which in a matter so probable I thinke hee wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth *Dynastie* to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seemes that the reigne of *Orus* lasted 115. yeeres. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, there passed 122. yeeres by our account: who (acccording to *Beroaldus* and others,) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Floud to the birth of *Abraham* ——— 352

From that time to the { vocation of *Abraham* ——— 75 / departure out of *Ægypt* ——— 430

Summa ——— 857

which summe diuers other wayes may bee collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Ægypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeeres from the death of *Orus*: wee are now to consider how many of them are to bee allowed vnto *Sesostris* or *Sesonchosis*: who is placed next vnto *Orus*, by authoritie of the *Scholiastes Apollonij*: not without good probabilitie. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to haue ouer-run a great part of *Asia*: to haue built a fleete of shippes on the red Sea: and so to haue entred into *India*: likewise with another fleete on the middle-earth Seas, to haue passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is hee (as *Reineccius* iudgeth) whom *Iustine* erring in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Iustine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if hee were *Vexoris*, was more ancient then was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether vnlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Ægypt* into *Asia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, tooke *Gezar*, and gaue it to his daughter: after which time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and gaue it to his daughter: after which time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, & *Necho* sought passage through the land of *Israel*, when he made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sesostris*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into *Iudea* with a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaueth it vndecided; vnlesse it be sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth *Sesostris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholiastes Apollonij*. But further answere may bee made to shew that they were not one. For, as *Iustine* witnesseth, *Sesostris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made warre on people farre remoued, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came vp purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sesostris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000. horse: *Sesac* had 60000: *Sesostris* had 8020. Chariots, *Sesac* but 1200: *Sesostris* made his expedition for no priuate purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose then to succour *Ieroboam*, and giue him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had fauoured euen against *Salomon*: therefore *Sesostris* must needes haue reigned whilest *Israel* abode in *Ægypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those Historians affirme that hee reigned next after the Gods; it moueth mee nothing. For *Osiris* did succeed those 15. Gods, namely the twelue greater, and three lesser: himselfe also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Menaus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignitie: though mistaken by some as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth verie probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*: the Hebrew word

Meni

Meni ſignifying an *Arithmetician*: which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*: who was a great Conquerour, Philoſopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Artes. In proweſſe and great vndertakings *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*. For he ſought victorie not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſelues to his will and royall diſpoſition, leauing them in a manner to their libertie, returned into *Ægypt*. Soone vpon his returne he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which he was, being by his owne brother purpoſely fired: which neuertheleſſe hee is ſaide to haue eſcaped, and to haue reigned in all thirtie three yeeres: after which time hee choſe rather to die then to liue: becauſe he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Seſoſtris* left a ſonne, whoſe name was *Pheron* or *Pherones*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Seſoſtris*: but was nothing like to his Father in glorie: for hee ſhortly fell blinde. The cauſe of his blindneſſe *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the riuer *Nilus* with a iaueline: which tale *Diodorus* hauing likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying that perhaps he tooke the diſeaſe naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expreſſed: yet foraſmuch as *Orus* the ſecond, (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. yeeres after that this *Seſoſtris* had beene king, it muſt needes bee that this reigned 14. yeeres at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not vntill theſe 14. yeeres at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt of *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt* plainely ſhewes, being almoſt generally agreed vpon, to haue beene 75. yeeres. That none came betweene *Seſoſtris* the ſecond and *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands only vpon probabilities: which are theſe. After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſomewhile, hee fell blinde: after certaine yeeres hee recouered his ſight, as is ſaide: which may haue beene true, but is more like to haue beene a fable: ſurely the manner of his recouerie as it is ſet downe, is very fabulous: namely that by looking vpon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne huſband, hee got his ſight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindneſſe, and when hee was well againe (if euer hee were) may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeeres: ſo his workes which were great, doe much more ſtrongly argue, that his reigne was not very ſhort. His words are largely ſet downe by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of which may ſeeme to haue beene the finiſhing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and ſluces of *Nilus*: whom I thinke he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with ſpades and ſhouels, then with darts, and iauelins: and by his diligent ouerſight of that worke, was like enough to loſe both his eye-ſight and his peoples loue: whom his Father had very buſily employed in exceſſiue labour about it.

§. VII.

Of BVSIRIS *the firſt oppreſſor of the Iſraelites: and of his ſucceſſor Queene* THERMVTIS *that tooke vp* MOSES *out of the water.*

AND heerein (if I may preſume to coniecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to haue dealt with him, as *Ieroboam* did with the ſonne of *Salomon*. For that *Buſiris* himſelfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared, by the drudgerie wherewith he wearied the children of *Iſrael* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Seſoſtris*, as *Ieroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the ouerſight of thoſe buſineſſes, he had good opportunitie to worke his greatneſſe with the king by induſtrie: and afterward with the people by incenſing them againſt their new king: as *Ieroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: vnleſſe hee haue either an equall ſpirit, or a ſurer foundation. If moreouer he ſought to deriue all the paine and labour of publique workes from the

Ægyptians, to the *Israelites*: hee surely did that which to his owne people was very
Exod. 1. plausible: who (as appeares in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the 2. or *Busiris* was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted tenne monethes: it is a common opinion of many great & most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Ex.* 1. that the King who knew not *Ioseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new familie, *Reineccius* doth shew: who also thinks him Author of the bloudie edict. Neuertheless, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne 5. yeeres after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which *Bunting* thinkes to haue lasted 87. yeeres, ere the departure out of *Ægypt*. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindnesse of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Viceroyes* in *Ægypt* was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: seeing *Ioseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Ægypt*, & all the *Ægyptians* for bread; giuing at the same time the best of the land to his owne father & brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Ægyptians* cried out vpō *Pharaoh*, for bread: *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to Ioseph: what he saith to you, do ye.* If to a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to haue gouerned himselfe, would giue such trust, and soueraigne authoritie: it is not vnlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Ioseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therfore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) resigne his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to haue begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did vsurpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence; or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title: or whether *Busiris* were onely *Regent*, whilst the king liued, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 125. yeeres which passed betweene the beginning of *Sesostris* his reigne, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent: the 75. which remaine, are to bee accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeeres, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many iudicious authors heerein approoue. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is saide by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeeres: Her name was *Thermutis Pharei*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* cals her *Acencris*: and out of *Artabanus* his Historie *Meris*: *Iosephus* cals her both *Acenchere*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius in Panario* saith that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made & much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sonnes daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Busiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* and others: but whether hee were a king or onely a *Regent* I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Ægyptians* called rather the neece or grandchilde, then the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesostris*, and the disreputation of his sonne. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was she both daughter, grandchild, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and suruiuing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeeres. But if she were the daughter of *Orus* the 2. & sister of *Atheris*, or *Ratheris*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine,

then

then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too yong to rule, when her Father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queene THERMVTIS: *and what king it was, vnder whom* MOSES *was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.*

SHee had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Atheris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Eusebius*: but his linage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned 9. yeeres: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his sonne, reigned 10. and then perished in the red Sea. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon *Io*: of which Historie elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencres* (whom some call *Acencheres*: but all or most do stile him ἀντίθεον & a fighter against God) *Acherres* reigned 8. yeeres: and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seemes from Father to sonne. In the 11. yeere of *Cherres* it is said by *Euseb.* that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Ægypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlikely: viz. That *Ægypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laide vpon it, and the destruction of her king and armie in the red Sea: else could it not haue had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his posteritie seemes to haue taken all from *Cherres* the grand-child of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to haue reigned 4. yeeres after *Cherres*: and *Armesis* one after *Armais*: these two kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one; and his reigne said to haue beene 5. yeeres. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwise *Danaus*: and his pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Iulia*,

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had *Agenor*, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes* who gaue name to the Countrie, hauing expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*.	*Danaus* or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after hee had reigned fiue yeeres, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to passe that the Nephews sons of *Epaphus* should haue occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himselfe is reported by *Eusebius* to haue been borne in the time of *Chencres*. But forasmuch as the Historie of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuersly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* & *Ægyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally distant from *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grand-child of *Chencres*. And that the posteritie of *Telegonus* did marrie very yong, it appeares by the Historie of these two brethren, *Danaus* & *Ægyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the later 50. sons: perhaps, or rather questionlesse by diuers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoeuer it were, the generall con-

sent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did succeede *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approuing him) reigned fiue yeeres. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. yeeres. This *Rameſſes* or *Ægyptus* is that *Armeſeſmiamum* or *Armeſeſmiamus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that followes *Mercator*, *Moſes* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne ſeemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord ſaid to *Moſes*, *Goe, returne to Ægypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* heereupon conceiues, that it was one and the ſame king vnder whom *Moſes* was borne, and vnder whom he ſlew the *Ægptian* at the 40. yeere of his age: and fled into the wilderneſſe, and there abode for feare: all which Circumſtances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned ſo long: wherefore deſirous rather to hold a true *Paradox*, then a common errour, hee placeth one *Aliſſragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the liſt of *Ægyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeeres more ancient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the Catalogue of his ſucceſſours from *Thcmoſis* (whom *Euſ.* cals *Amaſis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Euſeb.* hee findes *Moſes* borne vnder *Armeſeſmiamum*: and *Iſrael* deliuered in the dayes of his ſonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Aliſſragmuthoſis* ſeemes to him with little alteration to ſound like *Pharatates*, of which name one was thought to haue flouriſhed either as a king, or a wiſe man about the time of *Iſaac*. For (ſaith he) from *Aliſſragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, *Pharetaſis*, or *Pharatates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and induſtrie: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable workes: yet my aſſent heerein is with-held from him, by theſe reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other writers agree, that *Chencres* was the king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place *Exod. 4. all are dead, &c.* may better be vnderſtood of *Buſiris* and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, S^t. *Cyrill* in his firſt booke againſt *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, ſaith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120. yeeres old: *Rameſſes*, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then king of *Ægypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeeres: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that periſhed in the red Sea: of which our opinion being alreadie laied open, I thinke it moſt expedient to referre the kings enſuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* ſhall lay open) and heere to ſpeake of that great deliuerance of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*: which for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouerpaſſe.

Exod. 4. 19.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the deliuery of Israel out of Ægypt.

§. I.

Of the time of MOSES *birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Ægypt.*

TRue it is that the Historie it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great workes of the *Highest*, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that haue written of that *Argument*.

L. Viues in his annotations vpon S. *Augustine* citeth many of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* liued in the time of *Semiramis*: but if hee meant the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrarie to all Stories Diuine and humane; while that *Semiramis* liued, shee commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A second opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolomie* a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* ruled the *Argiues*, and *Amesis* in *Ægypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* Historie the first booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who though hee cite some authorities, that *Moses* liued after the *Troian* warre, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, prouing it by many arguments.

Fiftly, he setteth downe the testimonie of *Numenius* the *Philosopher*, who tooke *Musæus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musæus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Ægypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Euſebius* also affirmeth that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke *de bono*, *Moses vir Deo coniunctissimus* is called *Musæus Iudæorum*. *Euſebius* in his Chronologie, finds that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Ægypt*. The ancient *Manethon* cals that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will haue to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethosis*: to whome *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* giue the name of *Bocchoris*. To mee it seemeth most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Ipheteus*, gouerned *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criasus* the *Argiues*; that then (*Sesostris* the second ruling in *Ægypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if wee beleeue S. *Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Ægypt*. *Eduxit* MOSES *ex Ægypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore* CECROPIS *Athenienſium regis*: MOSES (saith he) *led the people of God out of Ægypt, about the end of* CECROPS *time King of the Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Ægypt* best proued. S. *August*. affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne: *Saphrus* gouerning *Assyria*; and that hee left *Ægypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time.

Euſeb. de prepar. Euang. l. 3. c. 3.

Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de ciuit. Dei.

2514.

Now

Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeeres; his succeſſor *Mamelus* 30. yeeres; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeeres: in whoſe fourth yeere *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Aſcatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moſes* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus Argos* (for theſe three kings liued at once at his birth, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Ægypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moſes* was in the nineteenth yeere of the *Aſſyrian Saphrus*: for take one yeere remaining of 20. (for ſo long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirtie yeres of *Mamelus*, and the 40. yeres of *Sparetus*, theſe make 71. with which there were waſted three yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50. yeeres: then take nine yeeres out of the reigne of *Aſcatades*, who was *Sparetus* ſucceſſour, thoſe nine yeeres added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moſes* left *Ægypt*: and adde theſe nine yeeres to the three yeeres of *Cecrops* formerly ſpent, there will remaine but foure yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50: and ſo it falleth right with S. *Auguſtines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moſes* led the people of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were oppreſt in *Ægypt*, ſeemeth to haue had beginning ſome eight or nine yeeres before the birth of *Moſes*, and 54. yeere, or rather more, after *Ioſeph*: betweene whoſe death and the birth of *Moſes*, there were conſumed 64. yeeres: ſome of which time, and 80. yeeres after, they liued in great ſeruitude and miſerie. For as it is written in *Exodus*: *They ſet taske-maſters ouer them, to keepe them vnder with burdens: and they built the Cities Pithom and Ramaſes, &c. And by crueltie they cauſed the children of Iſrael to ſerue; and made them weary of their liues, by ſore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid vpon them by a maſtering power and ſtrong hand, they endured to the time by the wiſedome of God appointed: euen from 54. yeeres, or not much more after the death of *Ioſeph*, who left the World when it had laſted 2370. yeeres, to the eightieth yeere of *Moſes*, and vntill hee wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And becauſe thoſe things which we deliuer of *Ægypt*, may the better bee vnderſtood, I thinke it neceſſary to ſpeake a few words of the principall places therein named, in this diſcourſe.

Exod. 1.

2370.

2514.

§. II.

Of diuers Cities and places in Ægypt, mentioned in this Story, or elſewhere in the Scripture.

Numb. 33. *Ezekiel* 30. *Hierem.* 2. 43, 44, 46. *Ioſep. l.* 1. *c.* 9. *Tyr. de Bell. ſacr. l.* 19. *c.* 23.

THis Citie which the *Hebrewes* call *Zoan*, was built ſeuen yeeres after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and ſo doth *Hieremie*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Ioſephus*, *Protaidis*; after the name of an *Ægyptian* Queene; *Antonius* giues it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adioyneth to the land of *Goſen*, and is the ſame, wherein *Hieremie* the Prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Ægyptian* and *Iewiſh* Idolatry.

Zoan or *Tahnes* was in *Moſes* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Ægypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided; and not vnlikely to be the ſame Citie, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* read Aſtronomie in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Ægypt*. *Alex. Polyhiſtor.* out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, and not the King; both which authorities *Euſebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On*; and *Ptolomie*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Ægypt*, towards the South; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Peleuſium*. And it

Euſeb. de prep. Euang. l. 9. *c.* 4. *Gen.* 12. 15. *Eſa.* 19. 11.

may

it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the riuer *Traian*, was the same which *Vatablus* and our *English* call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same, which *Pomp.Mela*, and *Plinie*, call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warre*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* Priest, or Prince, whose daughter *Ioseph* married. In the Territory adioyning *Iacob* inhabited, while he liued in *Ægypt*. In the confines of this Citie, *Onias*, the high Priest of the *Iewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferiour to that of *Hierusalem* (*Ptolomie Philopater* then gouerning in *Ægypt*) which stood to the time of *Vespasian*, 333. yeeres after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Iosephus* falsly reporteth, herein to haue fulfilled a prophecie of *Esai.c.* 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti*; *In that day shall the Altar of the Lord bee in the middest of the Land of Ægypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing ouer the *Iewes*, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Ægypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Sauiour CHRIST IESVS remained, while *Ioseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neere which (sayth *Brochard*) the fountaine is still found, called *Iesus Well*, whose streames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Ægypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Ægypt*.

Ezech.3.17.

Iosep.t.1.bell. Iudaic.c.1.

Broch.ter.sanct.

There is also the Citie of *Noph*, remembred by *Esai* and *Ezekiel*; the same which *Hosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adioyning, so called, which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great Citie, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalensis*, *Mizraim*.

Esa.19.13. Ezech.30. Hosea 9.6. lib.2.

Pelusium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *English* write, *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul Tyrius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelusium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*; *Belbeis*, *that in times past was called Pelusium*.

G.Tyr.l.20.c.17 lib.2.c.5.

The Citie of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* conuerts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Ezech.30.15,16

Bubastus, for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* write it, is the same which the *Hebrewes* call *Pibeseth*.

Ezech.30.17.

To make the storie the more perceiuable, I haue added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethsemes*, *Balsephon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Desarts of *Arabia the Stonie*. For all storie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retain, what we reade, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driuen to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Storie of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Si enim absq; locorum obseruatione res gesta narrentur, aut sine Topographiæ cognitione historia legantur, adeò confusa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, vt ex ijs nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit*; *If narration* (saith he) *be made of those things which are performed, without the obseruation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographicall knowledge; all things will appeare so intricate and confused, as wee shall thereby vnderstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficultie.*

§. III.

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites yong children in Ægypt: and of MOSES *his preseruation, and education.*

BVt to returne to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slauery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented pouertie, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might bee to his estate, by suggestion of the Deuill resolued to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as soone as they should be borne. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thua*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *quæ præerant* (saith *Commestor*) *multitudini obstetricum, who had command giuen them ouer all mid-wiues*; by whom (as it seemeth) he gaue order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to haue called all the mid-wiues of *Ægypt* together, had been a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Ægyptians*, it is diuersly disputed. S. *Augustine* calls them *Hebrews*, becausse it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Ægypt commanded the midwiues of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Iosephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Pererius* beleeue them to be *Ægyptians*. Whosoeuer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickednesse of the *Ægyptians*, and the iust cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: *Pharaoh* finding those women filled with pietie, and the feare of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howsoeuer, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children borne within his dominions.

Ver. 16. *Ioseph. ant. l. 2. c. 5. Abul. & Perer. in Exod.*

Ver. 22.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrewes*, the greatest part of whom hee might haue assured, by affoording them the iustice, which euery King oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might haue imployed or sent away at his pleasure; *Iosephus* giueth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an *Egyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrewes* there should bee borne a childe; who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrarie to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) hee stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same preuention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spirituall kingdome of *Christ*, as if it should haue beene temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne to bee slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fift of *Exodus*. *Come, let vs worke wisely with them, lest they multiplie; and it come to passe, that if there bee warre, they ioyne themselues also vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land.* But wee see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relie on the inuentions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods meruailous workes taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princesse hauing beheld the child his forme and beautie, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not onely preserue it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should bee esteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deede, shee called the childe *Moses*, as it were, *extractus*, or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the water: or, after *Iosephus* and *Glicas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing water, and *hises*, as much to say, as

Ioseph. ant. l. 2. c. 5

Exod. 10. 5.

that

that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed, before he was put into the Arke of Reedes, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Ioachim*. In his youth hee was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of *Pharaohs* Daughter, and by men of the moſt vnderſtanding, taught and inſtructed: *quem regio more educauit, præfectis et ſapientibus Ægyptiorum Magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith BASIL; *Vnto whom ſhee gaue princely education, appointing ouer him wiſe Maſters of the Ægyptians for his inſtructers.* Thereby (ſay *Ioſephus* and *Philo*) hee became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Ægyptians*; which alſo the *Martyr Stephen*, in the ſeuenth of the *Actes* confirmeth; And MOSES *was learned in all the wiſedome of the Ægyptians.* Which wiſedome or ſapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Six. Senenſis* hath gathered, wee haue added, betweene the death of *Moſes*, and the reigne of *Ioſua*.

Strom. l. 1.

Phil. de vita Moyſi.

§. IIII.

Of MOSES *his flying out of Ægypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Hiſtorians of his warre in Æthiopia; and of his marriage there:* PHILO *his iudgement of his Paſtorall life: and that of* PERERIVS *of the Bookes of* GENESIS *and* IOB.

WHen *Moſes* was growne to mans eſtate, *Ioſephus* and *Euſebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell vs of ten yeeres warre that hee made againſt the *Æthiopians*: of the beſieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyſes*, called *Meroe*; and how he recouered that Citie by the fauour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he tooke to wife. So hath *Commeſtor* a prettie tale of *Moſes*, How after the end of that warre, *Tharbis* reſiſting his returne into *Egypt*, *Moſes* moſt skilfull in *Aſtronomie*, cauſed two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious ſtones, whereof the one increaſed memorie; the other cauſed forgetfulneſſe. Theſe he ſet in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of obliuion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reſeruing the other of memorie for himſelfe: which ring of forgetfulneſſe, after ſhee had a while worne, ſhee beganne to neglect the loue ſhee bare her husband: and ſo *Moſes* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leauing theſe fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeere of *Moſes* age, when hee beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppreſſed *Hebrewes*, moued by compaſſion, in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred vp by diſdaine againſt the other, in the contention he ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soone after which act, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his owne Nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence hee had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, whoſe choſen ſeruant he was, hee fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Countrie to *Egypt*; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place vnknowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times were the irreconciliable enemies of the *Hebrewes:* it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few ſheepe, and the aſſiſting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, an occaſion whereby to prouide him a wife of one of thoſe, and a father in law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a Countrie neereſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to returne from: neceſſarie to bee knowne, becauſe interiacent betweene *Egypt* and *Iudæa*, through which he was to leade the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion which God preſented, beſt ſerued. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous Deſarts, there the glorie of God, which ſhineth moſt, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him; not finding him as a Kings ſonne, or an adopted child of great *Pharaohs* daughter, but as a meeke and humble ſheepe-heard, ſitting at a mountaine foote; a keeper and commander of thoſe poore beaſts onely.

In that part of *Arabia*, neere *Madian*, hee conſumed 40. yeeres. And though (as

Philo

Philo in the story of *Moses* life obserueth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge; yet in that solitary Desart hee enioyed himselfe: and being separate from the presse of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, hee gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his younger yeeres had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also iudging, that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principalitie, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim* (saith PHILO) *ars Pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitij, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At verò præfectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoq; Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumeliæ sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping sheepe is, as it were, an introductorie exercise vnto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the most gentle flocke: Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselues in hunting, practising on wild beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to traine themselues, both in time of warre and of peace. But the gouernement of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of resemblance vnto a Kingly rule ouer subiects; therefore, Kings are stiled sheep-heards of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Booke of *Iob*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot iudge of it, becaûse it is thought, that *Iob* was at that time liuing. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moses*, while hee liued in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the bookes of *Genesis*; although I cannot denie the reason of *Pererius* coniecture, That by the example of *Iobs* patience hee might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrewes*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, put them in assurance of their deliuerie from the *Ægyptian* slauery, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Perer. in 3. c. Exod.

Of his calling backe into *Ægypt* by the Angel of God, and the maruailes and wonders which hee performed, thereby to perswade *Pharaoh*, that he was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treate of all the particulars therein contained, it were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by wat name hee should make him knowne, and by whom hee was sent; he receiued from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and euerbeing nature. Out of which he deliuered him in the first part of his answere, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to bee vnderstood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the eternall: which truely is; which is aboue all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed euery moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; neuer continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long, as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoeuer is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in euery shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Vna est Dei & sola natura, quæ verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cætera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is, for hee hath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not beene, may againe want being.* And with this, in respect of the Diuine nature, the saying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura vmbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either emptie or deceitfull:* in comparison of whom (saith *Esay*) all Nations are as nothing, lesse then nothing, and vanitie.

Exod. c. 3. v. 13. 14. & 15.

Hieron. ad Dam.

C. 4. v. 13.

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the *Ægyptians* were strucken, the first was by changing

changing the Riuers into bloud: God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Reuelation may bee fitly applied: *And I heard the Angell of the water ſay, Lord, thou art iuſt, which art, and which waſt: and holy, becauſe thou haſt iudged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of the Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou giuen them bloud to drinke.* C. 16. v. .

The reſt of the Plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flyes, or ſtinging Waſpes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes, by Haile and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by darkneſſe; after which *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moued the hardned heart of the vnbeleeuing King no longer, then the paine and perill laſted, till ſuch time as his owne firſt-borne, and the firſt-borne of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein wee remember God perforce) ſtood vpon no condition: whereas before, hee firſt yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women and children, reſeruing their beſtiall; but hee was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſrelites* ſhould not only depart with all their owne, but with a part of the Siluer, Gold, and Iewels of his owne people: of which (the feare being paſt) hee ſuddainly repented him, as his purſuit after them proued. For when euery one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moſes* receiued) ſlaine a Lambe, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſeouer*, a *Sacrament* of the moſt cleane and vnſpotted Sauiour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſte and linterne of the doores; the Angell of God in the dead of the night ſmote euery firſt-borne of *Ægypt*, from the ſonne of the King, to that of the Begger and Slaue: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more then euer amazed, yeelded, as before is ſayd, to their departure. The *Ægyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* vſed after the *Paſſeouer*; aſcribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not only marke their Sheepe and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerue them from lightning and other harmes. *Epiphan. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ.*

§. V.

Of PHARAOHS *purſuit of the Iſraelites: and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo farre as Succoth.*

NOw, when the people were remooued, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) hee bethought him aſwell of the Honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoiles of his people, and in deſpight of himſelfe. And hauing before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſſe, hee conſulted with himſelfe, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. Hee knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrey of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probabilitie of his Allies, hee ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to find ſome other outlet, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrey was exceeding Mountainous, and of hard acceſſe, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, hee thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him that way. In the meane-while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Ægypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; hee determined to ſet vpon them in the Plaines of *Goſen*, which way ſoeuer they turned themſelues. For it was the ancient manner to fight in thoſe Chariots, armed with broad and ſharpe Hookes on both ſides, in faſhion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* vſed againſt the *Romanes*, while they made the Warre for the Conqueſt of this Land. Of this Armie of PHARAOH, IOSEPHVS affirmeth, that it conſiſted of 50000. *Exod. 14. v. 7.* *Ioſ. ant. l. 2. c. 6.*

Horse, and 20000. foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assaile the *Hebrewes* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as hee had prepared an Armie, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, hee doubted two things, eyther that the *Hebrewes* might ioyne themselues to his enemies within the Land, or being so multiplied, as they were, might leaue his seruice, and get themselues thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieued him withall, enforst him at this time to giue an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Iosephus* partiall in this affaire, yet by the wordes of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Ægypt:* which could not bee done in haste. For *Moses* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on sixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to driue their Cattell and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemie at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew, that hee went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his Enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but vsing the vnderstanding which God had giuen him, hee left nothing vnperformed, becomming a naturall wise man, a valiant and a skilfull Conducter; as by all his actions and counsailes from this day to his death well appeared.

*Exod.*14.7.

When *Moses* perceiued that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after hee had warned *Israel* of the *Passeouer*, he appointed a generall Assembly or *Rende-vous* of all the *Hebrewes* at *Ramases*, in the Territorie of *Gosen*; a Citie standing indifferent to receiue from all other parts of the Countrey the dispersed *Hebrewes*: and gaue commandement, that euery Family should bring with them such store as they had, of Dow and Paste, not staying to make it into bread: knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing considered the great strength of *Pharaohs* Horse-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was vtterly vnprouided (though as it is written, the *Israelites* went vp armed) hee marched from *Ramases* Eastward, towards the Desarts of *Etham*, and incamped at *Succoth*, which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account, as the first Moneth of the yeere. Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their yeere in some other Moneth, following the manner of the *Ægyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their Forefathers, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politike yeere, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in vse. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, vnto the beginning, middest, or ending of the yeere; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike yeere is not to bee neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in euery Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeere, like enough it is that *Moses* himselfe in fortie yeeres space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was giuen in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuitie of *Babylon*, I doe not find. Now because time and motion beginne together, it will not, I thinke, bee any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the *Hebrew* yeere: with the difference betweene them and other Nations, in ordering the accompt of time.

The Territory of *Gosen* was afterward called *Ramases*, after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.* 47. & *Num.*33. *Exod.*13.

*Exod.*23.v.16. & 34.v.22.

§. VI.

†. VI.

Of the Solarie and Lunarie yeeres: and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intarcalation.

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.	1. *March*.
The second, *Iar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.	2. *April*.
The third, *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.	3. *May*.
The fourth, *Tamuz*.	4. *June*.
The fifth, *Ab*.	5. *July*.
The sixth, *Elul*.	6. *August*.
The seuenth, *Tysri*, or *Ethanim*, or *Ethanim*.	7. *September*.
The eighth, *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Ioſephus*, *Marſonane*.	8. *October*. 1. Ant. c. 4.
The ninth, *Chiſleu*, or *Caſleu*.	9. *November*.
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.	10. *December*
The eleuenth, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.	11. *Ianuarie*.
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.	12. *February*.

VE *Adar* was an intercalarie Moneth, added, ſome yeeres, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeere agree; which (beſides the generall inconuenience that would otherwiſe haue riſen, by caſting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter ſeaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily to bee regarded of the *Hebrewes*, becauſe of the diuine Precept. For God appointed eſpeciall Feaſts to be celebrated preciſely in ſuch a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a ſet day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feaſt of the firſt fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not haue ſo beene kept, if eyther the day of the Moone had fallen in ſome other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it ſelfe beene found farre diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the yeere. Deut. 16.

Other Nations, the better to obſerue their Solemnities in the due time, and to aſcertaine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the meaſure of endurance) were driuen in like manner to make their yeeres vnequall, by adding ſometimes, and ſometimes abating one or more dayes, as the errour committed in foregoing yeeres required. The errour grew at firſt, by not knowing what number of dayes made vp a compleat yeere. For though by the continuall courſe of the Sunne, cauſing Summer and Winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plaine enough euen to the moſt ſauage of all people, when a yeere hath paſſed ouer them; yet the neceſſitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to bee numbred by a ſhorter Tally, makes this long meaſure of whole yeeres inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affaires. Therefore men obſerued the Monethly conſpicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeere into twelue parts, ſubdiuiding the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and thoſe againe into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are ſenſible and eaſily diſcerned: ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexitie in the vnderſtanding. Twelue reuolutions of the Moone, containing leſſe time by eleuen dayes or thereabout, than the yeerely courſe of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the ſpace of ſixteene yeeres, euery Moneth was found in the quite contrarie part of the yeere, to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to adde ſome daies to the yeere, making it to conſiſt of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sunne determine his yeerely reuolution by any ſet number of whole dayes; neyther did the Moone 30. & 29.

change alwayes at one houre; but the verie minutes and leſſer fractions were to bee obſerued by him, that would ſeeke to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certaine rule. Here lay much wiſedome and deepe art, which could not ſoone bee brought to perfection. Yet as making an eſtimate at randome, the *Athenians* held the yeere to containe 360. dayes, wherein moſt of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. dayes filled vp the *Grecian* yeere (beſides many collaterall proofes) it is manifeſt by that which *Plinie* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (ſayth he) 360. whileſt as yet the yeere exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neyther did any certaine age of the Moone beginne or end their Moneths; neyther could their Moneths continue many yeeres, in their owne places: but muſt needes bee ſhifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inſerted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupie their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, becauſe the ſolemnitie of the *Olympian* Games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *Iune*) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might euer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding ſome two daies to the laſt Moneth of euery yeere: thoſe Games being held once in foure yeeres. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter euen; which cauſed them ſometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeere, which was the ſecond of the Moneth *Bædromian*; (agreeing neerely with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it into the fourth Lunarie yeere, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their Moneth of *Iune* would euery yeere haue growne colder and colder, had they not ſought to keepe all vpright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeere one whole Moneth, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon* or *December*; which was the deuice of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Moneth of 29. dayes, another of 30. and ſo ſucceſſiuely through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeere as neere as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe markes which they obſerued, were found at length to bee deceitfull Guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth yeeres intercalation, that it ſhould not deceiue them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome wayes in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, haue bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good methode, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeeres intercalation, deuiſed a *Cycle* of 19. yeeres, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne her circuit, met with the Sunne in the ſame place, and on the ſame day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeere before paſt ſhee had done. This inuention of *Meton* was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoyded the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had beene vſed; for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeeres, all was ſo euen, that no ſenſible difference could bee found. Yet that errour which in one yeere could not be perceiued, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moones anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. houres, and ſome minutes of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuiſed a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*, that is to ſay, 76. yeeres; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former obſeruations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Iulius Ceſar* made, who by aduice of the beſt *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe heauenly bodies, reduced the yeere vnto the forme which is now in vſe with vs, containing 365. dayes and ſixe houres, which houres in foure yeeres make

Plin.l.34. c.6.

vp

vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth yeere, the 24. of *Februarie*. The correction of the *Iulian* yeere by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall conſent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the worke of *Ceſar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Æquinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yeere 1582. ten dayes ſooner found in that time, *Pope Gregory* ſtrooke out of the Kalendar ten dayes, following the fourth of *October*, ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moueable Feaſts depending on the Sunnes entrance into *Aries*, were a-
10 gaine celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had beene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the *Councell* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundreth yeere, the Leape day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred: becauſe the Sunne doth not in his yeerely courſe take vp full ſixe houres aboue the 365. dayes; but faileth ſo many minutes, as in 400. yeeres make about three whole dayes.

But the *Cycle* of 19. yeeres, which the *Hebrewes* vſed, was ſuch as neyther did need any nice curioſitie of houres, minutes, and other leſſer Fractions to helpe it; neyther did in ſumming vp the dayes of the whole yeere, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out ſo, that
20 alwayes the *Kalends* or firſt day of the Moneth was at the new Moone, and becauſe that day was feſtiuall, they were very carefull aſwell to obſerue the ſhort yeere of the Moone, paſſing through all the 12. Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sunne, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. Firſt, therefore they gaue to *Niſan* their firſt Moneth, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. dayes; to *Iar* their ſecond Moneth 29. dayes; and ſo ſucceſſiuely 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to paſſe, that euery two Moneths of theirs contained ſomewhat euenly two reuolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The ſpare minutes were beſtowed among the ſuperfluous or Epact dayes; which made vp 7. Moneths in 19. yeeres; to 6. of which 7.
30 were commonly giuen 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwiſe as was found requiſite. Their common yeere (as appeareth by the ſeuerall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the yeere, wherein the Sunne finiſheth his courſe, 11. whole dayes, with ſome fractions of time. But theſe dayes, and other broken pieces, howſoeuer they were neglected in one yeere, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. yeeres were ſo diſpoſed of by conuenient Intercalations, that ſtill at the end of that *Cycle*, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the ſame day of the yeere, Moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the ſame houre of the day, where they had beene at the beginning of it 19. yeeres before.

Diuers haue diuerſly ſet downe the forme of the *Hebrew* yeere, with the manner
40 of their Intercalations. SIGONIVS tells vs, that euery ſecond yeere they did adde a Moneth of 22. dayes; euerie fourth yeere a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeere of the Sunne. But herein SIGONIVS was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finiſh her courſe in 22. or 23. dayes: and therefore to haue added ſo many dayes to the end of the yeere, had beene the way to change the faſhion of all the Moneths in the yeeres following, which could not haue begunne as they ought, with the new Moone. *Genebrard* ſaith, that euery third yeere, or ſecond yeere, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeeres end vnto the other 12. This I beleeue to haue beene true; but in which of the yeeres the intercalation was (if it bee worthy of conſidera-
50 tion) me thinkes they doe not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from euenneſſe vntill the very laſt of the 19. yeeres. For (to omit ſuch as erre groſſely) ſome there are who ſay, that after three yeeres, when beſides the dayes ſpent in 36. courſes of the Moone, 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each yeere; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a Moneth of 30. dayes; keeping three dayes, as it were in pluſſage

Sig. de rep. Hebr. lib. 3. c. 1.

Geneb. Chron. l. 2.

vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixt yeere; at which time, besides the Intercalarie Moneth, remained sixe daies, namely, three surmounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeeres, besides the three formerly reserued. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeere; at which time they haue 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeere make vp a Moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all euen.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirme nor denie; yet surely it must needes haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeere euery Moneth were remoued from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeere and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnauoydable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yeere. For the 6. daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixth yeeres, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the seuenth and eighth yeeres, doe fitly serue to make vp a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeere following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpes to make the yeeres ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of euery Moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and Yeeres, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers wayes leading out of Ægypt.

FRom *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desart of *Etham*, to recouer the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though hee intended nothing lesse then to goe out that way, of all other the neerest. But being assured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, hee kept himselfe from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and Mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* hee rested but one night, and then hee reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towardes the South; the distance betweene it and *Succoth* being about eight mile. That hee forbare to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects; the first two naturall; the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of aboue a Million, if not two Millions of soules, (for as it is written *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those Desart and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should haue ouer-taken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne wordes: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in*, doe shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses* by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towardes the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the Al-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as hee rather made choice to leaue the glory of his deliuerance and victorie to Almightie God, than eyther by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third

It is probable that all those *Ægyptians* and others brought by the *Hebrews* to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moses* at his departure.

day

day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihachiroth*, 16. mile diſtant; and ſate downe betweene two ledges of Mountaynes adioyning to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountaynes of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzephon* towards the South: the ſame which *Oſorius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as, *Dominus ſpecula, ſiue cuſtodia*; *Lord of the wateh-towre*. For the *Ægyptians* beleeued, or at leaſt made their ſlaues beleeue, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arreſt them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Maſters. For the *Ægyptians* had gods for all turnes. *Ægyptij dij fœcundi*; *The Ægyptians were fruitfull in gods*, ſaith Saint *Hierome*. But *Moſes*, who incamped at the foot of this Mountayne with a million of ſoules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towre aſleepe, or out of countenance.

Climax is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage vp and downe, then that it is any proper name.

Now theſe two paſſages leading out of *Ægypt* into *Arabia* vpon the firme land, *Moſes* refuſed, as well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſiotis*, the fayreſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Iudea*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pihachiroth*, between the Mountaynes, which made a ſtraight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made ſo great ſpeede with his Horſe-men and Chariots, as he gaue the *Hebrewes* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but gate ſight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brinke and waſh of the Sea: inſomuch as the *Hebrewes* being terrified with *Pharaohs* ſudden approch, beganne to deſpaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them moſt to haue taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to *Moſes* charge, that themſelues foreſaw thoſe perills in which they were wrapped. And feare, *Which*, ſaith the booke of WISEDOME, *is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpaire in Gods former promiſes, and to be forgetfull of their owne ſtrength and multitudes.

*Exod.*13. *v.*17.

*Cap.*17.11.

§. VIII.

Of their paſſage ouer the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it ſelfe.

BVt *Moſes* who feared nothing but God himſelfe, perſwaded them to be confident in his goodneſſe, who hath neuer abandoned thoſe, that aſſuredly truſt in him; vſing this comfortable and reſolued ſpeech: *Feare not, &c. for the Ægyptians whom yee haue ſeene this day, yee ſhall neuer ſee them againe. The Lord ſhall fight for you.* After which *Moſes* calling on God for ſuccour, receiued encouragement, and commandement to goe on, in theſe wordes: *Wherefore cryeſt thou vnto me? ſpeake vnto the children of Iſrael that they goe forward; and lift thou vp thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it, and let the children of Iſrael goe on drie ground through the middeſt of the Sea.* MOSES obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the ſands vncouered, paſt on towards the other ſide and coaſt of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being ſpent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleaſed God by a forcible Eaſterne winde, and by *Moſes* rod to prepare.

*Exod.*14. *v.*13.

*Exod.*14. *v.*16.

Pharaoh followed him euen at the heeles, finding the ſame drie ground which *Moſes* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angell of God which went before the Hoſt of Iſrael, remoued, and went behinde them: alſo the piller of the cloud went from before them, and ſtood behinde them*; which is, that it pleaſed God therein either by his immediate power, or by the miniſterie of his Angell, to interpoſe his defence betweene the *Hebrewes* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Ægyptians* might hereby be blinded, in ſuch ſort, as they could not purſue *Iſrael* with any harmefull ſpeede. But in the morning watch *Moſes* ſeized the other banke of *Arabia* ſide: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day beganne to illighten the obſcure ayre) finding a beginning of the

Ioſua 24. *v.*7.

Seas

Exod. 14. *v.* 27. Seas returne, hasted himselfe towards his owne Coast: *But* MOSES *stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea moued by the power of God, ranne backe towards the land with vnresistable furie and swiftnesse, and ouerwhelmed the whole Armie of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that *God tooke off their Chariot wheeles*, that is, when the waters began to couer the sands, the *Ægyptians* being strucken with feare of death, ranne one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrewes*, their wheeles stucke fast in the mudde and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

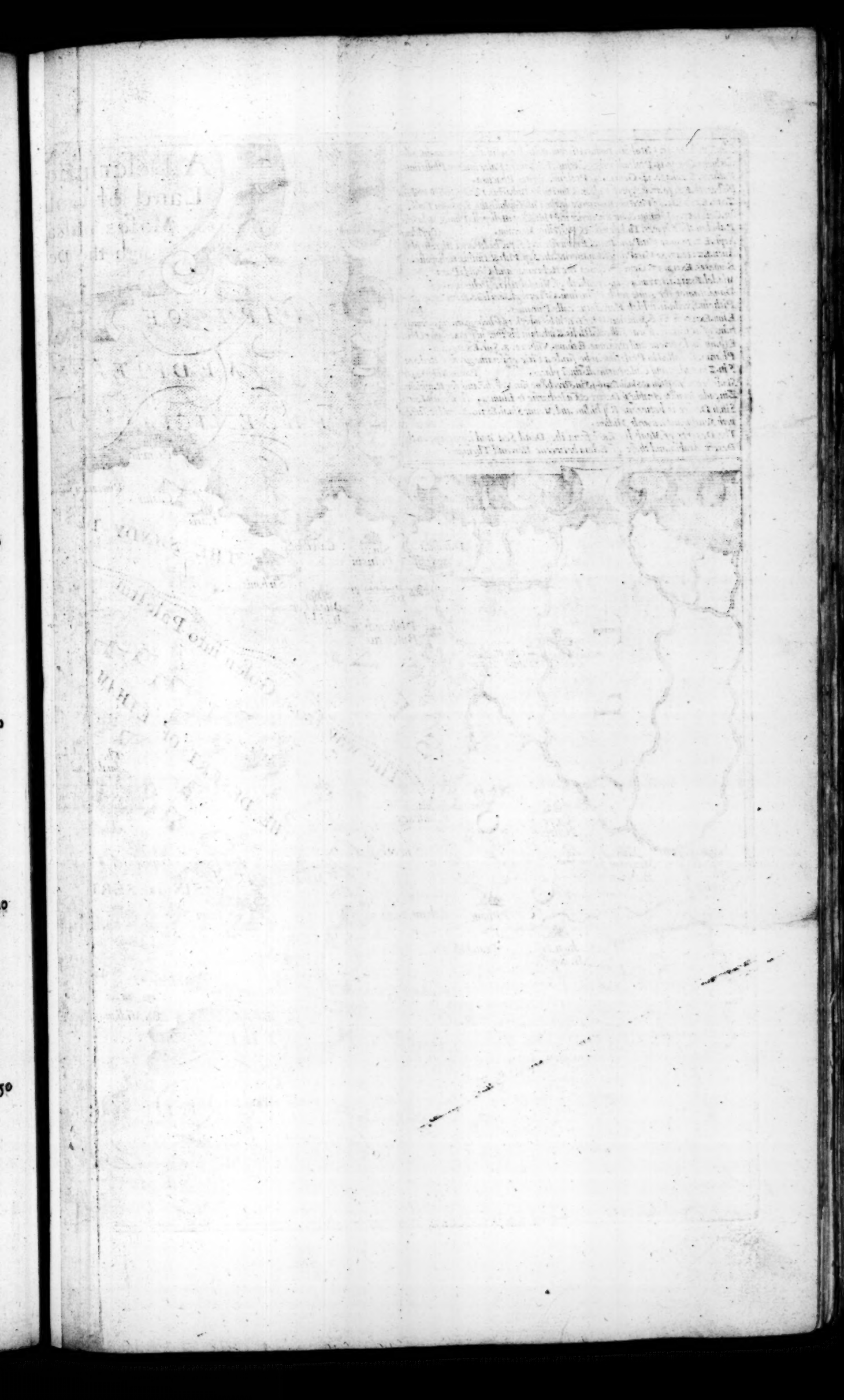
Lyranus vpon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrewes*, conceiued, that after *Moses* had by the power of God diuided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Israel* were fearefull to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the *Tribe* of *Iuda* first made the aduenture, and that therefore was that *Tribe* euer after honored aboue the rest, according to the prophecie of IACOB, *Gen.* 49. 8. *Thy fathers sonnes shall bow downe vnto thee.* But *Hierome* vpon the 11. of *Hosee* condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that *Iuda* had the first place in all their marches in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Vangard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red Sea*), yet that *Moses* himselfe was the Conducter of *Israel* at that time, it is generally receiued. For, as it is written in the 77. PSALME: *Thou didst leade thy people like sheepe by the hand of* MOSES *and* AARON.

The *Hebrewes* haue also another fancie, that the *Red Sea* was diuided into twelue parts, and that euery *Tribe* past ouer in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. *Psalme*, according to the vulgar: *Diuisit mare rubrum in diuisiones*; *He diuided the Red Sea in diuisions*. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene Field or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelue Pillers, nor twelue Armies of the *Ægyptians*. It is written in the 77. *Psalme*, *v.* 16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy wayes*; and in the last of the booke of *Wisedome*, *vers.* 7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chenchres*, perished in the 16. yeere of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as *Philostratus* in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait betweene *Arabia* the *Happy* and *Æthiopia*, or the land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolemie* calleth *Possodium*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not aboue sixe leagues in breadth, and the same also filled euerywhere with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth vp betweene *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa*, on one side, and *Æthiopia* and *Ægypt* on the other, as farre as *Sues*, the vttermost end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turke* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly giue it the name of the *Arabian Gulfe*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* past, is called *Heropolites* of the Citie *Hero*, sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Plinie* calls it *Cambisu*, by which name it was knowne, saith he, before it was called *Hero* many yeeres. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: King *Iuba* *Læniticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port and Citie *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolemie*, *Elana*: *Plinie*, *Lana*: *Iosephus*, *Ilana*, and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is also *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, to which *Salmanassar* carryed the *Israelites* captiue, *Kings* 2. *c.* 8. *v.* 11. which *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elaa*: and in the first of *Chron.* the 5. *Ala*. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diuersly named, the *Moores* and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turke*) know it by no other appellation, then the Gulfe of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomets* Towne *Mecca*. The *Greekes* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and because *Erythros*

Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

3. King. 9.
Ios. Ant. 8. c. 2.



A Descript… Land of G… Moses pa… ugh the …

PART OF … MEDITERA… PHOENICIAN SE…

Sin. Ezek: 30. 15. Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom. write Pelusium. the Septuagint Sais
Cashubim Gen: 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Casius. of whom the Palestines or Philistims
Pathros. Ezek: 30. 14. Gen: 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth. Ez: 30. 17. & Sept: & Vulgar. & Iun: write Bubastus. Vatab. & Englisch Phibeseth
Zoan. Ez: 30. 14. & Vatablus: Eng: write it. the Vul: Taphnis. the Septuag: Tanis.
On. Ge: 41. 45. & Latinus: & our Eng: write it. & Vide. & Septu. Heliopolis. Plin: & Mela Solin
Babylon. the Ebrues. Tudalensis. & Pestellus. Mesraim. (Oppidum
Noph. Ez: 30. 16. & Vatablus. Iun: & Eng: write it. & Septu. had Pares & Hier: Memphis
Auen. Ez: 30. 17. & Vatablus. & Eng: write. the Septu. Vul: & Iunius. Heliopolis.
Rameses. Ex: 12. 37. Gen: 47. Gosen. the Hebrewes and Chaldy Par:
Migdol. Ex: 14. 1. Jerem: 46. 14. speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium.
Damiata. not the same with Pelusium. & Turbel. Sacri. l. 20. c. 17.
Pithom. Exod. 1. 11. which Herodotus calls Patumos.
Elim. Ex: 15. 27. & Mansion. Wolfius in his theork of Babylon: c. 29. found the ruins of a Cit. there. it was still cald Helie. & what in his time in 1500. after Christ.
Etham and Sur. one and the same. Etham. Num: 33. 8. Sur. Ex: 15. 22.
Pharan. so called in Ptol: time. who finds a Citie of the name neere the Red Sea.
Sin. Zin cades, and Cades barne. distinct places. (Paran Num: 13. 4. &
Sin. is betweene Elim & Sinai. Exod. 16. Sin. Reaches no further. Nor the Alus for Raphidim
Zin cades ioyned to Arabia & Desert & Cades barne to Idumea. (is South. Num:
Sinai Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Ex: 19. 2. and it stretcheth Southward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea. and ioyne vppon the Desert Arabia. and those of Edom betweene Hor and Theman.

Ostracin
Casius
Rinocorura
Laris
THE SANDY DES…
Damiata
Sin or Pelusium
Cashubim
Surbonis
Pathros or Phacusa
Migdol or Magdol
Phibeseth or Bubastus
Zoan or Tanis
EGYPT
GOSEN
The way from Gosen into Paleſtin
THE DESERT OF ETHAM, AND …
The battle be… Amalek and Is…
Alus w…
On or Heliopolis
Rameses
Succoth
Noph or Memphis
Mizraim or Babylon
Mara 5.
Daphca 9
Raphidim
SIN DESERT
Elim 6.
Pithom
Etham 3.
Sin 8.
Auen or Heliopolis
Trianus flu
Redsea
Piatheroth
Migdol
Midian
Balsephon
THE
Nilus flu:
Arsinoe
Pharan
RED
SEA
Guli: Hole Sculp:

Dor
Cæsaria P:
Edrei
AMO:
RITES
Dibon
Medeba
Iazer
A:
The ouerthrow of Schon & Amorit.
Esebon
Aroer
MO:
Samaria
Antipatris
Minneth
NI:
Ioppe
Plaines of Moab 42.
Abarim 41.
TES
Nebo
Arnon flu.
Mathana
Helmondblathaim 40.
Azotus
Ascalon
Ierusalem
Gaza
Sebom
Saul
Memrim
Salma
Madian
MOABITES
THE DEAD SEA
Duma
Sodom
Gomor
ribus
Dibon Gad 39.
EDOM OR
Bosra
Petra
Dinhaba
Asarim
Dedan
Leabarim 28.
IDUMEA
Marissa
PART
Oboth 27.
Therman
Pharan 16.
Rethma 14.
Lebna 17.
Ressa 18.
PA:
Cedma 19.
Sepher 20.
OF ARABIA
RAN
Phunon 26.
Haseroth 16.
Arada 21.
Maceloth 22.
Thaath 23.
DESERT
DESERT
Thare 24.
Here Arad the Cananite assayleth Israel.
Kibroth 17.
Methca 25.
Salmona 35.
Hesmona 26.
Maseroth 27.
Hor 34.
THE
Benejaran 28.
DESERT
Galgad 29.
OF
Getabatha 30.
Zin cades 33.
ZIN CADES
Ebrona 31.
Esiongaber
Eloth
PART OF THE HAPPI ARABIA
The way from Gilead to the red sea.

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MUSEUM

thros in the *Greeke* signifieth Red: hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythraus*, the sonne of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quin. Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discouerie of that Sea in the yeere 1544. performed by *Stenen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the East *India* for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednesse, both from the bankes, clifts, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Castro*, a principall Commander vnder *Gama* (which discourse I gaue Master *Richard Hacluit* to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalaqua*, sometime *Lequeo*, contayning in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth, the earth, sands, and clifts, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrionall* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and bankes are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sunne-beames, giue a kinde of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corrall growes, which is carryed into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, and those growing vnder water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shaddowes of these stones, sands, earth, and clifts, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Iohannes Barros* in his second *Decade*, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

Arian. de gest. Alex. Mag. l. 8. Strabo, l. 6.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adioyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Cosmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, some three Leagues or nine *English* mile ouer, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. haue nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselues into the Sea, and straighten it so fast, as for sixe miles together, it is not aboue three mile ouer; from thence vpward the land on *Ægypt* side, falleth away and makes a kinde of *Bay* or *Coue* for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and so bindes it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* past it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer-against *Elana* or *Toro*; but without iudgement: for from *Ramases* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not aboue 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past ouer in three dayes: and betweene the land of *Ægypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is aboue 80. miles. For *Ramases*, to which Citie *Moses* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharao* at *Zoan*, and tooke his last leaue, standeth in 30. degrees fiue minutes of *Septentrionall* Latitude: and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountayne *Climax*, or *Baalsephon*, in nine and twentie and a halfe, which made a difference of fiue and thirtie *English* mile, the way lying in effect North and South.

§. IX.

§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.

THE *Ægyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue obiected that *Moses* past ouer the Red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tyde, and that *Pharao* conducted more by furie then discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recouer the coast of *Ægypt*, he was ouer-taken by the floud and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authoritie to men that beleeue not therein perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselues, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from aboue, or assistance giuen from God himselfe to *Moses*, and the children of *Israel* than ordinarie and casuall, then could not *Pharao* and all his Armie haue perished in that pursuit.

For whersoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and runne downeward towards the *Ocean*, leauing all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be drie Land. Now *Moses* entring the Sea at *Migdol* vnder *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunitie of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelue mile farther into the Sea then *Sues*, much more was it made at *Sues*, and betweene it and where *Moses* past: who entred the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeue or Strait, had beene by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discouered, when *Pharao* found the floud increasing, he needed not to haue returned by the same way toward *Ægypt* side, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: and so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truely witnesse the contrarie, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moses* past on betweene two Seas, and that the waters were diuided. Otherwise, *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, proue the cause to haue beene a power aboue nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Againe, those wordes of the Scriptures, that *God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong East-winde*, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that Sea doth not lye East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must haue beene a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-winde blue athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South, and mayne body thereof: the other part remayned towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being vnknowne to *Pharao*: while he was checkt by that Sea, which vsed in all times before to ebbe away, the floud prest him and ouer-whelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Iosephus* auoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent iudgement generally, but also, so great a Captayne, as he ouer-threw the *Æthiopians* in many battels, being imployed by *Pharao*, and wan diuers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemne him of this grosseneſſe, and distraction: that rather then he would haue endured the hardneſſe of a Mountaynous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honor which he would there winne vpon *Pharao*) he would haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing water.

For

For he knew not the contrarie, but that *Pharao* might haue found him, and preſt him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it ſeemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaos* approch, cryed out againſt *Moſes*, and deſpaired altogether of their ſafetie: and when *Moſes* prayed vnto God for helpe, he was anſwered by God: *Wherefore cryeſt thou vnto me? ſpeake vnto the children of Iſrael that they goe forward, and liſt thou vp thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it*: which proues that there was not at the time of *Pharaos* approch any ebbe at all; but that God did diſperſe and cut through the weight of waters, by a ſtrong East-winde, whereby the Sands diſcouered themſelues betweene the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the waters moued not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *So that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the waters ſo defended them on both ſides, as the *Ægyptians* could onely follow them in the ſame path; not that the waters ſtood vpright as walls doe, as ſome of the Schoole-men haue fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians* perceiued any ſuch buildings in the Sea, they would ſoone haue quitted the chace and purſuit of *Iſrael*. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can thinke, that *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the obſeruations of heauenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Countrie, on his owne Coaſt, and in his owne moſt traded and frequented Ports and Hauens, and wherein, his people hauing had ſo many hundreds of yeeres experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand only; which then falleth moſt heauily on all men, when looking through no other ſpectacle but their owne proſperitie, they leaſt diſcerne it comming, and leaſt feare it. Laſtly, if the Armie of the *Ægyptians* had beene ouer-taken by the ordinarie returne of the floud, before they could recouer their owne Coaſt; their bodies drowned would haue beene carryed with the floud which runneth vp to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not haue beene caſt aſhore on that coaſt of *Arabia* where *Moſes* landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-banke ouer againſt *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* ſide: where it was that the *Iſraelites* ſaw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinarie floud would haue carryed them: Which floud doth not any where croſſe the Channell, and runne athwart it, as it muſt haue done from *Ægypt* ſide to *Arabia*, to haue caſt the *Ægyptians* bodies there; but it keepes the naturall courſe towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carkaſſes ſhould haue beene carried, if the worke had not beene ſupernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the liues of the *Fathers* affirmeth, that thoſe of the *Ægyptians* which ſtayed in the Countrie, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the purſuit of *Iſrael*, did euer after honor thoſe Beaſts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of *Pharaohs* deſtruction: as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a God of that Plant or Roote, about which he was occupyed: and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be giuen elſewhere. *Oroſius* in his firſt Booke and tenth Chapter againſt the *Pagans*, tells vs, that in his time, who liued ſome 400. yeeres after *Chriſt*, the prints of *Pharaohs* Chariot wheeles were to be ſeene at a low water on the *Ægyptian* ſands: and though they were ſometime defaced by winde and weather, yet ſoone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe.

Cap. 14. v. 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the iournying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a discourse of Lawes.

§. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, vntill the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BVT to goe on with the storie of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. *Moses* was borne in the yeere of the World 2434. *Saphrus* then gouerning *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sycionia*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Criasus* the *Argiues*; *Orus Ægypt*, and *Deucalion Thessalie*. He fled into *Midian* when he had liued 40. yeeres, in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeeres after was *Caleb* borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into *Ægypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the yeere 2514. in the last Moneth of that yeere. On the 14. day of the first *Hebrew* moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunne setting, in the yeere of the World 2514. was the celebration of the *Passeouer*: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the first-borne slaine through *Ægypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrewes* inhabited. The 15. day of the first moneth of the *Hebrewes* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the yeere of the World 2514. *Moses* with the children of *Israel* remoued from the generall assembly at *Ramases*, and marched to *Succoth*.

And departing thence they made their third Station at *Etham*: and iournying from *Etham*, they incamped in the Valley of *Pihachereth*, or *Migdol*, vnder the Mountayne *Baalzephon*; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the *Red Sea*: *Pharaoh* and his Armie perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. *Moses* hauing recouered the bankes of *Arabia*, gaue thankes vnto God, for the deliuerie of *Israel*; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Desarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding no water in that passage, he incamped at *Marah*, in the Desart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. *v.* 22. is also called *Sur*, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of *Israel* prest with extreme thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first at *Pharaohs* approch in *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing neere a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a playne *type* and *figure* of our Sauiour; who vpon the tree of the Crosse changed the bitternesse of euerlasting death into the sweetnesse of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers these bitter Fountaynes in his sixth Booke and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Ægypt*, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Ptolemie* the second, began to cut an artificiall Riuer, thereby by Boats and small Shipping to trade and nauigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities vpon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he remoued to *Elim*, the sixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue Fountaynes of sweet water, and three-score and ten Palme trees, he rested diuers dayes.

Whether

Acts 7. *Iosua* 14. 2474. 2514. *Pag.* 254. *Exod.* 12. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 13. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 14. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 14. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 15. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 15. *Num.* 33.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Towne or Citie in *Moses* time, I cannot affirme. And yet the scarcitie of waters in that Region was such, as *Helim*, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly bee left vnpeopled. *William*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Tyre*, in his Historie of the *Holie Warre*, found at *Helim* the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And at such time as *Baldwine* the first past that way into *Ægypt*, *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim, Ciuitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquãdo familiarem; ad quam cum peruenissent, loci illius incolæ, Regis aduentu præcognito, naiculam ingredientes in mare vicinum se contulerunt; Entring Helim a very ancient Citie, well knowne sometime to the people of Israel; whither, when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approch, tooke Boate, and shifted themselues into the Sea, lying neere them.* From *Elim* hee returned againe towards the South, and sate downe by the banks of the *Red Sea*: the seuenth Mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who prepared to resist his passage through that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebrewes*, appointed to beare armes: nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountring with the least miserie, were more apt to returne to their quiet slauerie, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to vndertake or sustaine so dangerous an enemie: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, vntill the fifteenth of the second Moneth called *Zim*, or *Iar*: and made the eight Mansion in the Desart of *Zin*; where the children of *Israel* mutinied against *Moses* the third time, hauing want of foode. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retrait from *Elim* to the red Sea, but in the collection of euery seuerall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set downe.

Will. Tyr. l. 11. cap. 19.

Exod. 16.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of *Quailes*, as all the Countrie about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it also rained *Manna*, being the sixteenth of their Moneth, which serued them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Ægypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattel, and Sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feede themselues with many of those: but reserued them both for the milke to releeue the children withall: and for breede to store themselues when they came to the Land promised.

Exod. 16.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two remoues of twentie mile: the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* sixe miles. Here being againe prest with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Ægypt*, where they rather contented themselues to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casuall and sometime necessarie want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and trauailes which euery manly minde seeketh after, for the loue of God and their owne freedomes.

But *Moses* with the same rod which hee diuided the Sea withall, in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel*, brought waters out of the Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

Exod. 17.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, vpon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and IETHROES *comming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.*

AND while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approch, and ghessed that he meant to leade the children of *Israel* through their Countrie (which being barren of it selfe, would bee vtterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it most for their aduantage to set vpon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of man infeebled them. On the other side *Moses* perceiuing their resolutions, gaue charge to *Iosua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrewes*, to incounter *Amalech*. Betweene whom and *Israel*, the victorie remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrewes* and *Amalekites* contending with equall hopes and repulses for many houres. And had not the strength of *Moses* praiers to God been of farre greater force, and more preualent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly indangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcitie of food, and those minds whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, & despaired in their first attempts, wil hardly, or neuer be brought again to hazard themselues.

Exod.17.

After this victorie *Iethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either *Iethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moses* to receiue, till he had by this ouerthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himselfe of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18. of *Exod. v.1. When* IETHRO *the Priest of Midian*, MOSES *Father in law, heard all that God had done for* MOSES, *&c.* of which, the last deed, to wit, the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, gaue *Iethro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his sonne in law *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where amongst other things, he aduised *Moses* to appoint *Iudges*, and other *Officers*, ouer *Israel*; being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and priuate controuersie.

This *Iethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Midianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Iudges v.11. & 17.* it is made manifest; where it is written; *Now* HEBER *the Kenite, which was of the children of* HOBAB, *to wit, the sonne of* IETHRO, *the father in law of* MOSES, *was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh.* Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest hee should destroy thē with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountaines of *Sin Kadesh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plaines, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*; *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocke.* And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giueth for cause, that they shewed mercie to all the children of *Israel*, when they came vp from *Ægypt*. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the sixe sonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Ægypt* into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Iethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) haue made *Iethroes* Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede of *Abraham* should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from *Abraham* himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in the fifteenth of *Genes. vers.* nineteenth these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the

C.15.v.16.

Num.24.v.21.

Sam.1.c.15.
Gene.25.

the *Hittites* and *Perizites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Iebusites*, which were indeede afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselues from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh* or *Kadesh*. Againe, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abrahams* other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my selfe to better iudgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation. Gen.15. Iudg.4.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into fiue Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Madian* by the Riuer *Zared*, afterwards destroied by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* neere the bankes of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his wife *Zipora*, and with whom he left her and his children, til after the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, seeme likewise not to haue beene corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Desarts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adioyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched. Gen.25.4.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Iethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrarie is more probable. For *Moses* would not haue sent 12000. *Israelites*, as farre backe as the *Red Sea*, from the Plaines of *Moab*, to haue destroied that *Madian*, where his wiues kindred inhabited: seeing himselfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, wherein himselfe and *Israel* had wandered 40. yeare.

That *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*; and our *English Reuel*; *Exod.*2.18. calls him *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Exod.*3. *&* *v.*1. *c.*4. *v.*18. *&* *c.*18.1. *&* 6.9.10. *&* 12. and in *Numbers c.*10. *v.*29. *Hobab*. Others take *Iethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was giuen: with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

THe rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515. were spent in the Desart of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountaines: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in *Exod.*3. *v.*1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.*24. *v.*16. it is written *Sinai*. In the 100. *Psalme v.*19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.*19.11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4.24. and againe, *Deut.*4.10. *&* 15. *&* *Deut.*5.2. *Horeb*. And so is it in the first of *Kings* 8.6. and the 2. of *Chron.* 5.10. and in *Malachie* 4.4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* the 48 7. they are named as one. *Which heardest* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the iudgement of the vengeance*. Somewhat they are disioyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*: who in the yeare 1588. past out of *Ægypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumet* of *France*, and trauailed to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by farre the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two *Monasteries* of *Christian Marronites*, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate

Pet. Bel. lib. 2. c. 62.

fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) giue entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written *Exod.* 32. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* set vp in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angell of God was giuen to *Moses*, where he staied a whole yeare, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second yeare; and he arriued about the 45. day after the egression: the Law being giuen the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and vse thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the storie any way disioyned, he may turne ouer a few leaues, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfullest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouerne that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide & conducter of all in generall, to the hauen of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinewes of euery estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without lust, and to a Mind without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue.

This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as Gods, or as the sonnes of Gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest & most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedæmonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselues: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

§. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

THe word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuersly, and in an indifferent sense vsed. For if we consider it at large, it may be vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any priuate ordi-

nance

nance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cause to be obserued by force, for their decrees doe also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law:* of which *Esay*, *Woe vnto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things.* Likewise, the word is vsed for the tumultuarie resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call lawes, though euill and vnsufficient. *Mala lex est quæ tumultuariè posita est; It is an ill law that is made tumultuously.* So as all ordinances, good or euill, are called by the name of lawes. *Esay* 10. *Ethic. l. 4. c. 1.*

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and platforme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call *legem fomitis*, is to be vnderstood. For euery law is a kind of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as * elsewhere, this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: so in S^t. *Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a *Law. But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my minde, and leading me captiue vnto the law of sinne.* Againe, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called[a] *lawes*, so farre as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant. * *Gen. 6. 5. Item 8. 21.*

Also priuate contracts among Merchants and other Tradesmen, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, prescribing a necessarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuill communitie. The rest, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentia magis quàm leges; rather compulsions then lawes:* And whatsoeuer is not iust, S^t. *Augustine* doth not allow for lawes, howsoeuer established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec iura dicenda, nec putanda sunt; The vniust constitutions of men which are neither to be termed nor thought lawes.* For saith ARISTOTLE, *Legalia iusta sunt factiua, & conseruatiua fœlicitatis; Iust lawes are the workers and preseruers of happinesse:* because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero*. Yea, *to life euerlasting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law, saith *Plato*, is God and his worship. *Finis legis Deus & cultus eius. Lex*, or the Law is so called by the *Latines à legendo*, or *à ligando, of reading* or *binding: Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, saith *Varro*; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, *à ligando*, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confregerunt iugum, diruperunt vincula:* they haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands. And in the second *Psalme*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & proijciamus à nobis funes ipsorum; Let vs breake their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from vs.*

[a] So *Virgil*, *continuò has leges æternas, fœdera certis imposuit natura locis*; Where also it is to bee noted that hee ioynes *leges* & *fœdera* together: as in the Scripture the law is oft times called the couenant. *Arist. Ethic. 5. cap. 1.* *Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.* *Hierem. 5. 5.* *Psalm. 2.*

The *Couenant* it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselues vnto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle* to the *Hebrewes*, vse the word διαθηκη, *a Testament or last will*: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuall for our saluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator, for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as *Hebr. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because euery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to euery man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est; The raigne of the law, is the raigne of God.*

Law in generall is thus defined by the *Philosophers: Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow,*

and what to shunne, or *Lex est omnium diuinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queene* or *Princesse of things both humane and diuine*. But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisedome of Nature: the reason and vnderstanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index sui & curui*, the demonstrance of it selfe, and of the crooked: so is the law, the Iudge and measure of right and wrong.

Mr. *Hooker* calls the Law a directiue rule to goodnesse of operation: and though law as touching the substance and essence, consist in vnderstanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will*. The word *Ius* is also diuersly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as *Ius Ciuile*, or *Ius gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two generall words *Ius* and *Fas*: whereof *Ius*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex diuina*, *Ius lex humana*. To goe ouer another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controuersie, *Virgil* vsed both those words: as *Fas & iura sinunt*, God and men permit.

Isid. Etym.

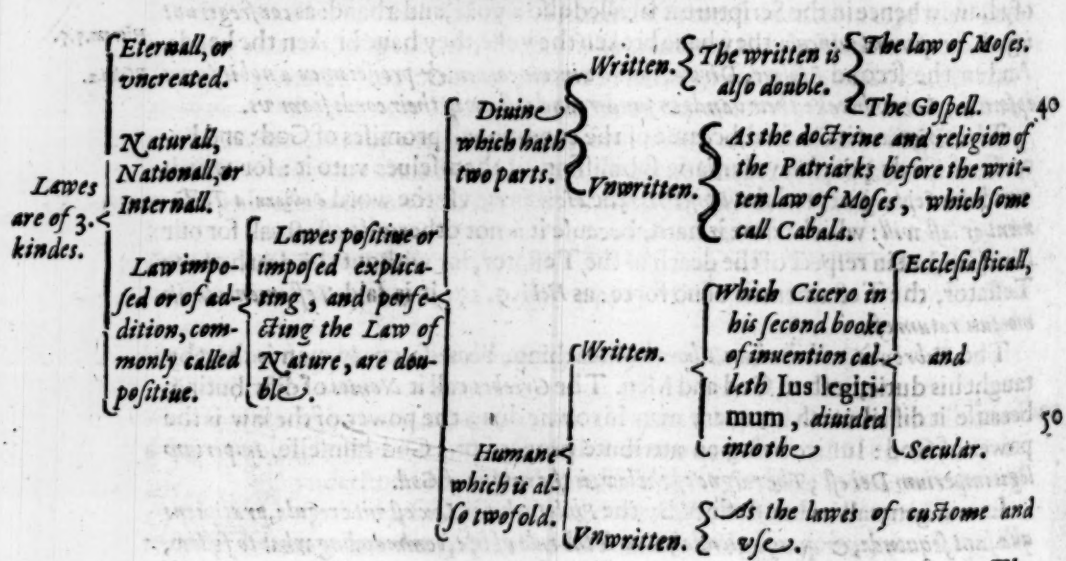
The word *Ius* or Right, is deriued or taken from the old substantiue Nowne *iussus*, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the *Greeke* Ζεὺς, which is the name of *Iupiter*, or of the *Latine* genitiue case *Iouis*, because as the Scripture speaks, *the iudgement is Gods*. For as it is certaine that *ius-iurandum* came of *Iouis-iurandum*, (for so we finde it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *iuramentum Iehouæ*) so also we may say, that *Ius* came of *Iouis*, *quia Iouis est*: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicegerents* the *Magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and exequutor of right. Of this *Ius* the iust are denominated, *iustus à iure*, and *iustitia à iusto*; *The right giues name to the righteous*: and *iustice takes her name from the iust*.

Deut.1.17. *2.Chron.19.6.* *Exod.22.11.* *1.Reg.2.43.*

§. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternall.

BVt because lawes are manifold, and that euery kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to diuide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leauing the indiuiduals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.



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The law eternall is thus defined by THOMAS. *Lex æterna est æternus diuinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum; The eternall law is the eternall conceipt of Gods wisedome, as it is referred to the gouernement of things foreknowne by himselfe.* Or *Lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio diuinæ sapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, vt illis iuxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat; It is the high and eternall reason of diuine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessitie according to their seuerall natures,* or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same diuine vnderstanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called prouidence: but as it imposeth a necessitie according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law. P.1.q.9.art.1. Th.q.93.art.1.

Of this eternall law *Cicero* tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, hee wrote in this manner. *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & à delicto auocans: quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente diuina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendum & ad vetandum ratio est recta summi Iouis; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not* (saith he) *then begin to be a law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with diuine vnderstanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princesse to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God.* This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to diuers obiects, so the reason of man finds it diuers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessarie, as the motions of the heauens; stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men: another to other creatures, hauing life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuersall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing more largely, aswell euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the diuine law to a supernaturall end only: the Naturall law is thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine. *Tho. & Aug.*

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawne: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition:* and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subiected, aswell *Angels* and *Men*, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessarie or contingent, naturall, or morall, and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Director: as *Praise him all yee his Angels: praise yee him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres: heauens of heauens, for he hath established them for euer and euer. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise yee the Lord from the earth yee Dragons and all depths: Fire, and haile, snow, and vapours, stormie winds, which execute his Word: mountaines, and hils: fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattell, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glorie and felicitie proposed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractiue, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themselues, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, knowne cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauie to fall downeward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate whatsoeuer is apposed. This *Psalm.148.*

kinde

kinde of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference vsed in termes onely; it being no other then Gods generall prouidence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appeare in themselues thence deriued: there-vnder subiected: thence-from by his eternall law and prouidence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

The *Schoolemen* are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and obiect of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the obiect and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to Saint AVGVSTINE, *Lex aterna est, qua institum est vt omnia sint ordinatissima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is iust, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.*

l. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which S^t. *Augustine* vseth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-will* the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the *Padagogia* of Gods people, or introduction to *Christ* should be expired; which time of expiration some thinke our Sauiour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather thinke these words of our Sauiour to haue no other signification, then that now the prophecie of their giuing him Vineger to drinke was fulfilled. For so S. *Iohn* expounds it, when he saith *v.* 28. *That Christ seeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Vt consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this also *might be fulfilled*, said, *I thirst*: though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudicial, as appertained peculiarly to the *Iewes*, and agreeth not with the law of the new *Testament* and Gospell of *Christ*. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe; but the things prescribed change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wisedome* of SALOMON, *And being one she can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe reneweth all.*

Iohn 18. 30. Psal. 69. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the *Schoolemen*: only as it is considered in man, it is called *the impression of diuine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis aternæ in rationali creatura.* VLPIAN defines the *naturall law to be the same which nature hath taught all liuing creatures*; *Ius naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterward addeth, *Ius istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quæ terra mariq; nascuntur, animq; quoque commune est*; *The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth.* But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall law in things of life.

Aug. in Epist. ad Hil. 89. & in Euang. Ioh. tract. 40.

Vlp. de Iustitia & Iure. l. 1. tit. 1

The law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall qualitie, which God in his eternall prouidence hath giuen & imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in men, inlightning our formal reason; so is it more then sense in beasts; and more then vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, & without experience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their liues: seeing that Bulls & Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogs, and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and flieth from

from the other, yea though by them neuer ſeene before, and that as ſoone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it ſenſe which hath taught other Beaſts to prouide for Winter, Birds to build their neſts, high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons: or the Birds of *India* to make their neſts on the ſmalleſt twigs which hang ouer Riuers, & not on any other part of the tree, or elſewhere: to ſaue their egs and yong ones from the Monkies, and other beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twig will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The inſtances in this kind are exceeding many which may bee giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that ſome trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in ſight. But this they doe by that law, which the infinite and vnſearchable wiſedome of God had in all eternitie prouided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reaſon of man hath made it ſelfe ſubiect, and a Vaſſal to paſſions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and cuſtom hath bred in men a new nature, which alſo, as is aforeſaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the law of Nature incorrupt, which S^t. *Auguſtine* calleth the law of reaſon, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by law conſtrained to become Idolaters; that by the lawes of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to vſe one anothers wife, and to the woman to chooſe them others beſides their huſbands, to beget them with child: which law in thoſe parts hath laſted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra §.4. ex loco ad Rom.7. 23.

Theod.l.9.de curandis affect: Græcorum. Acoſta.

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to burie with them the beſt beloued wiues: as alſo they haue many other cuſtomes remembred by *G. Valentia*, againſt nature and right reaſon.

And I know not from what authoritie it is that theſe lawes ſome men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithleſſe among the faithleſſe: to prouide for our ſelues by another mans deſtruction: that iniurie is not done to him that is willing: to deſtroy thoſe whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall lawes, either out of S^t. *Auguſtine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it *the impreſſion of diuine light*; the other, *the dictate* or ſentence *of practique reaſon*) the ſame can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, then to the exerciſe of Iuſtice & vprightneſſe: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, ſaue that which we would be content ſhould be offered or performed toward our ſelues. For ſuch is the law of nature to the mind, as the eie is to the bodie; and that which according to *Dauid* ſheweth vs good, that is, the obſeruation of thoſe things which lead vs therby to our laſt end; which is eternall life: though of themſelues not ſufficient without faith and grace.

Nemo iure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.

Pſalm.4.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforeſaid, the impreſſion of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternall. For without any law written the right reaſon and vnderſtanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our ſelues, ſufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and diſtribution of right to men, or by the contrarie, wee prepare and purchaſe for our ſelues. *For when the Gentiles* (ſaith S. PAVL) *which haue not the Law, doe by nature thoſe things contained in the law: they hauing not the law, are a law vnto themſelues.* Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the ſame right to all men, which we deſire ſhould be done vnto vs, is an effect of the pureſt reaſon: in whoſe higheſt Turrets, the quiet of conſcience hath made her reſting place, and habitation. *In arce altiſſima rationis quies habitat*; Therefore, the *Gentiles* (ſaith S. PAVL) *which ſhew the effects of the law written in their hearts, haue their conſciences for a witneſſe of thoſe effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuſe them.*

Rom.2.ver.14.

Rom.2.ver.15.

And it is moſt true, that whoſoeuer is not a law vnto himſelfe (while he hopeth to abuſe the world by the aduantage of hypocriſie) worketh nothing elſe, but the betraying

betraying of his owne soule, by craftie vnrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eie, seeing from him, who is an infinite eie, we cannot hide them: some Garlands wee may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That wee should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selues, and become fearefull witnesses of our secreteſt euils, did that reuerend *Philosopher Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maximè omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishoneſt*, saith he, *neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but aboue all men reuerence thine owne conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to giue heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obay the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, which liueth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obay. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes, the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first *Chaos*, darkenesse, and confusion.

Gen.1.

Iob.c.28.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did *Caine* perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not onely feared the displeasure of God, but the reuenge of Men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoeuer he performed towards others, the same by others might bee done vnto him againe. And that this iudgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall law, before the law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen.* the fourth: *If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, sinne lyeth at thy dore.*

The *Schoolemen* are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antoninus*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a volume of this subiect.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *an act of reason taken properly*, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgemẽt of practique reason: they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Againe, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be auoided as euill (as of the first, to desire to liue, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they diuide it, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are 3. sorts of appetites, which answere the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserue our being & life, also the desire of issue, with care to prouide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemõstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proofe, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselues. And as

Tho.q.94.art.2.

man

man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so hee doth desire good, and shunne euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* vpon the 44. *Psalme* approueth: *Rectè quidem Bonum definierunt, Quod omnia expetunt*; *Rightly haue some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.* *Ethic.l.1.c.1.*

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, wee desire the delights of euery sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satietie, nor hurt vs with excesse. For as Sense it selfe is for the preseruation of life and being: so is it meete, euen by the law of nature, that the sensitiue appetite should not carrie vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers lawes vnto them: In which sense the *Ciuilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to bee the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; Yet the *Schoolemen* admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but onely a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, & aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Vlpian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Vlpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius naturæ*, the other *Ius gentium*: the Diuines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selues: and the lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motiue faculties, which is but one, stirring vp to good, and declining the contrarie: secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of obseruing the law of nature increaseth, *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adueniente mandato, peccatum reuixit*; *When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by* S. PAVL, *When the Commandement came, sinne reuiued.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by S. PAVL, *To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense* (or minde) *to doe those things which are not conuenient*: and againe, *that their consciences beare witnesse, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoeuer is agreeable to right reason. And therefore, said DAMASCENE; *homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est*; *Men* (saith he) *are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrarie to nature*: and S. AVGVSTINE, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est*; *Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrarie vnto it.* *Basil.* *Rom.1.28.* *Rom.2.15.* *L.2.Fid.ortho. c.30.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequalitie of portions, according to vnequal merit:

by

by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enioy the fruits of their labours to themselues: according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

And though the law of nature command, that all things bee restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes this her law she suffereth to be broken: as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while hee was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to St. PAVL, *abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe*. 2. Tim. 2.

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

AFter the eternall, and naturall, the law *Positiue* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds; Diuine, and Humane. Againe, the diuine positiue law is double; the old and new: The old was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere when as *Ascatades* or *Ascades* gouerned the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopas* the *Argiues*, *Cecrops Attica*, and *Acherres Ægypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham* 430. yeeres. And this, it seemes, was the first written law which the world receiued. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Gracians*: no not in *Homers* time: who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeeres at least: and *Troy* it selfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Ægypt*. This law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his expresse will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the comming of *Christ*: and that so these children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Ægypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 1.*

The reason knowne to vs why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of families might easily without any written law instruct their owne children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good, and euil; nor condemne euery sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authoritie than other to the naturall law; In these respects it was necessarie, that the law should be written, and set before the eies of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne consciences. The *Schoolemen*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessitie, why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of DAVID, *The law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuerting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull giuing wisedome to children*. For the humane law, saith St. *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessarie, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *Dauid* it is called vndefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our minds. For the lawes of men can onely take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuerting our soules*, added by *Dauid*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiones hominum*

hominum nulla essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur; *The actions of men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceiued in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diuersitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar lawes among sundrie Nations, we cannot bee assured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without errour: and therefore also said DAVID, *That the testimonie of the law of God is faithfull: giuing wisedome to children.*

§. VIII.

Of the vnwritten law of God, giuen to the Patriarks by Tradition.

NOw, that in all this long tract of time, betweene the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarks* of the first age receiued many *precepts* from God himselfe, and whatsoeuer was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was obserued by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered ouer by Tradition, which kinde of teaching the *Iewes* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: precepts receiued from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*: to which the *Iewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserued in the bosomes of their *Priests*, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeede the diuine law reuealed to the *Patriarks*, and from them deliuered to the posteritie, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name *Adam* of *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, hee gaue other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was slaine: and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden, and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being commanded to cohabite with their Wiues, rather than with their Father and Mother.

That murther and crueltie was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the floud it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankinde by the generall floud. For God said vnto NOAH, *An end of all flesh is come before mee: for the earth is filled with crueltie through them: and behold, I will destroy them *from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknowne to all that perished: Gods mercie and iustice interposing betweene the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noe*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth. *Whoso sheddeth mans bloud, by man shall his bloud be shed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a seruant of seruants shall he be vnto his brethren.* Againe, we finde that the vnnaturall sinne of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and Rauishment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dina's* forcing: and by the iudge-

*The common reading is *cum terra*: but God did not destroy the earth; and why may not this præpositionin this place haue the same force, which it hath according to *Iunius*, *Gen.* 4.1. *Item.* 44.4. and *Deut.* 34.1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is saide, *v.* 7. *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ.* *Gen.* 9. *v.* 6.

Gen. 9. 25.

Gen. 34. 25.

Gen.38.14. iudgement which *Iuda* gaue against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans Wife*: To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts; of Circumcision, of the Brother to raise vp seed to his brother that left a Widow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be said, not only to haue been written in the hearts of men, before it was ingrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue beene giuen in precept to the *Patriarks*. For as S. *Paul* witnesseth of himselfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the Law*: so euer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of vnwritten law; the *Angels* intuitiuely; Men by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

§. IX.

Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of MOSES.

NOw as the word (*Law*) in generall, as is afore said, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restraine: so this Law, called the *Law* of *Moses* in particular, is taken by

Rom.3.v.19. S. *Paul* diuersly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know whatsoeuer the Law saith, it saith to them which are vnder the Law.*

When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalmes*, it is there taken for the fiue Bookes of *Moses*. For so Saint *Luke* hath distinguished them;

Luc.24.44. as, *All must be fulfilled which are written of mee in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalmes.*

When it is opposed to the *Gospell*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as,

Rom.3.28. *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by faith without the workes of the Law.*

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum ius*: as,

Rom.6.4. Gal.3.18. *For ye are not vnder the Law, but vnder grace.*

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadowes and figures; as, *The Law was giuen by* MOSES, *but grace and truth*

Iohn 1.17. *came by* IESVS CHRIST.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* comming, it signifieth the whole policie of the *Iewes* Common-weale; as, *Before faith came, wee were kept vnder the*

Gal.3.23. Luc.16.6. *Law, &c.* or the Law of the order and institution of the *Aaronicall Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law*, or the Priests, *prophecied vnto* IOHN. And if the

Heb.7.12. & 10.1. *Priesthood* bee changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needes bee changed.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life*,

Rom.8.2. *the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.*

Rom.7.23. But the *Written Law of* MOSES, or the Law of the Old Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the

the mindes of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Iustice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the law, and threatning death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to Saint *Iames*; *Whosoeuer shall keepe the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition vsed by the *Schoolemen*, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium vt aptè peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est vltimus humanæ vitæ finis*; *The diuine law* (say they) *is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessary meane, where by they may aptly attaine supernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.* Iames 2. 10.

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be auoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as *Do this, for I am the Lord*, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; The Ceremoniall of diuine seruice, and of holines; (for external worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Iudiciall teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*, and prescribeth orders for iustice and equity. And therefore was it said of Saint *Paul*, *The commandement is iust, holy and good*: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the gouernment of the commonwealth of the *Iewes*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons. Rom. 7. 12.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obseruances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the *Passeouer*, & such like. For the Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meats, as not to eate the bloud and fat of beasts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen; as also it prohibiteth other vnnatural and vnproper commixtions, as *Thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth naturall compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty euen to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some referre these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest*; *nor beate downe the first buddes of the tree, nor muzzell the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the comming of *Christ*. For the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: sauing in the ability of iustifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worship God: and to vse charitie one towards another: which for euer shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued: though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christs* comming, and in a farre lesse degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuersall equity thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vse and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Iewes* Common-weale, and policie.

§. X.

A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the fiue first.

AS for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Lawe, it may in effect bee reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignitie and worth of the law.
2. The Maiestie of the law-giuer.
3. The propertie and peculiaritie of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniencie of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and vse of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignitie of the Law is sufficiently proued by S. *Paul*, in these wordes: *Wherefore the Lawe is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and iust, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Maiestie of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues, and beings, so he onely gaue the law, who could onely giue the end and reward promised, to wit, the saluation of mankinde: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediatly, but by the ministery of *Angels*: as it is said. *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediatour:* and in the Acts, *Hee gaue the Law by the ordinance of Angels.*

Gal. 3. v. 19.

3. The proprietie and peculiarity of the people, receiuing this Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and dissenered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham.* Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and seuered they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham*, and his seed: not vnto his seedes, as to *Esau* and *Iacob*, but to his seede, as to *Iacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ. Now to* ABRAHAM *and his seede were the promises made: he saith not to the seeds, as speaking of many, but to thy seede, as of one, which is Christ.*

Gal. 3. v. 6.

4. The conueniencie of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by S. *Augustine:* that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses:* the law written in the Commandements receiued by *Moses* in the worlds yeere 2514. continued to the Baptisme of *Iohn:* from which time begun the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniencie are formerly giuen.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacie of this law, the same being a disposition to, or signe of our iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sinnes forgiuen, who taketh away the sinnes of the

the world: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weake*, beggerly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgiue and iuſtifie. The bloud of Goates and Bulles, and the aſhes of an Heifer could only cleanſe the body; but they were figures of *Chriſts* bloud, which doth cleanſe the inward ſoule. *For if the law could iuſtifie, then Chriſt died in vaine.* Gal. 4. Heb. 9. Gal. 2.

§. XI.

Of the ſixth poynt, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.

THe Old and New Teſtament differ in name, and in the meane and way propoſed for attaining to ſaluation; as the Old by workes, the New by grace: but in the thing it ſelfe, or obiect and remote end, they agree: which is mans happineſſe and ſaluation.

The Old Teſtament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witneſſe of Gods will, was called the Old, becauſe it preceded the New Teſtament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witneſſe. Yet the new of more excellencie, in that it doth more liuely expreſſe, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is alſo called the Old, to ſhew that in part it was to bee abrogated: *In that he ſayth the New Teſtament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it conſtituted in a policie periſhable: but the New was giuen in a promiſe of an euerlaſting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Teſtament and Goſpel for euer during. Heb. c. 8. v. 13.

The Old Teſtament is called the Law, becauſe the firſt and chiefe part is the Law of *Moſes*, of which the *Prophets* and *Pſalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Teſtament is called the Goſpel, becauſe the firſt and chiefe part thereof is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epiſtles, or Letters of the *Apoſtles*, and the Acts or Story of the *Apoſtles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Euangelion* ſignifying a ioyfull, happie and proſperous meſſage, or (as *Homer* vſed it) the reward giuen to the Meſſenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is alſo ſometime taken for a ſacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleaſing ſucceſſe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three ſignifications; Firſt, for glad tidings in generall, as in *Eſay* the 52. *v.* 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is reſtrained, to ſignifie that moſt ioyfull meſſage of ſaluation, as in *Luc.* 2. 10. whence alſo by figure it is taken for the Hiſtory of *Chriſt*: and ſo wee vnderſtand the foure Goſpels. Act. 1.

Laſtly, for the preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Chriſt*, as *Cor.* 1. 9. *v.* 14. and *Cor.* 2. 8. *v.* 18.

The agreement of both Teſtaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Daneus* compriſed in theſe foure.

In their Author.
In the ſubſtance of the Couenant, or things promiſed.
In the foundation, to wit, *Chriſt*.
In the effects, that is, in righteouſneſſe and iuſtification.

In the Author they agree, becauſe both are of God, and therefore both one Teſtament and will of God in ſubſtance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, ſo was there one Couenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old Law doth point at *Chriſt*, ſo doth the new Law teach *Chriſt*: the old propoſing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the ſame thing being promiſed in both; both tending to one, and the ſame end: euen the ſaluation of our ſoules; which according to S. *Peter* is the end of our faith. For although it bee ſaid, that *Moſes* did promiſe

by obseruing the law an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and honie, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly hee raised their mindes to the hope of heauenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselues strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heauenly *Hierusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrewes*: *All these died in faith, and receiued not the promises, but saw them a farre off, and beleeued them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrimes on the earth.* To which purpose also Saint AVGVSTINE: *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena aeterna promitti: Few* (saith hee) *doe vnderstand the olde law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised.* And S. HIEROME: *Noluit Deus pascere Iudæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, vt Iudei somniant: God would not feede the Iewes as beasts with corporall gifts and riches, as themselues dreame.* And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum*; *I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, proue that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit, the safetie of their soules. For as God created both body and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncared for, which liueth euer.

C.11.v.13.

Lib. de Ciuit. Dei 18.c.15.

In Sophon.c.3. v.9.

The agreement betweene the Old and New Testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*: in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are assured: the fathers hauing eaten the same spirituall foode, which wee eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercie and saluation: to which the Law seruing as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sinne and miserie, God sheweth his mercie and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise if we seuer the law from subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesse by workes, the other by faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospel healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith S. AVGVSTINE) *sed quæ ægrotantes probaret*; *The Law was giuen, not to helpe but to discouer sicknesse*: and S. CHRYSOSTOME, *Data est lex, vt se homo inueniret, non vt moribus sanaretur, sed vt medicus quæreretur*; *The law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen: but that he might then seeke out the Phisician.* For Christ came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a Sonne, so the greatest benefit was reserued to bee brought, as by the *worthiest person*, sayth *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Homil. ad Rom.

Heb.7.

§. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THe seuenth consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to *Christ*: for finding no righteousnesse in our owne workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and vtmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

Leuit.18.5.

The second end of the law, is to render vs inexcusable before God: who know-

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ing ſo perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteouſneſſe, and performance of dutie to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law is, as hath beene ſaid, to ſend vs to *Chriſt*, and his grace, being in our ſelues condemned and loſt. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a moſt violent and fearefull tempeſt, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to deſigne, and preſerue, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Diſcipline, and awe, till the comming of *Chriſt*: after whom the Church was to be diſperſed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vſe of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Chriſt*, and the new Teſtament. The vſe of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equitie, and right, whereto we muſt conforme our ſelues.

The ſenſe and vnderſtanding of the law is double, literall and ſpirituall: by the literall we are taught the worſhip and ſeruice of God: by the ſpirituall, the figures and myſticall fore-ſpeakings of *Chriſt*.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the ſame had being vntill the paſſion of *Chriſt*: before which time, and while *Chriſt* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Croſſe, then the *Iewiſh* ſacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Chriſt* (*Chriſt* being the body of thoſe ſhaddowes) ceaſed to binde the conſciences any longer: the myſterie of our redemption being now by *Chriſt* and in him finiſhed. In token whereof the vaile of the Temple rent aſunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and ſhaddowes were now to be remoued, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby aboliſhed, or weakened at all: otherwiſe then that it had not power to condemne according to the *Iewiſh* doctrine, as aforeſaid. For the obſeruing of the law was by *Chriſt* himſelfe ſeuerely commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witneſſed. And herein *Dauid* ſo much reioyced, as he preferred the obſeruation of the law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via teſtimoniorum tuorum delectatus ſum, ſicut in omnibus diuitijs; I haue beene delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches*: And againe. *The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue thouſands of gold and ſiluer. This is the loue of God* (ſaith S. IOHN) *that wee keepe his Commandement.* And that there is no excuſe for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himſelfe in *Deuteronomie* witneſſeth. *This Commandement* (ſaith hee) *which I command thee this day, is not hidde from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heauen that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall goe vp for vs to heauen, and bring it vs, and cauſe vs to heare it that we may doe it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall goe ouer the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very neere vnto thee, euen in thy mouth and in thy heart for to doe it. Behold* (ſaith MOSES) *I haue ſet before thee this day, life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maieſt liue, &c.* Neither is it ſaid in vaine in S. MATTHEVV. *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandements*: and in S. IOHN: *Scio quia mandatum eius vita æterna eſt; I know that his Commandement is life euerlaſting.* And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainely he is but a lyar, that profeſſeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obſerue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confeſſe it is not in mans abilitie, without the ſpeciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Chriſt* onely as man excepted) yet if wee rightly conſider the mercifull care which God had of his people in thoſe his Commandements, we ſhall finde in our ſelues, how we borrow libertie, and rather let ſlip our affections, and voluntarily looſen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reaſon hath faſtened them, than that we are excuſable by thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, which our minde (greedie of libertie) propoſeth to it ſelfe. *For this is the loue of God, that wee keepe his Commande-*

Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Iuda*, nor a Lawgiuer from betweene his feet, vntill *Shilo* come.

Iohn 1. 5.

Deut. 30. 11. 12. 13. & 14. *Rom.* 9. 10 v. 6. 7. 8.

Cap. 9. v. 17.

C. 12. v. 50.

ments, and his Commandements are not grieuous, 1. IOHN 3. *verse* 12. and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie persuasions, wee steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vse it against our pleasing desires.

§. XIII.

Of the seuerall Commandements of the Decalogue: *and that the difficultie is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our default.*

FOr by the first wee are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing euery reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinites: and that it is of necessitie, that by this almightie Vnitie, all things haue beene caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creatour, and how in his prouidence he hath also prouided for euery of them, *which giueth to beasts their foode, &c.* there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

Psal.147.v.9.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatrie, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true. *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings.* For their first erection was to keepe the memorie of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the Deuill crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the first intent) working in weake and ignorant soules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, implore their helpe, which haue neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baser, then the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? for what doe wee thereby (saith the Wisedome of SALOMON) *but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iournies of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which hee prayeth, be more senseless: *Dauid* maketh a doubt. *For* (saith he) *they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.*

Gloss. in verb. Calum.

Wisd.13.19.

Psal.35.18.

The breach of the third Commandement is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allured to this horrible disdaine of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, bee accounted an aduantage. For as our corruptest nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euerlasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the Deuill brought vp among men, without all subtletie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornefull aduantage ouer vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to neede, Adulterie to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemie, and the irreuerent abuse of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the *Sabbath* day holy, hath neither paine, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giueth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod.*23.12. *And in the seuenth day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

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The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weake and helpelesse infancie, and bestowed on vs the harueſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Iudiciall ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casuall, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith BRACTON) *imponit nomen operi tuo*; *It is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is.* And certainely whosoeuer cannot forbeare to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from adulterie. Now, if the preseruation of Virginitie haue been possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all ages haue mastered their fleshly desires, and haue returned chast to the graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbeare the dishonour and iniurie, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the desire of beautie and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbeare the prosequution of this ill: did not himselfe giue sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame. *Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.*

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kind of violent robberie had been vsed in *Moses* time, which many Ruffians practise nowa-daies in *England*, and to the dishonour of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*, out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth, but of those detested Theeues, who to maintaine themselues Lord-like, assault, robbe, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man, or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkennesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impouerishing whole families: and taking the bread and food from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be obserued; it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolue, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hellhounds. And if euery man may presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witnesse: from which if men could not forbeare, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wiues for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to obserue; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restraine and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if wee please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word *Coueting* reacheth to all those it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est effrænatus habendi appetitus*; *An vnbrideled, or vnrestrained appetite of hauing*: And as touching such an appetite, we cānot excuse our selues by any our natural frailty, or vnaduised error;

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But, as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbridled euill intent, or for ſome vrging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the later ſort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione qua eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi*; *Such paſſions, or inclinations are vnperfect acts, that is, not deliberated vpon by reaſon, which is the proper principle of a good or vitious action.* And ſure, it may ſeeme, that ſo long as wee reſiſt ſuch motions, they harme vs not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eis dominari permittimus*; *As long as wee giue no aſcent vnto them, it is thought by ſome that they hurt vs not: and that then onely they hurt, when we ſuffer them to beare ſway.* But theſe men, as it ſeemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandement, not only the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent vnto euill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that wee may know the difference betweene this Commandement and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held: that ſome are with aſſent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For ſo euen the Morall *Philoſopher* can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as on the other ſide the Incontinent hath good deſires, but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrarie paſſions. The euill deſires when they are accompanied with aſſent, are in euery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if wee will haue any thing proper to this Commandement, we muſt needes ſay, that the euill deſires of the Continent man (that is, euen thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are heere forbidden. For though he that bridleth his euill deſires, be much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them: yet ſuch a man, euen according to the Heathen *Philoſopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelfe makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it: confeſſing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to haue them at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinitie deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the Continent man the hauing of theſe euill deſires, though he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a vertuous man: ſo we, that the hauing of them is a ſinne. Only in this we excell him heere: that we are able out of Diuinitie to giue the true reaſon of this doctrine: which is, that euery one ſinneth, that doth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth that the euil deſires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, muſt needs be ſinne: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a-pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull indeuours to keepe his commandements, we witneſſe our loue toward himſelfe: wee may not ſafely giue libertie to our vanities, by caſting backe vpon God (who is iuſtice it ſelfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandements impoſſible for vs to keepe. For as hee is accurſed (ſaith S^t. *Hierome*) that auowes that the law is in all things poſſible to bee obſerued: ſo hee hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui dicit impoſsibilia Deum præcepiſſe*; *Accurſed is hee that ſaith that God hath commanded things* (in themſelues, and not through our fault) *impoſſible.* Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the law: ſo is our weakeneſſe alſo in the Scriptures laid before vs, and therefore it is thus ſafely to be vnderſtood, that we ſhould without euaſion, or without betraying of our ſelues, do our faithfull indeuours to obſerue them: which if we doe vnfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our deſires therein. For that there is no man iuſt, *Dauid* witneſſeth. *Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruant, for in thy ſight no fleſh that liueth ſhall bee iuſtified.* And in the firſt of *Kings*, *There is no man that ſinneth not*: And againe, *Who can ſay, I haue made my heart cleane?* But ſeeing there is no ſinne grieuous without deliberation; let euery mans conſcience iudge him, whether he giue way willingly, or reſtraine himſelfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his ſubject

Pſal. 143. *v.* 2. *Eccleſ.* 7. *v.* 20. *Pro.* 20. *v.* 9.

iect a commandement vpon paine of losse of his loue, to perfome some seruice: if the subject neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his *Soueraigne* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.

§. XIIII.

If there were not any Religion nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue *were most necessarie to be obserued.*

AND if we consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of *Moses* gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull prouidence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them, were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men, yet if we did not for our owne sakes striue to obserue these lawes: all societie of men, and all indeuours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would bee taken away: and euery state and common-weale in the world fall to the ground and dissolue. Therefore, these lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might bee defended, that euery man might enioy the fruits of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, wee might liue the liues of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaues; of ciuill men, and not of saluages. And hereof making our humane reason only Iudge, Let vs see the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if wee acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, war, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diuersitie of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Christ*?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receiue thence-from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this disaduantage, and ill to man, that whosoeuer taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may iustly vse his holy name.

The obseruing the *Sabbath* holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selfe requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and seuerely punished, the races of mankinde would bee extinguished: and whosoeuer would take the libertie to destroy others, giueth libertie to others to destroy himselfe.

If adulterie were lawfull and permitted, no man could say vnto himselfe, This is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posteritie, no indeuour by vertue and vndertaking to raise families: murthers and poisonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subiect to most filthie and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankinde would shortly after perish, or liue as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischiefe of robberie, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution foure-fold, policie of State and necessitie hath made it death.

To

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle begger and loiterer, against the carefull and paineful labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while wee couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therin fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wiues or goods of our neighbours, wee can looke for no other, but that our selues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be depriued of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and prouident God ordaine them; without the obseruation of which, the vertues of heauenly bodies, the fertilitie of the earth, with all the blessings giuen vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For we should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappie condition.

§. XV.

Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.

HVmane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, *viz.* Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten consists of vsage, approued by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*: and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatæ*, to be *customes approued by antiquitie or vnwritten lawes*. Now custome differeth from vse, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a law: but yet there where the law is defectiue, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, receiued and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie*, and *Normandie*: the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Castill*, and other *Prouinces*.

The second are these pettie customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others vnwritten.

The particular or pettie customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimonie of the inhabitants. The customes of the *Duchie* of *Cornewall* comprehending also the *Stannerie* of *Deuon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Deuon*, but not in *Cornewall*. But howsoeuer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought euery custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præscripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit*; *That which at first was not grounded vpon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (saith VLPIAN) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere*; *Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning.* For these two defences are necessarie in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessarie continuance: it being manifest that euery custome, which is against the law, had his beginning from euill deedes, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they haue beene since continued, because posteritie is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued.

In Reg. Iuris. v. 2 q. 117. art. 1.

Vlp. l. 29.

ued. For *non sufficit simplex toleratio.* And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est; The people cannot bring a new custome against law: saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.*

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduisement of Wisemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Gouernement and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit; All that stands with reason.*

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rationall discourse of those, that exercise publique authoritie: prescribing necessarie obseruances to the subiect. That euery law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Mihi lex esse non videtur, qua iusta non fuerit; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust*: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no law iust and legitimate (saith S. *Augustine*) which the Lawmakers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aterna lege sibi homines deriuauerint.* *Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2.* *L. 1. de lib. Arb. cap. 6.*

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to bee made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the Gouernment of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Violentia*, or *iniqua constitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked constitutions.*

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so euery particular of the humane law may be resolued into some principle or rule of the naturall. *4. Parts:* *Tho. q. 95. art. 2.*

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authoritie.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to THOMAS, *Alia lex* IVLIA *de Adulteriis, alia* CORNELIA *de Sicariis; The law of* IVLIAN *against Adulterie is one, the* CORNELIAN *against Ruffians, is another.* Now the humane law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, diuided into the law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for euery law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Vlpian* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or *the law of Nations*, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadours* be graunted betweene enemies, &c. which Nationall law, according to diuers acceptions, and diuers considerations had of the Humane law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

Ius Ciuile, or the Ciuill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately deriued from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily assent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all estates.

In Leg. 6. ta. ff. de Iustitia Iure. Hereof VLPIAN, *Ius ciuile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei seruit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Ciuile efficimus*; *The Ciuill law* (saith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obay it: therefore when wee adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.*

The law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in *Rome*; and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeeres after the foundation of the Citie. It was compounded aswell out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* lawes, as out of the ancient *Romane* customes and lawes *Regall*. The Regall lawes were deuised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then raigning. For though so many of the former lawes as maintained Kingly authoritie were abolished, with the name; yet those of *Seruius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common vtilitie, were continued, and were a part of the lawes of the twelue Tables. To these lawes of the twelue Tables were added (as the times gaue occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebiscita*: those of the Lawyers, called *responsa prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annuall Magistrate*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Iulian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall lawes; and the *Volume* stiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like Collections of *Iustinian* afterward were.

Dion. Hal.

C. Sigon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soueraigne authoritie (bee the soueraigntie in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Iussum Magistratus*, vnlesse by authoritie it be made a law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the same, saith VARRO. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*; *They who ascribe the most vnto an Edict, say that it is a law for one yeere*: Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatiues*; as *Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.*

Lastly, the *Humane law* is diuided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquillitie of the Common-wealth: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right Gouernment of the *Ecclesiasticall Common-wealth*, or *Church*, *illud naturæ legem, hoc diuinam spectat*; *That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And so may *Ius Ciuile* be taken two waies; first, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first diuision; Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and diuers from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this diuision of the *Schoolemen* is obscure. For although the *Ciuill* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Ciuill* is a law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, & comprehendeth both the *Ciuill*, and all other lawes not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular* lawes, in vse among *Christian* Princes, & in *Christian* Common-weales, there are three kinds; the *Ciuill* which hath euery where a voyce; and is in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of *England* called Common, and the Lawes of custome or *Prouinciall*. In *Spaine* besides the Law *Ciuill*, they haue the customes of *Castill*, and other Prouinces. In *France* besides the *Ciuill*, the customes of *Burgundie*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Niuernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situes & assis en Lodunois, seront gouernez selon les coustumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall bee gouerned according to the customes of that place.*

Art. 3. tit. 5. 6. Cust.

There

There are alſo in *France* the cuſtomes of *Normandie*, and theſe of two kindes; Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three eſtates. The *Charters* of confirmation of theſe ancient cuſtomes, before and ſince their reformation haue theſe words; *Nos autem, regiſtrum prædictum, vſus laudabiles, & conſuetudines antiquas, &c. Laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Regiſter aforeſaid, laudable vſe, and ancient cuſtomes wee praiſe, approoue, and by our Kingly authoritie confirme.* The common law of *England* is alſo compounded of the ancient cuſtomes of the ſame, and of certaine *Maximes* by thoſe cuſtomes of the Realme approoued. Vpon which cuſtomes alſo are grounded thoſe Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancerie*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other ſmall Courts.

Theſe ancient cuſtomes of *England* haue beene approoued by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that cuſtome by which no man ſhall be taken, impriſoned, diſſeiſed, nor otherwiſe deſtroyed, but he muſt firſt be put to anſwere by the law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient cuſtome of *England*, that the eldeſt Sonne ſhould inherite without partition. In *Germanie*, *France*, and elſewhere otherwiſe, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the cuſtome for all Lands (that haue not beene reſigned into the Kings hands) that the eldeſt of the houſe ſhall enioy the inheritance during his owne life: and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there bee ſo many brothers) before the Heire in lineall deſcent: this is called the cuſtome of *Taniſtrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land haue foure ſonnes, and the eldeſt of thoſe foure haue alſo a ſonne, the three brothers of the eldeſt ſonne, ſhall after the death of their brother, enioy their Fathers lands before the Grandchilde: the cuſtome being grounded vpon the reaſon of neceſſitie. For the *Iriſh* in former times hauing alwaies liued in a ſubdiuided *Ciuill* warre, not onely the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but euery *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were inforſt to leaue ſucceſſors of age and abilitie to defend their owne *Territories*. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other Prouinces of *France*, there are certaine peculiar, and pettie cuſtomes, beſides the great and generall cuſtome of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in euery part thereof. But the greateſt bulke of our lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: lawes propounded and approoued by the three eſtates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Acts* of choiſe, and ſelfe-deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent quàm quod iudicio populi receptæ ſunt*; *The lawes doe therefore binde the ſubiect, becauſe they are receiued by the iudgement of the ſubiect.* *Vlp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32.* *Tùm demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modò inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; *It is then that humane lawes haue their ſtrength, when they ſhall not onely be deuiſed, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.* *Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31. Gratian. in dec. diſt. 4. Cum in iſtis.*

Iſidore faſteneth theſe properties to euery *Chriſtian* law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the cuſtome of the Countrie; alſo for the time and place conuenient, profitable, and manifeſt, and without reſpect of priuate profit, that it be written for the generall good. Hee alſo giues foure effects of the law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and inſtigation: the former binds vs by feare, to auoide vice; the later incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to CICERO; *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemq; virtutum*; *It behooueth the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues.* The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obſeruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold, the one conſtraineth vs by feare of our conſciences, the other by feare of externall puniſhment. Theſe two effects the law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactiue*, and *Directiue*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being ſuch as they ought to bee, doe both by preſcribing and forbidding,

bidding, vrge vs to well-doing; laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmatiue, commaunding good, and power negatiue, forbidding euill, are those into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *Dauid* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum*; *Decline from euill, and doe good.*

Psal. 36.

§. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane lawes, and in what sort.

NOw whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that haue written of this subiect, as well *Diuines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soueraigne Princes bee compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid; the one *Directiue*, the other *Coactiue*: to the power *Directiue*, they ought to be subiect, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a prejudiciall judgement against himselfe; and if equalls haue not any power ouer each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receiue their authoritie and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much aboue the lawes, as the soule and body vnited, is aboue a dead and senseless carcasse. For the King is truely called, *Ius viuum & lex animata*: *An animate and liuing law*. But this is true, that by giuing authoritie to lawes, Princes both adde greatnesse to themselues, and conserue it; and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of IVSTINIAN: *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit vt ipse sit Rex*; *Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.*

Bract. l. 2.

But whereas *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine; and by humane lawes onely declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembred by the Diuines and Lawyers, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an account of their actions to God onely.

Psal. 50.

Tibi soli peccaui, saith DAVID; *Against thee onely haue I sinned*: therefore, the Prince cannot be said to be subiect to the law; *Princeps non subijcitur legi*. For seeing according to the *Schoolemen*, the law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernatiuæ: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humanæ non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud*; *Seeing humane law* (say they) *is but a kinde of organ, or instrument, of the power that gouerneth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Gouernour himselfe, in whom the gouerning power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his owne power be controlled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe: for euery actiue abilitie is a cause or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the law: *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps siue legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare*; *Therefore also may a Prince or law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the law.* Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus con-

ff. de Leg.

Greg. de Valentia de Leg.

concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges obſeruare neceſſitate coactionis, Princeps verò ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis; The ſubiects are bound to fulfill the law by neceſſitie of compulſion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the common good.*

Now concerning the politique lawes, giuen by *Moſes* to the Nation of the *Iſraelites*, whether they ought to be a Preſident, from which no ciuill inſtitutions of other people ſhould preſume to digreſſe, I will not preſume to determine, but leaue it as a queſtion for ſuch men to decide, whoſe profeſſions giue them greater abilitie. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, that we ought not to ſeeme wiſer than *God* himſelfe, who hath told vs that there are no lawes ſo righteous, as thoſe which it pleaſed him to giue to his Elect people to be gouerned by. True it is, that all Nations haue their ſeuerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no leſſe than in their peculiar languages: which diſagreeable conditions to gouerne aptly, one and the ſame law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill lawes did indeede containe in order a great part of the then knowne world, without any notable inconuenience, after ſuch time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vnto the naturall cuſtomes of the ſundrie people, which it gouerned. For whether it bee through a long continued perſwaſion; or (as *Aſtrologers* more willingly graunt) ſome influence of the Heauens; or peraduenture ſome temper of the ſoile and climate, affoording matter of prouocation to vice (as plentie made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunitie to ſteale, makes the *Arabians* to bee Theeues) very hard it were to forbid by law an offence ſo common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from juſt and honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* vnhappily diuerted from the Chriſtian Religion, which it willingly at the firſt embraced, but after with great furie reiected, becauſe pluralitie of Wiues was denyed vnto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more contentiouſly than ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, me thinks, it were not amiſſe to conſider that the high *God* himſelfe permitted ſome things to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their naturall diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant vnto the ancient rules of the firſt perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniuſt; there may the law, giuen by *Moſes*, worthily bee deemed the moſt exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neere as may by, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where nature or cuſtome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with ſo long and ſo publique approbation, that the vertue oppoſing it would ſeeme as vncouth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *Engliſh* faſhion of apparell in *Turkie*: there may a wiſe and vpright Law-giuer, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes* his law required; euen as the good King *Hezekia* did, in a matter meerely *Eccleſiaſticall*, and therefore the leſſe capable of diſpenſation, praying for the people; The good Lord bee mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to ſeeke the Lord God, the *God of his Fathers*, though he bee not cleanſed according to the purification of the Sanctuarie: which praier the Lord heard and granted. *2. Chron. cap. 30. v. 18. 19.*

To this effect it is well obſerued by Maſter Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicialls of *Moſes* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tyed to the ſame ſeueritie of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the puniſhment of death ſhould not be adiudged, where ſentence of death is not giuen by *Moſes*: Chriſtian Magiſtrates ruling vnder *Chriſt* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemencie and Mercie, may abate of the ſeueritie of *Moſes* law, and mitigate the puniſhment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heauie: for to ſhew more rigour than *Moſes*, becommeth not the *Goſpell*. *Iſay 9.*

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the ſubiect of

many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon mee, to speake any thing definitiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthie Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truely say, that the defence of it hath alwaies beene very plausible. And surely howsoeuer they bee not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely law; yet shall wee hardly finde any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue beene witnesse, of whom *Fortescue* that notable Bulwarke of our lawes doth speake, complaining of a judgement giuen against a Gentle-woman at *Salisburie*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a yeere after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) grieuously lamented: but this Iudge, saith the same Authour, *Sepius ipse mihi fassus est, quòd nunquam in vita sua animam eius de hoc facto ipse purgaret; Hee himselfe often confessed vnto mee, that hee should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other *Sciences* yeeld vnto the *Metaphysiques*, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to prooue the principles of sciences, which out of the sciences themselues cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subject of the *Metaphysiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The being of beings*, the only good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisedome. To which purpose well saith Saint AVGVSTINE, *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit aternam, de qua nulli animæ iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall lawes if he bee good and wise, doth therein consult the law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

Ca. 5. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Storie of the Israelites from the receiuing of the Law to the death of MOSES.

§. I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.

WHEN *Moses* had receiued the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the *Arke* and *Sanctuarie*; hee mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*: and hauing seene what numbers of men fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age vpwards; hee appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Armie was 603550. able men for the warres, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Ægypt*. This great Armie was diuided by *Moses* into foure grosse and mightie Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, bee called Armies; as contayning the three whole Tribes of *Iudah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Iudah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Naason*: in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Iudah*, who held the Vauntguard, and was the first that mooued and marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the East side of the Armie, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignitie.

The second Battalion or Armie, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had joyned vnto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Ruben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300. vnder *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Eliasaph*. These had the second place, and incamped on the South side of the Tabernacle.

The third Armie marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Beniamin*; who, ioyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elishama*: *Manasse* 32200. vnder *Gamliel*: *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidan*.

The fourth and last Armie, or Squadron, of the generall Armie, contayning 157600. able men, marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rereward, and moued last, incamping on the North side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Ahiezer*: *Asher* 41500. vnder *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400. vnder *Ahira*.

Besides

Besides these Princes of the seuerall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines ouer Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and insurrection against *Moses*, *Num.* 16. *v.* 1. & 2. For there arose vp against *Moses* 250. Captaines of the *Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne*: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principle Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the twelue Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonells before spoken of, as by their names *Num.* 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gaue to his children, tooke place not onely in the diuision of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but euen in sorting them vnder their seuerall Standards in the wildernesse it was obserued. For *Iudah* had the precedencie and the greatest Armie, which also was wholly compounded of the sonnes of *Lea*, *Iacobs* wife. *Ruben* hauing lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had vndergone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Ioseph*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogatiue of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided vnto two Regiments: the yonger (according to *Iacobs* prophecie) taking place before the Elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best beloued brother, the other sonne of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest sonne of *Iacobs* Concubines, was giuen the leading of the fourth Armie, according to *Iacobs* prophecie. Hee had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Lea*, or *Rachel*, but onely the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, sur-rounded by the *Leuites*. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approch, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neere it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the mooueable Temple of God, and with such reuerence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their seuerall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people obserued the former order in their incampings: so did the *Leuites* quarter themselues, as in an inner square, on euery side of the Tabernacle; the *Gesburites* on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, ouer whom *Eliasaph* commanded, in number 7500. The familie of *Cohath* on the South side, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Armie of *Reuben*, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third companie were of the familie of *Merari*, ouer whom *Zuriel* commaunded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side within the Armie of *Dan*; On the East side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Iudah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuiticall* families, was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his successour in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Armie of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. The reuerend care, which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen seruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuarie*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industrie vsed in the framing thereof, and euery, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the prouisions; the dutifull obseruance in the laying vp and preseruing the holie Vessels; the solemne remooving thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prouident defence of the same, which all Ages haue in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the *Familie*, by the

Anabaptist

Anabaptists, *Brownists*, and other *Sectaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be serued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Poperie*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the Hedges; and the Offices of the *Ministerie* (robbed of all dignitie and respect) bee as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-gouernement, left to newnesse of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*: euery contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancie with *the Spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of Reuelation*; insomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrarie to it selfe, the Faith of men will soone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion bee held in scorne and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of *Germanie* cause of this answere to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Si me adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo; If I adioyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; if I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you; What I should auoide I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

§. II.

The offerings of the twelue Princes: the Passeouer of the second yeere: The departing of IETHRO.

NOw when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessarie, prouided for the seruice of God, written the Lawes, numbred his Armie, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts, The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, *Num. 8.* sixe couered Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the *Sanctuarie* excepted, which for reuerence was carryed vpon the shoulders of the sonnes of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueied the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were deliuered to the *Leuites* for that seruice, namely to the sonnes of *Gershan* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his seruice in the Temple, a charger of fine siluer, waighing 130. sheckles; a siluer Boll of 70. sheckles; after the sheckle of the *Sanctuarie*; and an incense-Cup of gold, of ten sheckles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conqueste, besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremoniall, the waight of all the twelue siluer chargers, and twelue siluer Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. sheckles of siluer; and the waight of gold in the incense-Cups, to 120. sheckles of gold; which makes of sheckles of siluer 1200. euery sheckle of gold valuing ten of siluer, so that the whole of gold & siluer which they offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twentie pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the *Passeouer*, which they performed on the foureteenth day of the second moneth of the second yeere: and on the 20. day of the same, the cloude was lifted vp from aboue the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this inuocation to God; *Rise vp, Lord, and let thine enemies bee scattered, and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Isral* remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the

The Hebrew *Gerah* waigheth sixteene graines: so a *Getah* of siluer is about three halfpence sterling: the *Sicle* of the *Sanctuarie* (as it is expounded *Exod.* 30.13.) conteineth 20. *Gerahs* so a *Sanctuarie Sicle* of siluer is about 7. groats the cõmon *Sicle* is but halfe so much, to wit ten *Gerahs*: as it is vsually expoũded; though *Villalpandus* labours to proue that the common and the *Sanctuarie Sicle* were all one.

Num. 9. 4. 5. *Num.* 10. 11. *Exod. vlt.* 34. *Num.* 9. 17.

the Armie, or great squadron of *Iuda*, led by *Naasson*, taking the Vauntguard, followed by *Nethaneel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure expreſt. And becauſe the paſſage through ſo many Deſarts and Mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moſes* leauing nothing vnforethought which might ſerue for the aduancement of his enterprize, he inſtantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* hee calleth *Hobab*, to accompanie them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promiſing him ſuch part and profit of the enterprize, as God ſhould beſtow on them: for this man, as hee was of great vnderſtanding and iudgement (as appeared by the Counſaile he gaue to *Moſes* for the appointing of Iudges ouer the people) ſo was hee a perfect guide in all thoſe parts, himſelfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it ſeemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience; for he was then the Prieſt or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moſes* fled firſt out of *Ægypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeeres before this requeſt made. And though *Moſes* himſelfe had liued 40. yeeres in theſe parts of *Arabia*, through which hee was now to trauell: yet the better to aſſure his paſſage, and ſo great a multitude of ſoules, which could not bee ſo few as a Million, it was neceſſarie to vſe many guides, and many conducters. To this requeſt of *Moſes*, it may ſeeme by the places, *Exod.* 18. 27. and *Num.* 10. 30. that *Iethro*, otherwiſe called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from *Moſes* into his owne Countrie. But becauſe it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the poſteritie of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Iſraelites*, it is moſt likely that this his returne to his owne Countrie was rather to fetch away his familie, and to take his leaue of his owne Countrie, by ſetting things in order, than to abide there.

Iudic. 1. 16. & 4. 11. Alſo 1. *Sam.* 15. 6. And 2. *Reg.* 10. 15. 1. *Chron.* 2. 55. *Ier.* 35.

§. III.

The voiage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cauſe of their turning backe to the red Sea.

After this diſmiſſion of *Hobab*, *Iſrael* beganne to march towards the *Deſarts of Paran*: and after three daies wandring, they ſate downe at the *Sepulchers* of luſt, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incenſio*: by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe Mutiners and Murmurers which roſe vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the ſame Moneth. And from this 23. day of the ſecond moneth, of the ſecond yeere, they reſted and fed themſelues with Quailes (which it pleaſed God by a Sea-winde to caſt vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *Iune*: whereof ſurfaiting there died great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *Iuly*, they went on to *Hazeroth*, where *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* was ſtricken with the leproſie, which continued vpon her ſeuen daies, after whoſe recouery *Iſrael* remooued toward the border of *Idumæa*; and incamped at *Rithma*, neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moſes* ſent the twelue diſcouerers into the Territorie of *Canaan*, both to informe themſelues of the fertilitie and ſtrength of the Countrie; as alſo to take knowledge of the Waies, Paſſages, Riuers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* ſurpriſed diuers companies of the *Iſraelites*, by lying in ambuſh neere thoſe waies, through which the diſcouerers and ſearchers of the Land had formerly paſt. Now, after the returne of the diſcouerers of *Cades*, the wrath of God was turned againſt *Iſrael*; whoſe ingratitude and rebellion after His ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliuerance from the *Ægyptian* ſlauerie, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *wilderneſſe* (for ſo *Moſes* calleth it) with the victorie which hee gaue them againſt the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other then the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee led

Num. 11. & 33. *Num.* 12. *Num.* 21. *Deut.* 1. v. 19. *Deut.* 1. v. 27.

led them on and preſerued them, but to bring them, their wiues, and children to be ſlaughtered, and giuen for a prey and ſpoile to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the ſearchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many ſtrong Towers and Caſtles; that many of the people were *Gyantlike* (for they confeſt that they ſaw the ſonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearefull ſtature, and ſo farre ouer-topped the *Iſraelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themſelues, but as Graſhoppers in their reſpect. Now, as this mutinie exceeded all the reſt, wherein they both accuſed God, and conſulted to chooſe them a Captaine (or as they call it now-a-daies, an *Electo*) to carry them backe againe into *Ægypt*; ſo did God puniſh the ſame in a greater meaſure, than any of the former. For he extinguiſhed euery ſoule of the whole multitude (*Ioſua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promiſes, perſwaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foote of *Idumæa*; which is but narrow, laying before them the fertilitie thereof; and aſſuring them of victorie. But as men; whom the paſſion of feare had bereaued both of reaſon and common ſenſe, they threatned to ſtone theſe encouragers to death; accounting them as men either deſperate in themſelues, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God reſiſted theſe wicked purpoſes, and interpoſing the feare of his bright glory betweene the vnaduiſed furie of the multitude, and the innocencie and conſtancie of his ſeruants, preſerued them thereby from their violence; threatning an intire deſtruction of the whole Nation, by ſending among them a conſuming and mercileſſe peſtilence. For this was the tenth inſurrection and rebellion, which they had made, ſince God deliuered them from the ſlauerie of the *Ægyptians*. But *Moſes* (the mildeſt or meekeſt of all men) praied vnto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this ſo ſeuere a judgement, how deſeruedly ſoeuer afflicted, would increaſe the pride of the Heathen Nations, and giue them occaſion to vaunt, that the God of *Iſrael*, failing in power to performe his promiſes, ſuffered them to periſh in theſe barren and fruitleſſe Deſarts. Yet as God is no leſſe iuſt than merciful, as God is ſlow to anger, ſo is his wrath a conſuming fire; the ſame being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: & therfore, as with a hand leſſe heauy than hoped for he ſcourged this iniquitie, ſo by the meaſure of his glory (euermore iealous of neglect and deriſion) he ſuffered not the wicked to paſſe vnpuniſhed; reſeruing his compaſſion for the innocent: whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleaſed to preſerue, and in them to performe his promiſes, which haue neuer beene fruſtrate.

Num. 14. 10.

Num. 14. *v.* 22.

Num. 12. *v.* 3.

§. IIII.

Of their vnwillingneſſe to returne: with the puniſhment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.

NOw when *Moſes* had reuealed the purpoſes of God to the people, and made them know his heauie diſpleaſure towards them, they beganne to bewaile themſelues, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing alſo their appointment. And then when God had left them to themſelues, and was no more among them, after they had ſo often plaid and dallied with his mercifull ſufferings, They would needes amend their former diſobedience by a ſecond contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrarie againe to the aduice of *Moſes*; who aſſured them, that God was not now among them; and that the Arke of his couenant ſhould not moue, but by His direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies ſword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leſſe ſharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no leſſe cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwaies follow thoſe counſells which carrie them

them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrewes*, after they had forsaken the opportunitie by God and their Conductors offered: and might then haue entered *Idea* before their enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrarie to Gods commaundement, vndertake the enterprise of themselues; and ranne headlong and without aduice into the mountaines of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioyned and attending their aduantage, set on them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victorie and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight euen vnto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and ouerthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to preuent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerfull assemblie of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings joyned together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forwarne *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For hee commaunded him to returne by those painefull passages of the Desarts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bancks of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passe ouer *Iordan*, there were consumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the sixe hundreth and odde thousand, which came out of *Ægypt* (*Moses*, *Ioshua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and careless generations were wholy worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of the discouerers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermaunded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatrie of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times it is prooued out of sundry other places.

Amos c. 5. v. 25. Act. c. 7. v. 42. 2. Kings c. 17. v. 16. & cap. 21. v. 3. & c. 23. v. 4 5. 11. 2. Chron. 33. v. 3 Hierem. c. 19. v. 13. &c.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses*, according to the commaundement receiued from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recouer the shoares of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* he remooued to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* hee crost the valley, and sate downe at *Ressa*, neere the foote of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwaies keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountaines (those which bound the Desart of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceelata*, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Macheloth*; and then to *Thahah*; & so to *Thara* or *Thare*: the foure & twentieth mansion. Where while *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutinie of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God and his Ministers, were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fiftie which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from heauen; & 14700. of their partie, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest maruailes and judgements of God, that hath beene shewed in all the time of *Moses* his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authoritie, were suddenly swallowed vp aliue into the earth with their families and goods; euen while they sought to ouerthrow the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the *High Priest and Magistrate*, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church and Common weale of his people. And the bet-

Num. 33.

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ter to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercie to confirme them, it pleaſed him in this place alſo to approoue by miracle the former election of his ſeruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rods giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which *Moſes* receiued one of euery Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and drie Wands, and on euery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Leui*; it pleaſed God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable Spirit, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Arke* one night, had on it both Buddes, Bloſſomes, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharah* the whole Armie remoued to *Methra*; and thence to *Eſmona*; and thence to *Moſeroth*, (or *Maſurit* after S. *Hierome*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Beneiacan*; and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Ietabata*, the thirtieth Manſion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a Riuer, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betweene *Madian* and *Aſiongaber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Aſiongaber*, where *Salomon* furniſhed his Fleetes for the Eaſt *India*: there was ſtore of freſh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great Riuer in *Arabia the ſtonie*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (ſaith hee) the inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which deuice the King of *Arabia* relieued the Armie of *Cambyſes*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceiued, as many times he is, in finding theſe ſprings at *Gadgad*, or *Ietabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manſion. For it was at *Punon*, that thoſe Springs are ſpoken of, which in *Deut.* the 10. *v.* 7. is alſo called *Ietabata*, or *Iotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probabilitie fall into the Riuer *Zared*, the next adioyning. And that theſe Springs ſhould fall into the *Red Sea*, at *Aſiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleeue, for the way is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Torrents of freſh water in thoſe ſandie parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their courſe for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirſty ſand, before they can recouer the bankes of the *Red Sea*. *Her. l. 3.*

From *Ietabata*, *Moſes* directed his iourney towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebrona*, and from thence to *Eſiongaber*: which Citie in *Ioſephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieroms Eſtia*. From thence keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded: *Eſiongaber* being the fartheſt place towards the South-Eaſt, that *Moſes* trauailed in that paſſage. *Deut. 2.*

It ſeemeth that *Eſiongaber* or *Aſiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian* were not at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſpake vnto* MOSES *and* AARON *in the Mount Hor; neere the coaſt of the Land of Edom*; ſo as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Eſiongaber*, and the other places neere the *Red Sea*, had at this preſent been ſubiect to the *Idumæans*, *Moſes* would alſo haue demanded a free paſſage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained thoſe places: for it is ſaid; *And they aroſe out of Midian, and came to Paran, and tooke men with them*; which were thoſe companies that followed yong *Adad* of *Idumæa*, into *Ægypt*, when he fled from *Ioab*. Likewiſe it is ſaid of *Salomon*, that he made a Nauie of ſhips in *Eſiongaber* beſides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*. *Num. c. 20. v. 13* *1. King. 11. 18.*

§. V.

Of MOSES *arriuall at Zin Kades: and the accidents while they abode there.*

FRom *Eſiongaber* he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderneſſe* of *Zin*, which is *Kadeſh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Iacan*; where they ſate downe in the firſt Moneth of the fortieth yeere after they left *Ægypt*. For at the next Manſion *Aaron* died in the firſt day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeere: the nine and thir-

tieth yeere taking end at *Esiongaber*. And at this Citie of *Cades* (for so it was thought
Num.20.1. to be) or neere it, died *Miriam* or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulchre was to bee seene in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed
Num.20.3. to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcitie of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by beeing deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in euery of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and relieſe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting vngratefully on *Moses* all their misaduentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Desarts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And beeing, as it were, in the sight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being with-
Num.20.9. out end; he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselues and their cattell were satisfied. Neuertheleſſe, because God perceiued a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased Him to ende the trauailes of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, beeing the
2553. next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was despoiled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountaine; but God receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and hee was no more seene.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deuter.* 10. *vers.* 6. those *Horites* tooke name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seuen and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Esiongaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hesmona*, and before hee came to *Beniaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he
Num.33. came vnto after hee left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister died; the first beeing the seuen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should haue beene written, *Hor iuxta Mosera*; *Hor neere Mosera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as he past towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent Messengers to the Prince of *Idumea*, praying him that hee might passe with the people of *Israel* through his Territorie into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neereſt way of all other from the Citie of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise taking his iourney by the Riuers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Iordan*, hee might haue runne into many hazzards in the passage of those Riuers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commaunded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumea* hereunto, *Moses* remembred him, that hee was of the same race and familie with *Israel*: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the

Edomites

Edomites and *Israelites* were the Sonnes of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whome *Esau* his Ancester had made warre, and driuen out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumæa*. Hee also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or waste his Countrey, but that hee would restraine his Armie within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatsoeuer hee vsed, yea, euen for the water, which themselues or their Cattell should drinke. For *Moses* was commaunded by God, not to prouoke the children of *Esau*. But the King of *Edumæa* knowing the strength of his owne Countrey, the same beeing neere *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines: and withall suspecting; as a naturall wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Countrey, it would rest in their wills to giue him law, resoluedly refused them passage, and deliuered this answere to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible meane. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his Countrie together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; *Then* EDOM *came out against him* (to wit, MOSES) *with much people, and with a mighty power*. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the ende of his enterprise was not the conqueste of *Seir* or *Edumæa*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himselfe who was of a naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, hee refused to aduenture the Armie of *Israel* against a Nation, which being ouer-come, gaue but a passage to inuade others; and which by reason of the seate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to haue conquered the rest.

Deut. 2. 4.

Num. 20. 20. & 21.

Num. 20.

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa, and trauailing to Arnon, the border of Moab.

HE therefore leauing the way of *Idumæa*, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Desarts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderstood, and that *Moses* had blanched the way of *Edumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, hee thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victorie, had *Moses* beene enforst first to haue made his way by the sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolued to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Ægypt*, before they came neerer his owne home, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desart, hee set vpon some part of the Armie; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattell that they draue with them, could not encampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was euer-more subiect to surprise. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessour, which

ioyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous
Num. 14. 45. *Israelites*, which without direction from God by *Moses* would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Armie were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deuteron.* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to haue beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if hee were the same that had a victory ouer *Israel*, neere *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his Predecessour that then preuailed, this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to bee inuaded, and in danger of beeing conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compasse *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Desart to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* vtterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be vnderstood, to haue beene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Iosua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, hee would not haue fallen backe againe into the Desarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and haue fetcht a wearisome and needelesse compasse, by the Riuers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their coniecture to bee valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabite any part of *Canaan* it selfe, but that his Territorie lay without it, and neere the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South
Num. 33. 40. borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the South of *Iudea*. There is also a Citie of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutinie which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Iosua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water, and bread. But it was in the time of *Iosua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their reuenge, and after they had past *Iordan*: *Iosua* then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his Citie so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And hee nameth them amongst those Kings, which hee vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprise by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, hee led the people Eastward to compasse *Idumæa* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plaines of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desart was terrible, began againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venome inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the Mount *Hor*, *Moses* leauing the ordinarie way which lyeth betweene the *Red Sea*, and *Cœlosyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*: and thence hee remooued to *Phunon*, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making these iourneys by the edge of *Edumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall Citie of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verse* 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieued the people, it* was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned backe towards the *Red Sea*; neither

neither did they march (according to FONSECA) *per viam, quæ habet à latere mare rubrum; By the way that sided the Red Sea*, but in deede they croſt, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Esiongaber*; *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, ſo *Israel* to ſhunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the vtmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*, croſt the common way towards the Eaſt, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adioyning to the Land of *Suph*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manſion, that is, where the Mountaines ſo called take beginning, and are as yet but ſmall Mountures of Hills, on the Eaſt border of *Moab*; From thence they recouered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riſeth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing paſt that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *c.48.v.22.* calleth the *Houſe of Diblathaim*, the ſame which afterward was deſtroyed among the reſt by *Nabuchadneſſar*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and incamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moſes* doth not remember *Helmon diblathaim*, but ſpeaketh of his remooue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other ſide of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betweene them and the *Amorites*: ſpeaking, as hee found the ſtate of the Countrie at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*: euen from the Predeceſſour of *Balac Peor* then raigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moſes* ſent Meſſengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to deſire a paſſage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he deſired to giue a reaſon to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vndertooke. And though *Edom* had refuſed him as *Sehon* did, yet hee had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moſes* alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon*, obſerued the ſame precept, which he left to his poſteritie, and ſucceſſors, for a law of the war, namely in *Deut.20.v.10.* in theſe words, *When thou commeſt neere vnto a Citie to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein bee tributaries vnto thee, and ſerue thee; but if it refuſe, &c. thou ſhalt ſmite all the males thereof with the edge of the ſword.* Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies haue obſerued to this day, or ought to haue done.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture which are loſt.

NOw concerning the Warre betweene *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moſes* ſeemeth to referre a great part of this Storie to that *Booke*, entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The booke of Gods battailes*: and therefore paſſeth ouer many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater breuity in this place. His wordes after the *Geneua* tranſlation are theſe. *Wherefore it ſhall be ſpoken in the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Riuers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in ſenſe from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* varie. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is ſaid in the boooke: the Warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon.* *Iunius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Geneuan* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of * *Suph*, a Countrie bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the Eaſt, as he coniectureth. The Text hee readeth thus. *Idcirco dici ſolet in recenſione bellorum* IEHOVÆ, *contra* VAHEBVM *in Regione* SVPH: *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore it is ſpoken*

Num.21.v.14

Num.21.
* Of the countrie of *Suph* ſee more Chap.10 §.4. †.2. & of the force of the Word *Suph*, alſo chap. 18.§.3.

spoken in repeating of the battailes of IEHOVAH, *against* VAHEB *in the Countrie of* SVPH: *and against the Riuers, the Riuers of Arnon.* In which words he vnderstands, that amongst the Warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warre of *Sehon* against *Vaheb*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Countrie neere *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate Predecessour of *Balac*, who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the sonne of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not successiue. And as *Iunius* in this translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall Booke bee meant; and if any; whether it bee not a prediction of Warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the booke of *Iudges*. *Siracides* c.46. tells vs plainely, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by IOSVA. *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord.* But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a booke as this there was; wherein the seuerall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished in the long race of time, or haue been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the bookes of *Henoch*, howsoeuer they haue been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

Num.21.26.

Chron.1.c.1.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The bookes remembred by *Iosua* c.10.v.13. and in the second of *Samuel* c.1.v.18. called the *Booke of Iasher*, or *Iustorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the middest of the Heauens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had auenged themselues of their enemies: out of which also *Dauid* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Iuda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the booke of eternall Predestination, in which the iust are written, according to the 69. *Psalme*, v.28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the booke of life, neither let them bee written with the righteous.* HIEROME thinkes, that *Dauid* by this booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Iacob*, and *Moses*, are written; others, that it was the booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary vpon *Iosua*, by an vnknowne Author.

Hieron.in queſt. ſuper lib.Regum.

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembred in the second of *Chron.* 33. v.18. & 16. Of this booke, also lost, *Hierome* conceiues that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

Hieron.in annot. in Paralip.

The same mischance came aswell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Ieroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*: as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Ieedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the second of *Chron.* c.9.v.29. with these haue the bookes of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the second of *Chron.* c.12.v.15. perished: and that of *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Iehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c.20.v.34. Also that booke of *Salomons* which the *Hebrewes* write *Hasirim*, of 5000. verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* onely remaineth, 1.*Kings* 4.32. and with this diuers other of *Salomons* workes haue perished, as his booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1.*King.* 4.33. with the rest remembred by *Origen*, *Iosephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of

Of theſe and other bookes many were conſumed with the ſame fire, wherewith *Nebuchadneſſar* burnt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. But let vs returne thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Of MOSES *his ſparing the iſſue of* LOT; *and of the Giants in thoſe parts; and of* SEHON *and* OG.

WHen *Moſes* had paſt *Arnon*, hee incamped on the other ſide thereof at *Abarim*, oppoſite to the Citie of *Nebo*, leauing the Citie of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that ſide. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South ſide of *Arnon*, hauing loſt all his ancient and beſt Territorie, which was now in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moſes* was commanded by God not to moleſt *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*; the ſame which was anciently poſſeſt by the *Emims*, who were men of great ſtature, and comparable to thoſe Giants called *Anakims*, or the ſonnes of *Anac*. *Deut. 2. v. 9. & 10. 11. & 12.*

God alſo commanded *Moſes* to ſpare the *Ammonites*, becauſe they likewiſe were deſcended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence thoſe Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it ſeemeth that all that part, eſpecially to the Eaſt of *Iordan*, euen to the Deſart of *Arabia*, aſwell on the Weſt, as on the Eaſt ſide of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promiſed, the *Iſraelites* did not at any time paſſe thoſe Mountaines to the Eaſt of *Baſan*, but left their Countrie to them, as in the diſcription following is made manifeſt. We finde alſo, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: ſo theſe Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it ſelfe, had among them many families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which ſometimes was called the Citie of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Ioſua* is called the Father of the *Anakims*; and the greateſt man of the *Anakims*. *Ioſ. 15. v. 13. & 14. v. 15.*

There had alſo beene Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe Citie was *Aroer* or *Ar*, neere the Riuer of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gaue the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the ſame ancient *Canaanites*: and their chiefe Citie was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were alſo called *Zuzims*, which is as much to ſay, as *Viri robuſti, horrendiq; Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearefull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the ſame Prouince, and not farre to the North of *Aroer*.

Now *Moſes* hauing paſt *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) ſent to *Sehon*, as hee had done to *Edom*, to pray a paſſage through his Countrie, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proude by his former conqueſt vpon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* eſteemed but as ſtrangers and vſurpers, (themſelues being of the ſonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refuſed to grant *Iſrael* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moſes* with as much ſpeede as he could, becauſe *Moſes* incamped in the Countrie of his new conqueſts, to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*; the two and fortieth and laſt Manſion: which *Moſes* waſted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore haſting himſelfe, they encountred each other at *Iahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and diſcomfited: and the victorie ſo purſued by *Moſes*, as few or none of the *Amorites* eſcaped. Hee alſo ſlaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which hee found in *Eſſebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as thoſe of *Baſan* alſo were: and deſcended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moſes* calleth the *Baſanites* alſo *Amorites*. And although *Iſrael* might now haue taken a ready way and paſſage into *Iudæa*: being at this time, and after this victorie at the bankes of *Iordan*: yet hee knew it to bee *Deut. 1. v. 8.*

perilous

perilous to leaue so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Armie to inuade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature: and the only man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the mountaine of *Hermon* (which mountaine saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*) and the Riuer of *Iordan*. And it befell vnto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* comming at *Edrei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the mountaines of *Abarim*, left the prosequution of that warre vnto *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name *Hauoth Iair*: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* possest the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was giuen to *Reuben* and *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of MOSES *his death.*

AFter these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (ouer both which Nations it seemeth that *Balac* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chiefe) sought, according to the aduice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrewes* to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themselues: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adioyning. The *Israelites* as they had euer beene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these euill courses, and thereby drew on themselues the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the *Hebrewes*, were by his commandement put to the sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi* a Daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the loue and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in prosequuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the *Hebrewes* became an Idolater) as hee forgaue the rest of *Israel*, and staied his hand for his sake.

Num.25.v.9.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointd 12000. to bee chosen out, to inuade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the seruice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatrie. Ouer which companies of 12000. *Moses* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the fiue Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately beene, the vassalls of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Iosuah*. These fiue Princes of the *Midianites* slaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassalls of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Eui*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Iosua*. Hee slew also all the men, male-children, and women: sauing such as had not yet vsed the companie of men, but those they saued and dispersed them among the children of *Israel* to serue them.

Num.26.v.51.

Num.31.v.8.

Iosue.13.v.21.

Cap.13.21.

Deut.31.v.2.

And *Moses* hauing now liued 120. yeeres, making both his owne weakenesse of body

body knowne to the people, and his vnabilitie to trauaile: and alſo that he was fore- warned of his ende by the ſpirit of God: from whom hee receiued a new comande- ment to aſcend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render vp his life: Hee haſtned to ſettle the Gouernement in *Ioſua:* whom hee perſwaded with moſt liuely arguments to proſcquute the conqueſt begunne, aſſuring him of Gods fauour and aſſiſtance therein. And ſo hauing ſpent theſe his later dayes after the Conqueſt of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and expoſition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to S. *Auguſtine*) vſing both arguments, prayers, and threats vnto the people: which hee often repeated vnto them; thereby to con- firme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and ſeruice, of the all-powerfull God: Hee bleſſed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with ſeuerall and moſt comfor- table bleſſings: praiſing the greatneſſe and goodneſſe of him, vnto whom in his prayers hee commended them: Hee alſo commanded the Prieſts to lay vp the booke of the Law, by the ſide of the *Arke* of God: The laſt that he indited was that Pro- pheticall Song, beginning: *Hearken yee Heauens and I will ſpeake, and let the earth heare the word of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and ſorrowes of this life, vnto that reſt which neuer afterward hath diſquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer againſt *Beth-peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day, which happened in the yeere of the World 2554.

Deut. 31. *v.* 2.

Aug. l. 4. *de Mi- rab. ſacr. Script.*

Deut. 33.

Deut. 32. 1.

Deut. 34. *v.* 6.

§. X.

Obſeruations out of the Storie of MOSES, *how God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions, and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

NOw let vs a little, for inſtruction, looke backe to the occaſions of ſun- drie of the great euents, which haue beene mentioned in this Storie of the life of *Moſes*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promiſe, and fore-choiſe of this people) hee wrought in all things elſe by the *me- dium* of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And ſo we ſhall find that the feare which *Pharao* had of the increaſe of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cauſe of the ſorrowes and loſſe, which befell himſelfe, and the *Ægyptian* Nation: which numbers when he ſought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and leſſen, as when hee commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be ſlaine, God (whoſe prouidence cannot bee reſi- ſted, nor his purpoſes preuented by all the fooliſh and ſaluage craft of mortall men) moued compaſſion in the heart of *Pharao's* owne Daughter, to preſerue that child, which afterward became the moſt wiſe, and of all men the moſt gentle and milde, the moſt excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the Con- ductor and deliuerer of his oppreſſed Brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharao*, and all the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he ſought by the ſtrength of his men of Warre, of his Horſe, and Chariots, to tread them vnder and burie them in the duſt. The griefe which *Moſes* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne preſence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Ægyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatning him to diſ- couer the ſlaughter of the *Ægyptian*, mooued him to flie into *Midian*: the conten- tion betweene the ſheepe-heards of that place, and *Iethro's* Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of thoſe Siſters: and in that ſolitarie life of keeping of his Father in lawes ſheepe, farre from the preſſe of the world, contenting himſelfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heardſ-man, God found him out in that Deſart, wherein hee firſt ſuffered him to liue many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and paſſages through which hee purpoſed that hee ſhould conduct his people, toward the Land promiſed:

promiſed: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his Will and diuine Pleaſure for his returne into *Ægypt*. The like may be ſaid of all things elſe, which *Moſes* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Storie of *Iſrael* before remembred. There is not therefore the ſmalleſt accident, which may ſeeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no conſequence: but that the ſame is cauſed by God to effect ſomewhat elſe by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance, either preſently, or in many yeeres after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Iſraelites had dealing after their comming out of Ægypt; and of the men of renowne in other Nations, about the times of MOSES *and* IOSVA, *with the ſumme of the Hiſtorie of* IOSVA.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Iſraelites were to haue Warre, were diuers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we looke to the qualitie of the Nations, with whom the *Iſraelites*, after their comming out of *Ægypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wilderneſſe*, or afterward: we ſhall finde them long before-hand, by the diſpoſing prouidence of God, as it were prepared for enmitie: partly in reſpect that they were moſt of them of the iſſue of *Canaan*, or at leſt of *Ham*: and the reſt (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Iſmaelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the *Iſraelites* ſtill continued ſtrangers, and ſeparate from them: and ſo partly in this reſpect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reaſon of diuerſitie in Religion, were theſe Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Iſraelites*: and ſo to ſerue for ſuch purpoſes as God had reſerued them for. To make theſe things more manifeſt, we muſt vnderſtand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the ſame mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Ægypt*, and the *Red Sea* on the South: and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one ſpringing from the ſonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but thoſe of *Sem*, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one familie, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greateſt part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and Poſſeſſors of thoſe Territories: by proceſſe of time diuided into ſeuerall families and names: whereof ſome

* It ſeemeth alſo that *Hus*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, & *Buz* his Brother, planted themſelues in the Eaſtſide of *Iordan*, about *Baſan*: where they finde the Land of *Hus*: in which both *Iob* dwelt, as one of the iſſue of *Hus* the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend, which is called a *Buzit*. See hereafter Cha. 10. §. 7.

some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabite the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Heuites*, *Hetites*, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrie in generall was still called.

As for the *Hebrewes* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another familie, and strangers in that Countrie: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more then the *Philistims* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Iordan*: yet now euen they which descending from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they dayly contracted affinitie: than of their olde petigree from *Abraham*. *Exod.c.17.v.16*

True it is that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linckt themselues and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so farre possest themselues of the borders of those Regions, as they began to bee equall in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esau* the *Idumæans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest son of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are ioyned as of the same nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue been a tribe of *Edom*, because *Esau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason conuinceth it to haue been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to prouoke the *Edomites*, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endlesse warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* eldest Sonne *Nabeth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now euen as *Abraham* besought God to blesse *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelue Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betweene *Hauilath* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desart of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howsoeuer the strength of these later named nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great: yet it is not vnlikely, but that some reason which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these families beforenamed, were not so vnited, in and among themselues, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselues, whether they stood a-part or vnited, they were taught by the care of ther owne preseruation, to joyne themselues together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resoluedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* only denied the *Hebrewes* a passage: which the *Moabites* durst not denie: because their Countrie lay more open; and because themselues had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrie lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong, by reason of the mountaines which diuided it from *Basan*. Againe, that which moued the *Moabites* in their owne reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his Confederate, was that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselues might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betweene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Iordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that the King of *Moab*, *Deut.c.11.v.5.* *Deut.c.11.v.5.* *Exod.c.17.v.16* *Gen.17.* *Num.c.21.v.24*

Moab, *Balac*, perceiued that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, hee began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the Daughters of *Midian*; as aforesaide, to allure them to Idolatrie: and thus at length the *Moabites* by speciall occasion were more and more stirred vp to enmitie against *Israel*. And as for diuers of the rest that were descended from *Abrahams* kindred, wee may note, how in the beginning, betweene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted some enmities to be as it were presages of future quarrells, which in the posteritie might bee the easier incensed, by the memorie of olde grudges: and withall by some disdaine from the elder in nature to the yonger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Iacob*, being but a second sonne, of a second brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being naturall men, might scorne to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselues, to their inferiours, as they tooke it, and for a more aggrauation the issues of *Esau* Princes of *Edumæa*, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Iacobs* taking his aduantage, and that he was deceiued of his Fathers blessings also by him: and that *Iacob* after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

Gen. 35.
Gen. 27.
Gen. 33. 14.

So also in the posteritie of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a seede or pretence of enmitie, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desart*, with his Mother *Hagar*: and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his *Angel* to relieue them. *Ismael* also had an *Ægyptian* both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalec* was also an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esau* tooke two Wiues of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the Daughter of *Elon*, the *Hittite*, and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Heuite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Idumæa*.

Gen. 36.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuersation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those Wiues of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Iethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-liuing God.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Israelites.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Petigree*) wee finde foure named by *Moses*: and one and thirtie remembred by *Iosua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territorie adioyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a generall consideration are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Heuites*, &c. and so heere wee vnderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrie of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God had appointed that the seuen principall Families should bee rooted out: and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and Cities. But if wee consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Iordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrie, and in the choisest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemor*, of the *Heuites*, whom *Simeon* and *Leui* slew, together with his Sonne *Sichem*, in reuenge of their Sisters rauishment. *Gen.* 34.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures haue remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the Dead Sea; the same which surprised *Israel*, as they incamped in the *Wildernesse* in the edge of *Edumaa*. *Num.* 21.1.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arriuall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petræa* or *Nabathea*, and thrust them ouer *Arnon* into the *Desarts*, the same whom *Moses* ouer-threw in the plaines of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. *Num.* 21.24. *Ios.* 9. *Ioseph. ant. lib.* 4. *c.* 5.

Presently after which victorie, *Og* was also slaine by *Israel*, who commaunded the North part of that Valley betweene the Mountaines *Traconi* or *Galaad* and *Iordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*. *Num.* 21.35.

The fift was *Adonizedek* King of the *Iebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Iosua* nameth foure other Kings.

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.

Piram, King of *Iarmuth*.

Iapia, King of *Lachis*: and

Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by *Iosua*. After this ouerthrow *Iosua* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and *Iosua.* 10. *Ioseph. ant. lib.* 5. *cap.* 1.

Iobab, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin* seemed to haue some Dominion ouer the rest, for it is said in the Text, *For* HAZOR *before-times was the head of all those Kingdomes.* *Iosua.* 11. *v.* 10.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and feete, of 70. Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who, after *Iuda* and *Simeon* had vsed the same exequution vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a iust reuenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died. *Iud.* 1. *Ioseph. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2.

The last King named is *Iabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Iosua*. For at such time as he imploied *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom hee oppressed twentie yeeres, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (incouraged by *Debora*) ouerthrew; and his Captaine *Sisara* had by *Iael*, the Wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a naile driuen into his head while hee slept in her Tent: *Iabin* himselfe perishing afterward in that warre. *Iud.* 4. *Iud.* 4. *Psal.* 85.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethegleus* or *Iethres*, saith *Iosephus*, called *Iethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Iudges*, the sonne of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Iexanis*, or *Iokshan*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter, or Neece, *Moses* married: and of whom I haue spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Iethro* if hee were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his Father: and this *Hobab* had seuen Daughters. Hee guided *Moses* in the *Wildernesse*: and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites* so called of his Father *Raguels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Iabin* the second, euen now remembred. *Ioseph. l.* 5. *c.* 6. *Exod.* 3. *Cedren. pag.* 34. *Iud.* 1.

At such time as *Saul* inuaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gaue them warning to separate themselues: and yet the *Kenites* had strong seates, and liued in the mountaines of the *Desarts*. *1. Sam.* 15.6.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I finde named were these.

1. *Homer* the *Heuite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon of Essebon*
4. *Og of Basan.*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Iebusite*, King of *Hierusalem*
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron*
7. *Piram* of *Iarmuth*
8. *Iapia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Iabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Iobab* of *Modon*
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek* and
13. *Iabin* the second King of *Hazor.*

Ios. 10.

Ios. 11.

Of the MADIANITES these.

* *Eui* or *Euis.*

* These fiue first were all at one time kings of seuerall portions of the *Madianites*: slaine by *Phinehas* and the 12000. which hee led against them. *Num.* 31. *vers.* 8.

Rekam or *Recem* who built *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petræa* so called by the *Greekes*: and by *Esai.* cap. 16. vers. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2. *Reg.* 14. 7. where it is also called *Ioktheel.*

Zur
Hur and
Reba
¶ *Oreb*
Zeb
Zebah
Salmunna.

¶ These foure last were likewise at one time, slaine in the pursuite of *Gedeons* victorie. *Iud. c.* 7. *v.* 25 & *cap.* 8. *v.* 12.

After the death of *Barac*, *Iudge of Israel*, the foure last named of these *Madianite* Kings, vexed *Israel* seuen yeeres: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slaine by the *Ephraimits*, at the passage of *Iordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Iudges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursute of the rest *Gedeon* himselfe laid hands vpon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Salmunna*, and exequnted them, being prisoners, in which expedition of *Gedeon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their Confederates. Of the *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speake heereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I finde few that are named, and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to the promise of God made vnto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites* were numbred among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* gouerned *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* vnto *Hauilah*, to wit, ouer a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*. The reason to me seemeth to bee this: That the twelue Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leaue those barren *Deserts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cetura*, that ioyned with them (for so seeme the *Amalekites* to haue beene, and so were the *Madianites*:) themselues taking possession of a better soile in *Arabia* the Happie, and about the Mountaines of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*. For *Nabaioth* the eldest of those twelue Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the *Desart*, in which *Moses* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea*: the same which neighboureth *Iudæa* on the East side. They also peopled a Prouince in *Arabia* the Happie, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei (B)* changed into *(P)*.

Gen. 17. 20.

Iud. c. 7.

Kedar

Kedar, the ſecond of *Iſmaels* Sonnes, gaue his owne name to the Eaſt part of *Baſan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward poſſeſt by *Manaſſe*, ſo much thereof as lay within the Mountaines *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Plinie Cedreans*.

Adbeel ſate downe in the *Deſart Arabia*, neere the Mountaines which diuide it from the Happie: and gaue name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomie* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibſam was the Parent of the *Maſamancuſes*, neere the Mountaine *Zamath*, in the ſame *Arabia* the Happie.

The *Raabens* were of *Miſhma*: who ioyned to the *Orchens*, neere the *Arabian* gulfe, where *Ptolomie* ſetteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* ſometimes ſtood.

Of *Maſſa* the *Maſſani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the ſame Happie *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themæans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where alſo the Citie of *Thema* is ſeated.

Of *Ietur* the *Ituræans*, or *Chamathens*: of whom *Tohu* was King in *Dauids* time.

Of *Naphri* the *Nubeian Arabians*: inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: ouer whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *Dauid* ruled *Iſrael*. *Plin. l. 6. c. 28.*

Cadma, the laſt and twelfth of *Iſmaels* ſonnes, was the Anceſtor of the *Cadmonæans*: who were afterward called *Aſitæ*: becauſe they worſhipped the fire with the *Babylonians*. *Iunius.*

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Ægyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the firſt that fought with *Moſes*, after he paſt the Red Sea: when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed. *Exod. 17.*

Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Iſraelites* neere *Cadesbarne*. After the Gouernement of *Othoniel*, they ioyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac* with the *Madianites*: and inuaded *Iſrael*. God commanded that as ſoone as *Iſrael* had reſt; they ſhould roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* exequuted in part, when hee waſted them from the border of *Ægypt*, to the border of *Chaldæa*: from *Hauilah* to *Shur*. *Num. 14.*

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simeon*: but *Dauid* followed them, and ſurpriſed them, recouering his priſoners and ſpoiles. And yet, after *Dauid* became King, they againe vexed him, but to their owne loſſe. *1. Sam. 30.* *2. Sam. 8, 12.*

In *Ezekias* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumæa* were waſted and diſplanted by the children of *Simeon*. *1. Chron. 4.*

§. IIII.

Of the inſtauration of ciuilitie in Europe about theſe times, and of PROMETHEVS *and* ATLAS.

THere liued at this time, and in the ſame age together with *Moſes*, many men exceeding famous, aſwell in bodily ſtrength, as in all ſorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, ſo did Art and Ciuilitie (bred and foſtered farre off in the Eaſt, and in *Ægypt*) beginne at this time to diſcouer a paſſage into *Europe*, and into thoſe parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Aſia* and *Iudæa*. For if *Pelaſgus* beſides his bodily ſtrength, was choſen King of *Arcadia*, becauſe he taught thoſe people to erect them ſimple Cottages, to defend them from raine

and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the most part, by Hearbs and Rootes: we may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falsly those Nations haue vaunted of that their antiquities accompanied not onely with ciuill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge, And it was in this age of the World, as both *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine* haue obserued, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ Doctor fuisse perhibetur*; *Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of Wisedome:* and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the inuention of fire ascribed to PROMETHEVS, *Ad inuenta sapientiæ pertinere*; *To haue reference to wise inuentions*: and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Iupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him, that hee had the art so to vse this fire, as thereby hee gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee liued had nothing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrailes the while deuoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and restlesse desire hee had to inuestigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies, for so it is sayde: *Ideò altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, vt sereno cælo quàm longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*; *That hee ascended Caucasus, to the end that hee might in a cleere skie discerne a farre off the settings and risings of the Starres*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expound it otherwise, and others diuersly.

Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Ciuit. Dei.

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

In c. 8. lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei.

L. Viues ex Hes.

Of this mans knowledge ÆSCHYLVS *giues this testimonie.*

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

Ast agebant omnia
Vt fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusq́; qui mortalibus
Sunt vtiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq́; Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But Fortune gouern'd all their works, till when
I first found out how Starres did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like vse I did deuise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muses Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes that hee liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Isaac*.

Aug. lib. 18. c. 3. De Ciuit. Dei.

There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the Sonnes of *Iapetus*, of whom though it bee saide, that they were borne before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the aduantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these Sonnes of *Iapetus*, *Æschylus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus*, and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Euening, and so to the

euening

euening Starre. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Libya* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memorie *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the Sonne of *Neptune*.*

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Nec verò* ATLAS *sustinere cælum, nec* PROMETHEVS *affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus* CEPHEVS *cum Vxore traderetur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset; Neither should* ATLAS *bee said to beare vp heauen, nor* PROMETHEVS *to be fastened to Caucasus, nor* CEPHEVS *with his Wife to bee stellified; vnlesse their diuine knowledge had raised vpon them names these erroneous fables.*

Orpheus sometime expresst *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometime hee tooke him for *Saturne*; as *Rhea coniux, alme Promethen.* But that the storie of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approued Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine* haue not doubted, For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomie*, saith S. *Augustine*, were his Daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archas* the sonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the inuention. Of this *Arcas Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* tooke name, and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to bee vnderstood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had beene any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there bee that bestow the finding out thereof vpon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gaue it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequalled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is saide, had the ground of his *Philosophie*.

Lib. 18. cap. 8. de Ciuit. Dei.

Ouid. de fast. l. 1.

§. V.

of DEVCALION *and* PHAETON.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* raigned in *Thessalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argiues*. This *Deucalion* was the Sonne of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for Mother; the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odysees* makes *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Minos*: but he must needes haue meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Vlysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Vlysses* after his returne from *Troy* fained himselfe to bee the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that Warre) and this *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessalie* by which in effect euery soule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this floud in *Thessalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanie: and as the impietie of men is the forcible attractiue of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and crueltie of all mankinde drew on them that generall destruction by the floud Vniuersall. Only *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to bee louers of Vertue, of Iustice and of Religion. Of whom *Ouid*:

Clem. Alex. strom lib. 1.

Strabo. lib. 9.

Non illa melior quisquam, nec amantior aqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reuerentior vlla deorum.

No man was better, nor more iust than hee:
Nor any Woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his sonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing; and aduised him to prouide for his safetie: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Doue, to discouer the Waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Storie had beene but an imitation of *Noahs* floud deuised by the *Greekes*, did not the times so much differ, and S. *Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this storie of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen* of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*, and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is said to haue begot *Delphus*, which gaue name to *Delphos*, so renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

August. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio & Hieronyme.

And that which was no lesse strange and maruailous than this floud, was that great burning and conflagaration which about this time also happened vnder *Phaeton*; not onely in *Æthiopia*, but in *Istria*, a Region in Italie, and about *Cumæ*, and the Mountaines of *Vesunius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

§. VI.

of HERMES TRISMEGISTVS.

BVt of all other which this age brought foorth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned; the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter maximus*; and of the *Greekes Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their owne times, both S. *Augustine* and *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercurie* which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercurie*, of whose many workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon fiue *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Ægypt*, and there worshipped; one, the Sonne of *Nilus*, whose name the *Ægyptians* feared to vtter, as the *Iewes* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercurie*, which slew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Ægypt*, is said to haue deliuered literature to the *Ægyptians*, and to haue giuen them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Ægypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercurie* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercurie*, otherwise *Theuet*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Ægyptians Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians Thot*; and the *Greekes* (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who liued about the Warre of *Troy*, giues the inuention of letters. But S. *Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Ægyptians*, calls neither of them the sonne of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue slaine *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercurie*, the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moses* was yet yong. And yet *L. Viues* vpon S. *Augustine* seemes to vnderstand them to bee the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest haue remembred. But that coniecture of theirs, that any *Græcian Mercurie* brought letters into *Ægypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there bee any

Lod. Viues out of Cicero. in Aug de Ciuit. Dei. l. 8. c. 26.

Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de Præp. Euang.

any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the *Greekes* had, was tranſported out of *Ægypt* or *Phœnicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Ægypt*. For they all confeſſe, that *Cadmus* brought letters firſt into *Bœotia*, either out of *Ægypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that betweene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moſes*, and *Cadmus*, there were theſe deſcents caſt; *Crotopus* King of the *Argiues*, with whom *Moſes* liued, and in whoſe time about his tenth yeere *Moſes* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus* who raigned eleuen yeeres; after him *Danaus* fiftie yeeres; after him *Lynceus*: in whoſe time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arriued in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moſes* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the ſlaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Ægypt*. Neither did either of thoſe two *Mercuries* of *Ægypt*, whom S. *Auguſtine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moſes* found out Letters and taught the vſe of them to the *Iewes*; of whom the *Phœnicians* their Neighbours receiued them; and the *Greekes* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this inuention was alſo aſcribed to *Moſes*, for the reaſon before remembred; that is, becauſe the *Iewes* and the *Phœnicians* had them firſt from him. For euery Nation gaue vnto thoſe men the honour of firſt Inuentors, from whom they receiued the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercurie*, vpon part of whoſe workes he Commenteth, to haue beene foure deſcents after *Moſes*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that liued with *Moſes*, the maternall grand-father of the firſt famous *Mercurie*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counſailer and Inſtructer of that renowned *Iſis*, wife of *Oſiris*. But *Ficinus* giueth no reaſon for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercurie* inſtructed *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that ſuch an inſcription was found on a piller erected on the Tombe of *Iſis*. *Lod. Viues* vpon the ſixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of S. *Auguſtine*, *De Ciuitate Dei*, conceiueth, that this *Mercurie*, whoſe workes are extant, was not the firſt which was entituled, *Ter maximus*, but his Nephew or grand-child. * *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who liued ſhortly after *Moſes*, hath other fancies of this *Mercurie*; affirming that hee was the *Scribe* of *Saturne*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Ægyptians Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may bee, that the many yeeres which he is ſaid to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yeeres, gaue occaſion to ſome Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by thoſe which haue collected the grounds of the *Ægyptian* Philoſophie and Diuinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moſes*: becauſe the Inuentor of the *Ægyptian Wiſedome*, wherein it is ſaid, that *Moſes* was excellently learned.

Virgil. lib. 4. Aeneid.

Ficin. in Præfat. Pœmand. Mercury Triſmegiſti.

* Or *Sancho. niatho*. See *Euſeb. de præp. Euang. lib. 1. c. 6. & 7.*

Viues in lib. 8. c. 26 Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

It is true, that although this *Mercurie* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, eſpecially in the approuing of Images, which *Moſes* of all things moſt deteſted; yet whoſoeuer ſhall read him with an euen iudgement, will rather reſolue, that theſe workes which are now extant, were by the *Greekes* and *Ægyptian* Prieſts corrupted, and thoſe fooleries inſerted, than that euer they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and Spirit deuiſed. For there is no man of vnderſtanding, and maſter of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the ſame Tract, thoſe things which are directly contrarie in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moſes* excepted) there was neuer any man of thoſe elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ſtile more reuerend and diuine, vnto almightie God, than he hath done. And therefore if thoſe his two Treatiſes, now among vs; the one conuerted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had beene found in all things like themſelues: I thinke it had not beene perilous to haue thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moſes* himſelfe; and that the *Ægyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was deuiſed by the firſt, and more ancient *Mercurie*, which others haue thought to haue beene *Ioſeph*, the ſonne of *Iacob*: whom, after the expoſition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Saphanet phane*, which is as much to ſay, as *abſconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But theſe are ouer-ventu-

Maſius.

rous

turous opinions. For what this man was, it is knowne to God. Enuie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whosoeuer he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maiestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, ijsdemq; nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hee hath written many Bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which he affirmeth the Maiestie of the most High and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we doe.* The same Father also feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his acknowledgements to those Idolatrous fictions of the *Ægyptians* and *Graecians*, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whatsoeuer is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex eius esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c.* God (saith hee) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his Word out of himselfe proceeding being most perfect, and generatiue, and operatiue, falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing.* And he was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate vnum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one God in Trinitie.* *Hic ruinam* (saith FICINVS) *prauidit priscæ Religionis, hic ortum nouæ fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem sæculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This* MERCVRY *foresaw the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the comming of Christ, the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

L. 1. C. 6. fol. 4.

In Præf. Mercu. Trismeg.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volateran* out of SVYDAS. *Hactenus fili pulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discesserò, videte ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Ciuitatem regredior: ad quam vniuersi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui ciues suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O Sonne, being driuen from my Countrey, I haue liued a stranger and banished man: but now I am repairing home-ward againe in safety. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and bloud depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the onely God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a sweetnesse more then marueilous: in regard whereof this being which others call a life, is rather to bee accounted a death then a life.* The other and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus conuerted by others, agreeing in sense but not in words with SVYDAS. *O cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus, teq; O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, adiuro per vnigenitum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei; I adiure thee O heauen, thou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first vttered, when hee framed the whole world, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercie vpon mee.*

But *Suydas* hath his inuocation in these words: *Obtestor te cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmauit, obtestor te per vnigenitum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I beseech thee O heauen, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voyce of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word containing all things, be fauourable, be fauourable.*

§. VII.

§. VII.

of IANNES *and* IAMBRES, *and ſome other that liued about thoſe times.*

THere were alſo in this age both *Æſculapius*, which after his death became the God of *Phyſicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Viues* thinkes in his Commentary vpon *Auguſtine, de Ciuitate Dei, lib.* 8. and alſo thoſe two notorious *Sorcerers, Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moſes* himſelfe doth not charge them with any familiaritie with Deuils, or ill Spirits: words indeed that ſeldome came out of his mouth; how-euer by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophiſtæ* or *Venifici* and *Incantatores*, Sophiſts, poiſoners, and Inchanters: by *Hierome, ſapientes & malefici*, Wiſemen, and euill doers: and ſo by *Vatablus*, who alſo vſeth the word *Magi*. The *Greeke* it ſelfe ſeemes to attribute ſomewhat of what they did to natural *Magick*: calling them φαρμακὸς, workers by drugges. The *Genenan, Sorcerers and Inchanters*: IVNIVS *Sapientes, Præſtigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and Wiſemen here by him are taken in one ſenſe: and Preſtigiators are ſuch as dazell mens eyes, and make them ſeeme to ſee what they ſee not: as falſe colours, and falſe ſhapes. But as ſome vertues and ſome vices are ſo nicely diſtinguiſhed, and ſo reſembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (religion and ſuperſtition hauing one face and countenance) ſo did the workes and workings of *Moſes*, and of *Pharaos Sorcerers* appeare in outward ſhew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to bee one and the ſame art and gift of knowledge. For the Deuill changeth himſelfe into an *Angel* of light: and imitateth in all he can the wayes and workings of the moſt High. And yet on the contrary euery worke which ſurmounteth the wiſedome of moſt men, is not to bee condemned as performed by the helpe or miniſterie of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are ſuch as where hee alſo beſtoweth the knowledge to vnderſtand their hidden and beſt vertues, many things by them are brought to paſſe, which ſeeme altogether impoſſible, and aboue nature or arte: which two ſpeculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabaliſts* diſtinguiſhed by theſe names; *Opus de Bereſith, & opus de mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wiſedome of nature*: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*; *The Wiſedome of diuinity*: the one *Iacob* practiſed in breeding the pied Lambs in *Meſopotamia*, the other *Moſes* exerciſed in his miracles wrought in *Ægypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the higheſt perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other ſo farre as it pleaſed God to proportion him, both which he vſed to his glory, that gaue them: aſſuming to himſelfe nothing at all, either in the leaſt or moſt. Alſo S. *Auguſtine* noteth, that from the time that *Moſes* left *Ægypt*, to the death of *Ioſua*, diuers other famous men liued in the world, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionyſius* otherwiſe *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Græcians* the vſe of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time alſo there were inſtituted *Muſicall* playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrenneſſe and ſcarcitie vpon that part of *Greece*, becauſe they reſiſted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who ſpoiled his Temple and ſet it on fire: ſo did *Erichthonius* inſtitute the like games to *Minerua*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a preſent of *Oyle*, in memory of her that firſt preſt it out of the Oliue.

L. Viues in lib. 8 Auguſt. de Ciu. Dei. 6. 26.

Exod. 9. 11.

In this age alſo *Xanthus* rauiſhed *Europa*: and begat on her *Radamanthus, Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are alſo giuen to *Iupiter* by other Hiſtorians. To theſe Saint *Auguſtine* addeth *Hercules*; the ſame to whom the twelue labours are aſcribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a Citie of *Peloponneſus*: (or as others ſay, onely nurſed and brought vp there) who came into *Italy*, and deſtroyed many Monſters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Euſebius* ſurnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*,

Lib. de Ciuit. Dei cap. 12.

cules, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Ægyptian*: *Manifestum fit, non Thebanum* HERCVLEM, *sed Ægyptium ad Gades peruenisse, &*
Philost. l. 2. *ibi finem statuisse terræ* (saith PHILOSTRATVS;) *It is manifest that it was the Ægyptian* HERCVLES, *and not the Theban, which trauailed as farre as the streights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Desarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoeuer they were, or how worthy soeuer they were that liued in the dayes and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee so often appeared; neuer any man more familiar and conuersant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posteritie by letters, the trueth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed it.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. *He made him* (saith the same Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him*
Syrac. 45. 12. 3. *by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glorie, caused him to heare his voyce, sanctified him with faithfulnesse and meekenesse, and chose him out of all men.*

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megastenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the *Patriarchs* enioyed before the floud, remembred by *Moses*, *Estieus*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Elanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Historian*, confirme. The vniuersall floud which God reuealed vnto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Estieus*, and *Sybilla* haue approued. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatæus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damascenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the bookes of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, hee saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the Citie called *Camerina*, or *Vrien*, excelled all men in wisedome: and by whom the Astrologie of the *Chaldeans* was inuented. *Is iustitia pietatéq; sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, vt diuino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibiq; habitauerit; For his iustice and piety hee was so pleasing vnto God, as by his commandement he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Booke and fifth Chapter, speaketh reuerently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirme the Bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these wordes.
Strabo l. 16. MOSES *enim affirmabat, docebatq; Ægyptios non rectè sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Græcos, qui Dijs hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cœlum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profectò imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicuius earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum:* MOSES *affirmed and taught, that the Ægyptians thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and cattell: Also that the Africans and Greekes greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shape of men: whereas that onely is God indeede, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heauen, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out vnto the likenesse of those things, which are amongst vs: That therefore (all deuising of Idols cast aside) a worthy*

Temple

Temple and place of prayer was to bee erected vnto him, and he to be worſhipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Ægyptian* wiſedome, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moſes*, ſaying, *That* MOSES *was learned in all the wiſedome of the Ægyptians, and was mighty in his workes and words*; the ſame is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Iudæus*, and *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, and diuided into foure parts, *viz.* Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall. *Act. c. 7. v. 22.*

In the Mathematicall part, which is diſtinguiſhed into *Geometrie*, *Aſtronomie*, *Arithmetike*, and *Muſicke*; the ancient *Ægyptians* excelled all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation, meaſuring of grounds, was vſefull vnto them: becauſe it conſiſting of infallible principles, directed them certainely in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yeerely ouerflowne and confounded, ſo as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the ſecond part, to wit, *Aſtronomie*, the ſite of the Countrey being a leuell and ſpacious Plaine, free and cleere from cloudes, yeelded them delight with eaſe, in obſeruing and contemplating the riſings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmeticke alſo, which is the knowledge of numbers, they ſtudied; becauſe without it, in *Geometrie* and *Aſtronomie*, nothing can be demonſtrated or concluded. But of *Muſicke* they made no other account, nor deſired farther knowledge, than ſeemed to them ſufficient to ſerue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wiſedome, which handleth the principles, cauſes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripateticall Philoſophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and liuing creatures haue their beeing; that Heauen is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certaine fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceede and bee from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets haue their proper ſoules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wiſedome, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleeueth that the world had a beginning, and ſhall periſh; that men had their firſt originall in *Ægypt*; partly by meanes of the temperateneſſe of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offenſiue; and partly through the fertilitie, that *Nilus* giueth in thoſe places; That the ſoule is immortall, and hath tranſmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worſhipped by the names of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, becauſe the true ſimilitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that many of the Gods haue been in the eſtate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits beſtowed on mankinde, haue beene Deified; that thoſe beaſtes, whoſe Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: becauſe vnder thoſe Enſignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreouer, the *Ægyptian* Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, myſticall and ſecret, wherein the higheſt points of their Religion and worſhip of God, which was to bee concealed from the vulgar ſort, were obſcured.

Clemens diſtributeth the whole ſumme of this later *Ægyptian* learning into three ſeuerall ſorts, *viz. Epiſtolar*, which is vſed in writing common Epiſtles; *Sacerdotall*, which is peculiar to their Prieſts; and *Sacred*; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which it expreſſed by letters Alphabeticall in obſcure and figuratiue wordes; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: becauſe Light is an Image of Diuine beauty; the other ſymbolicall, or by ſignatures, which is three-fold, *viz.* Imitatiue, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitatiue, which deſigneth things by characters, *Clem. Strom. l. 5.*

racters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sunne; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of men. So with the *Ægyptian* Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moone: by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulnesse: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudencie: by a Fish, Hatred is to be vnderstood: Ænygmaticall is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are Ænygmaticall and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Ayre, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and Gouerning all things. The *Scythians* are thought to haue been delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdome, vnlesse he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the Mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their aire: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were signified to be ready to bee deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his Men did hasten away, as a Bird through the ayre, or creepe into holes as a Mouse, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues, Till his grounds. The same Historie is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

Herod. l. 4.

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinitie*, and of the comming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of *iudgement*: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) hee is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the *Ægyptians*, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menatus*, affirmeth that this *Mercurie* was not only the Inuentor of the *Ægyptian* Philosophie, but of all other learning, called the *Wisedome of the Ægyptians* before remembred: and that he wrote of that subiect 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the *Ægyptian* language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall *Greeke*, they seemed to haue been first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisedome of the Ægyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. of *Physicke* sixe bookes; of the orders of *Priests* ten; and of *Astrologie* foure.

Clem. Strom. l. 6.

§. VIII.

A Briefe of the Historie of IOSVA; *and of the space betweene him and* OTHONIEL: *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to* IOSVA: *and of the breach of Faith.*

AFter the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Iosua* the sonne of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisedome, tooke on him the Gouernment of *Israel*: God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the Riuer of *Iordan*, and to possesse, and diuide among the *Israelites* the Land promised.

The beginning of *Iosuas* rule S. *Augustine* dates with the raigne of *Amintas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* gouerned the *Argiues*; and *Ericthonius*, *Athens*. *Lib.18.de Ciuit. Dei. c. 11.*

Iosua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent ouer *Iordan* certaine discouerers to view the seat and strength of *Ierico*, the next Citie vnto him on the other side of the Riuer, which hee was to passe ouer. Which discouerers being saued, and sent backe by *Rahab*, a Woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tauerne or Vitling-house, made *Iosua* know, that the Inhabitants of *Ierico*, and those of the Countrie about it, hearing of the approch of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egression, *Iosua* remooued from *Sittim* in the Plaines of *Moab*, and drew downe his Armie to the banks of the Riuer *Iordan*; and gaue them commaundment to put themselues in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the *Leuites* tooke it vp, and mooued towards the Riuer; giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselues of his fauour and presence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of *Iordan* should beecut off and diuided, and the waters comming from aboue should stand still in a heape; whereby those below towards the *Dead sea* wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet. *Ios. 2. 1.* *Ios. 2. 11.* *Ios. 3. 1.* *Ios. 3. 3.* *Ios. 3. 13.*

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselues (according to their Couenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Desarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Iuda* had performed. For these Tribes being alreadie prouided of their habitations, and the Countrie and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice & equalitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession. *Ios. 1. 12.*

On the banks of *Iordan* they rested themselues from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first Moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past ouer to the other side, taking with them twelue stones from the drie ground in the middest of the Riuer: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they set vp at *Gilgal*, on the East side of the Citie of *Ierico*, where they incamped the first night. At which place *Iosua* gaue commandement, that all borne in the last fortieth yeere in the Desarts should bee circumcised, which ceremonie to that day had beene omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giueth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certaine time of their remouing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they liued by themselues, and a-part from all Nations. *Ios. 4. 19.* *Ios. 5. 2.* *Aug. q. 3. in Ios.* *Thom. part. 3. quæst. 70. art. 4. ad. 3.*

On the foureteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passeouer* now the third time; first, at their leauing *Ægypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and hauing, as it were, surfeited on *Man*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof. *Ios. 5. 10.*

And as *Moses* beganne to distribute those Regions beyond *Iordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sihon* held, so did *Iosua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at
Ios.14.3. three seuerall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Ruben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands ouer *Iordan*; Secondly, by *Iosua*, to the Tribe of *Iuda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth yeere of his gouernment; proued in the 14. of *Iosua. v.* 10. and a third diuision was made to the other seuen Tribes at
Ios.18. *Shilo*, where *Iosua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Iosua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set downe in his owne bookes, as I shall not neede to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much vnderstanding, as to vnite themselues together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Gouernours God hath taken away all wisdome and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders, to themselues, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue beene quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so far as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Ierico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; fiue of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) ioyned themselues together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselues to *Iosua*. Onely fiue (the rest looking on to see the successe) namely, the King of the *Iebusites*, in *Iebus*, or *Hierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Iarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselues for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iosua* surprised and broken, themselues despairing to scape by flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by *Iosua*
Ios.10. drawne forth and hanged. In the prosequution of which victorie hee also tooke *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relieue whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar*
Ios.10. hastened, and perished. After which *Iosua* possest himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the ouer-late counsailes of necessitie, vnited themselues, to make one grosse strength and body of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, practised and gathered together, by *Iosua* discouered, as the same rested neere the Lake of *Merom*, hee vsed such diligence, as hee came on them vnawares; and obtaining an absolute victorie ouer them, he prosequuted the same to the vttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which hee burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iosua* shewed himselfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vsed the stratageme of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first fiue Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon*,
Ios.10.v.9. by surprise. For he marched all night from his camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when they suspected no enemie at hand: as hee did also at *Merom*, when he ouerthrew *Iabin*, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victorie, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuer *Iordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel*
Ios.3.v.13. past it with a drie foote; the fall of *Ierico* by the sound of the Hornes; the showres of
Cap.10.v.11. Haile-stones, which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished, than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those, which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder

of

of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the paſſage betweene *Ioſua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is ſo plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euaſion, it admitteth no diſtinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiouſneſſe, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Æquiuocation*. For, notwithſtanding that theſe *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Heuites*, expreſly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithſtanding that they were liers, and deceiuers, and counterfeits, and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride *Ioſua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael*, by faining to bee ſent as Embaſſadours from a farre Countrie, in which trauaile their clothes were worne; their bread mouldie, which they auowed to haue beene warme for newneſſe when they firſt ſet out; their barrells and bottles of wine broken; their ſhoes patcht; and their ſacks rent and ragged: Yet *Ioſua* hauing ſworne vnto them by the Lord God of *Iſrael*, hee durſt not, though vrged by the murmure of the people, to lay violent handes on them; but hee ſpared both their Liues, and the Cities of their inheritance. *Ioſ.9.7.* *Ioſ.9.* from the 5. to the 13. *Verſ.*

Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promiſe made, *Ioſua* had it. For firſt, the commandement which hee receiued from God to roote out this Nation among the reſt, preceded by farre the peace which hee had granted them. Secondly, he might iuſtly haue put theſe men to the ſword, and haue ſackt their Cities; if there bee any euaſion from a promiſe made, whereof the liuing God is called to witneſſe. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that hee gaue peace, becauſe hee knew them to bee a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they were of the *Heuites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that hee gaue faith, and to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done in *Ægypt* and ouer *Iordan*, ſought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Iſrael* made with theſe craftie *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place, That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleeued what they had ſaid, *and counſailed not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, theſe men who were knowne Idolaters, and ſerued thoſe Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apiſh Religion, as all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſſe of the true God, in whome they beleeued not. I ſay therefore, that if euer man might haue ſerued himſelfe by any euaſion or diſtinction, *Ioſua* might iuſtly haue done it. For hee needed not in this caſe the helpe of *Æquiuocation*, or *Mentall Reſeruation*. For what hee ſware, hee ſware in good Faith; but hee ſware nothing, nor made any promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithleſſe ſubtilitie of man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promiſes hee made in the name of God, were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuiolable, notwithſtanding that they, to whom hee had ſworne it, were worſhippers of the Deuill. *Ioſ.9.ver.14.*

For it is not, as faithleſſe men take it, that he which ſweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and ſweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his preſence, That this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promiſe in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that wee therein neglect: wee therein profeſſe that wee feare him not, and that we ſet him at nought and defie him. If hee that without Reſeruation of honour giueth a lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himſelfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his name, and makes him a witneſſe of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake thoſe Contracts

which haue beene made in former times, and confirmed by publique faith. For though it were 400. yeeres after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God who forgat not what the Predecessours and Fore-fathers of *Saul* & the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seuen of *Sauls* sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieued, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to reserue in silence a contrarie intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subiects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vassalls to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not onely be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torne asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take ende, which weapons cannot ende. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the seueritie of Gods Commaundements in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answere, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoeuer hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holie Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not only lose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the *Holie Land* it selfe: by reason (saith *William* of *Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his *Vicegerent*, The *Soldan Sanar*; who beeing sodainely inuaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke Syracon* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holie Land*; neither would the woodden Crosse (the very *Crosse*, say they that *Christ* died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselues in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, *That hee that speaketh lies, shall be destroied*, and that *the mouth which vttereth them, slaieth the soule*: how much more perilous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victorie ouer *Amurath* the *Turke*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most aduantagious that euer was made for the Christians, to breake his faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet he lost the battaile with 30000. *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against *Infidels*, *Turkes*, or *Christians* of diuers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

Psal. 5. 6.

Wisd. 1. 11.

It is also very remarkeable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the *Canaanites* vnconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the Scriptures, *To bee Thornes in their eies to proue them, and to teach them to make Warre*. For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remaine in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Iosua*; but soone after his death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest accesse. And those of *Iuda* were not able to bee Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is written

Iosu. 23.

Iudg. 1. & *Iudg.* 3. *v.* 2.

Iudg. 1. *v.* 34.

ten in the *Iudges*, *The Canaanites* had Chariots of yron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adioyning vnto *Iuda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistims*: as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*. *Iud.1.v.19.* *Ios.11.v.19.* *Sam.1.17.4.*

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer *Iordan* expell the *Gesshurites*, nor the *Maachathites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconites*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* possesse themselues of *Beths hemish*: nor of *Bethanah*, but they inforst those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*; *Heblah*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor inforce them to tribute. *Ios.13.v.13.* *Iud.1.v.31.*

No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but receiued tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Iordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Beths hean*, *Taenach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Meggado*; yea *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Iebusites* defend aboue foure hundred yeeres, euen till *Dauids* time. *Ios.16.v.10.* *Iud.2.v.27.*

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeeres, eighteene of which he gouerned *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him fiue and twentie yeeres, *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie: And *Massæus* sixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, fourteene: *Ioannes Lucidus*, seuenteene: *Caietanus*, ten: *Eusebius* giueth him seuen and twentie: and so doth S. *Augustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codoman*, fiue and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeeres from the deliuerance of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessarie that wee allow to *Iosua* onely eighteene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to mee seemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approoued opinion.

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480. yeeres from the departure out of *Ægypt* vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of errour, such as haue inserted yeeres betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeere, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which hee giueth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapters vpon *Iosua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeere: *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one, *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeeres, there can be no void yeeres found betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed vnto *Iosua* by the account alreadie specified. The prayses and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the sixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for hee fought the battells of the Lord?* *Euseb.Præp.Euang.*

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter *ver.26.* *And* IOSVA *wrote these wordes in the booke of the law of God*: which seemeth rather to haue beene meant by the couenant which *Iosua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serue and obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caietan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceiue that the booke of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Iustorum*; remembred by *Iosua* himselfe, and others, that it was the worke of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion vpon these wordes of the 26. verse, *And* IOSVA *wrote these wordes, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to proue it, for when the people had answered IOSVA; *The Lord our God will we serue, and his voice will we obey*, it followeth that *Iosua* made a couenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God. *1.10.13.* *5.last.v.24.v.26*

There liued at once with *Iosua*, *Erichthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speede: And

about the ſame time the fiftie Daughters of *Danâus* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the fiftie Sonnes of *Ægyptus*, all but *Lynceus* who ſucceeded *Danâus*, if the tale be true. There liued alſo with *Ioſua*, *Phœnix* and *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Ioſuas* life, *Iupiter* is ſaid to haue rauiſhed *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward marryed to *Aſterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But S. *Auguſtine* reports this rauiſhment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong man at the ſame *Troian* warre. And ſo doth *Neſtor* reckon vp in the Councell of the *Greekes*, *Theſeus* and *Perithous* for men of antiquitie, and of ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of theſe. But hereof elſewhere.

Lib. 18. c. 12. De Ciuit. Dei.

Homer, Odys. & Iliad.

Hom. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Iſrael, that were planted in the borders of Phœnicia, with ſundrie Stories depending vpon thoſe places.

§. I.

The Proeme to the deſcription of the whole Land of Canaan, with an expoſition of the name of Syria.

THE Storie of the *Iudges* ought to follow that of *Ioſua*, after whome the Common-wealth of the *Iewes* was gouerned by Kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, ſhall be remembred when wee come to the deſcription of *Samaria*: but becauſe the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and *Theaters*, whereon the greateſt part of the Storie paſt, with that which followeth, hath beene acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better vnderſtanding of both) to make a *Geographicall* deſcription of thoſe Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better bee vnderſtood, and conceiued. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue beſtowed on euery Tribe his proper portion: and doe ſhew what Cities and Places of ſtrength, were by the *Iewes* obtained: and what numbers it pleaſed God to leaue vnconquered: by whom he might correct and ſcourge them, when vngrateful for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (ſaith AVGVSTINE) *ideo maximè iraſcitur in hoc ſeculo, ne iraſcatur in futuro: & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeueritatem, ne eternam iuſtè inferat vltionem*; *The diuine goodneſſe is eſpecially therefore angrie in this world, that it may not be angrie in the world to come, and doth mercifully vſe temporall ſeueritie, that it may not iuſtly bring vpon vs eternall vengeance.*

To the Cities heerein deſcribed, I haue added a ſhort Storie of the beginnings and ends of diuers Kingdomes and common-weales: and to helpe my ſelfe herein, I haue

I haue perused diuers of the best Authors vpon this subiect: among whom, because I finde so great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their olde patternes.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palæstina* of the *Philistims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sihon* Kings of *Basan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small Prouinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessarie, first to diuide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syrra, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, imbraced all those Regions from the *Euxine* Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which looke into *Pontus*, called *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, vnto *Idumæa* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunne rising, and the *Mediterran* Sea Westward: it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia* the *Desart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region also which the *Greekes* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrewes Syria*, of the two Riuers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aram-Nahairaijm* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*: that is, *Iugum Syriæ*, because the two Riuers goe along in it as it were in a yoke. *Ptol. Asiæ. tab. 4.* *Ptol. 5.*

Edessa, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the *Metropolis* of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Prouinces, as *Cœlesyria* which the Latines call *Syria Cana*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, and *Anti-lybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena* or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the Citie *Damascus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall seate of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adioyning to it was the Prouince of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: ouer which *Adadezer* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people *Syraphœnices*: and lastly *Syria Palæstina* bordering *Ægypt*: of which *Ptolomie* maketh *Iudæa* also a part: and to that Prouince which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giueth the name of *Syria Iudæa*. *Aurogallas.* *1. K. 11.* *Herod. in Polym.* *Dion. l. 27.* *Ptol. Asiæ. tab. 4.*

§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

BVt that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Desarts* betweene *Idumæa* and *Ægypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of *Hermon*; *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolomie Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Sonne of CHAM, *& lingua appellata fuit* CANAAN; *The language was also called* CANAAN, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrewes*: who tooke name from *Heber*, the Sonne of *Sale*, according to S. *Augustine*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this deriuation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noahs* Sonnes, which past ouer *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith hee, is as much as *transiens* or *transmittens*, *of going* or *passing ouer*. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the *Ægyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Iudæa* from *Iuda*; and then afterwards intituled The holy Land, because therein our *Sauiour Christ* was borne and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *superior* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Iudæa* are distinguished, it is plaine in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*. *Strab. l. 10.* *Caleb. f. 62.* *Euseb. Præp. Euang. l. 7. c. 3.* *Math. 2.* *Luke 2.* *Iohn 4.*

Now

Now besides these prouinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina* (both which the Riuer of *Iordan* boundeth; sauing that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the East of *Iordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Hermon Gilead* and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of halfe *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: aswell because anciently possest by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enioyed by the *Israelites*, which Eastermost parts are againe diuided into *Basan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are knowne to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will speake in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, *and Ruben*, for these be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou commest to Gerar vntill Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboiim, euen vnto Lasha*: by which words *Moses* setteth
Deut.11.24. downe the breadth, to wit, from thd *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it seemeth to be farre more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the soale of your feet shall tread, shall be yours: your coast shall be from the wildernesse and from Libanon, and from the Riuer Perah, vnto the vttermost Sea.* Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former: onely *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wildernesse* for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* bee taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart* as farre as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* neuer possest: nor at any time did so much as inuade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceiue that by the Riuer *Perah*, was meant *Iordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this
23.v.4. place of IOSVA: *Behold, I haue diuided vnto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Iordan with all the Nations that I haue destroied, euen vnto the great Sea Westward.*

Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium. cap. Palæstina. And though it bee true that *Dauid* greatly enlarged the Territorie of the holy Land: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *Dauid* did not at any time enter so farre to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries giue aduantage to those that would make any irreligious cauill, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not onely to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish Gods themselues also serued and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the *Hebrewes* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting inioying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heauens were aboue the earth*,
Deut.11.v.21. was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect; who know that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodnesse of God looked for, aswell in this life as after it, are no longer to bee attended, than while wee persеuer in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleuenth of *Deuteronomie*, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a con-
Deut.11. dition ioyned to the prosperity of *Israel*. For therein it is written; *Therefore shall yee keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and goe in, and possesse the Land, whither yee goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord sware vnto your Fathers, &c.*

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the land conquered, and the

the poſſeſſion thereof, ſo long as the heauens were aboue the earth. *For if yee keepe diligently*, ſaith he, *all theſe commandements, which I command you to doe, that is, to loue the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord caſt out all theſe Nations before you, and yee ſhall poſſeſſe great Nations, and mightier than you.* And heere, though it bee manifeſt, that by reaſon of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worſhip of his all-powerfull Majeſtie, to the Idolatrie of the Heathen, the conditionall promiſes of God were abſolutely void, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot miſlike that expoſition of *Melanćthon: For*, ſaith he, *oſtendit promiſſionem præcipuam non eſſe de hoc Politico regno; He ſheweth that his chiefe promiſe is not of a ciuill Kingdome*. To which agrees that anſwere, which S. *Hierome* made to a certaine Heretique in his Epiſtle *ad Dardanum*, who accuſed S. *Hierome* that he ouerthrew the reputation of the *Iewes* Storie, and brought the truth thereof in queſtion, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and *ad illam duntaxat viuentium terram quæ in cœlis eſt*; (that is) *Onely to that Land of the liuing which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudæorum Regio adeo anguſta ſit ambitu, vt vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40. & in his etiam regiones, loca, vrbes & oppida ſunt plurima, nunquàm à Iudæis occupata, ſed tantum diuina pollicitatione promiſſa; Becauſe the whole Countrie of the Iewes is ſo narrow in compaſſe, that it ſcarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in theſe are Countries, Places, Cities, and many Townes, which the Iewes neuer poſſeſt, but were only granted by diuine promiſe*. In like manner the ſame Father ſpeaketh vpon *Eſay* touching the bleſſings promiſed vnto *Hieruſalem*: where hee hath theſe words: *De quo diſcimus Hieruſalem nequaquam in Palæſtinæ Regione petendam: quæ totius Prouinciæ deterrima eſt: & ſaxoſis montibus aſperatur, & penuriam patitur ſitis: ita vt cœleſtibus vtatur pluuijs, & raritatem fontium ciſternarum extructione ſoletur: ſed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur feſtinauerunt ſtructores tui; From whence*, ſaith he, *we learne, that Hieruſalem is not to be ſought in that Region of Palæſtina, which is the worſt of the whole Prouince, and ragged with craggie Mountaines, and ſuffereth the penurie of thirſt: ſo as it preſerueth raine water, and ſupplieth the ſcarcitie of Wells by building Ceſternes, but this Hieruſalem is in Gods hands, to which it is ſaid, Thy builders haue haſtened*, ſo farre S. *Hierome*, where alſo to preuent miſtaking, hee thus expoundeth himſelfe. *Neque hoc dico in ſuggillationem terræ Iudææ, vt Hæreticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam hiſtoriæ veritatem: quæ fundamentum eſt intelligentiæ ſpiritualis, ſed vt decutiam ſupercilium Iudæorum: qui Synagogæ anguſtias latitudini Eccleſiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum ſequuntur literam, & non ſpiritum viuificantem: oſtendant terram promiſſionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither* (ſaith he) *ſay I this to diſgrace the land of Iudæa (as the Hereticall Sycophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Hiſtorie, which is the foundation of ſpirituall vnderſtanding, but to beate downe the pride of the Iewes: which enlarge the ſtraits of the Synagogue farther then the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening ſpirit, let them ſhew the Land of promiſe, flowing with milke and honnie*.

Deut. 11.

Cap. 49. 14.

By this it may alſo be gathered, how ſoeuer it be vnlikely (ſeeing the Weſt-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11. 24. had his truth in the literall ſenſe, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the Eaſt bound, ſhould be taken only in a ſpirituall ſenſe) yet neuertheleſſe that *Hieroms* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be vnderſtood for *Euphrates*: and that the promiſe it ſelfe was neuer ſo large: much leſſe the plantation and conqueſt of *Iſrael*.

And now for a more particular deſcription of this Holy Land, becauſe *Aſher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northermoſt part, and were ſeated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with theſe three, taking *Aſher* for the firſt: of which Tribe yet before I ſpeake, I muſt admoniſh the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reaſon of the diuers fancies of Tranſlators, are diuerſly expreſſed, ſo that to the vnskilfull they may ſeeme diuers, when they are one and the ſame: the reaſon of this diuerſitie (as by thoſe learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly becauſe the ancient Editions

tions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions haue; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers consonants, otherwise than the latter thinke fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THe *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the Sonne of *Iacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Ægypt*, to the number of 41500. and odde persons, all men aboue twentie yeeres of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the *Desarts*, there remained of their issues, besides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the Riuer of *Arnon*, into the Plaines of *Moab*, and after the Conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, vnto *Ptolomais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelue miles: though *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecie*, ASSER *pinguis panis*: concerning *Asser*, his bread shall be fat: *And he shall giue pleasures for a King.*

Ant. Itin.

Gen. 4. 9.

†. II.

Of Zidon.

THe first Citie seated on the North border of the Territorie of *Asser*, was *Zidon*, which *Iosua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greekes* and *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iustine* deriues the name from the abundance of Fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Iosephus* witnesse, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaans* Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosuas* time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the *Asserites*, or any of their Successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Iudges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the comming of *Christ*, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the *Prophets Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezekiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Iustin. l. 18.

Gen. 10. Ioseph.

Esa. 23. Hier. 47 Ezek. 28. & 32. Zach. 9.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the *Phœnician* Sea, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the Riuer *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*: which standeth betweene it and *Tyre*, the distance betweene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is fourteene thousand paces, saith *Seigelerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weissinburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make fiue and twentie miles. This difference

Palest. Seig. f. 19. Vadian. Phœn. f. 278. Strab. l. 16.

of

of diſtance as well betweene theſe two knowne Cities, as all the reſt, make it ouer difficult to deuiſe any new ſcale to the Map, and deſcription of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memorie: The Storie which *Zeno* the Philoſopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time conſumed and loſt. It ſeemeth to bee more ancient than *Tyre*: which was alſo built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* ſpeaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*: becauſe it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a Citie ſubiect to the Kings thereof: though it bee true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and ſtrong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel*, their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone; for the building of the Temple. For as it flouriſhed in all ſorts of learning, ſo did it in all other *Mechanicall* Arts and Trades: the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wiſe *Zidonians*. The Citie was both by nature and art exceeding ſtrong, hauing a Caſtle or Citadell on the North-ſide, ſtanding vpon an vnacceſſible Rocke, and compaſſed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became *Chriſtians*, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Caſtle it hath on the South ſide by the Port of *Ægypt*, which the *Templers* guarded. It alſo ſent many other *Colonies* beſides that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Greece*.

Strab.l.16.

Zach.9.v.2.

Strabo and *Plinie* giue the *Zidonians* the inuention of* Glaſſe, which they vſed to make of thoſe ſands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran* Sea, neere *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of thoſe cleare Glaſſes which they make at *Murana*: of which S. *Hierome* and *Plinie*. ZIDON *inſignis artifex vitri*: ZIDON *vitarijs officinis Nobilis*; ZIDON *a famous Glaſſe-maker, or a skilfull worker in Glaſſe-houſes.*

Herod.l.5.
Plin.l.5.c.9.

* It ſeemes that euen in *Ioſuas* time they practiſed glaſſe making, whēce *Iunius* for *Miſbrephothmaijm*, which *ad verbū* is as much as *combuſtiones aquarum*, readeth *fornaces vitrarias. Ioſ.*11.8. as it ſeems, becauſe theſe Fornaces were wher ther was ſtore of water, either for the mouing of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other neceſſarie vſes. But there are others that take them for ſalt pits, and other againe for hot baths.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the reſt of the *Canaanites*) worſhippers of *Baal* and *Aſtaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the iſſue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1. *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Iud.*10.6.) yet eſpecially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appeares 1. *Kings* 11.5. in the ſtorie of *Salomons* Idolatrie: where *Aſtaroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 1. *Reg.*16.33. in the ſtorie of *Achab*, the chiefe worſhipper of *Baal*, where it is ſaid that hee marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worſhipped their *Baal*. Diuers *Baals* and diuers *Aſtaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appeares by the plurall names of *Baalim* and *Aſtaroth*, 1. *Sam.*12.10. and elſewhere: for euen the name *Aſtaroth*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hebritian*, is plurall: the ſingular being *Aſtoreth*: whence *Iud.*2.13. the *Septuagint* reade ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς ἀσταρτοις: *They worſhipped the Aſtarties.* The occaſion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Aſtoreths*, may be diuerſly vnderſtood: either in reſpect of the diuerſitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worſhip in diuers places, or of the ſtories depending vpon them: which (as fables vſe to bee) were doubtleſſe in diuers Cities diuers. *Auguſtine quæſt.16. in Iudg.* thinkes *Baal* and *Aſtarte* to bee *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Iuno* by ſome ſuch name as *Aſtarte*. *Tullie, lib.* 3. *de Nat. Deorum*, making diuers *Goddeſſes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Aſtarte*: whom hee makes to bee borne of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to haue beene the wife of *Adonis*: as alſo *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn.cap.*21. ſaies that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worſhipped of the *Aſſyrians*: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.*8.44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may ſeeme that in the worſhip of *Aſtarte*, or *Venus*, they did bewaile her huſband *Adonis*: as alſo the *Gracians* did in their ſongs of ADONIS. *Mourne for* ADONIS *the faire, dead is* ADONIS *the faire.* Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probabilitie, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Oſiris* in the ſacrifices of *Iſis*: whoſe loſſe of her huſband *Oſiris*, was as famous in the *Ægyptian* Idolatrie, as with the *Gracians*, *Venus* loſſe of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iſide & Oſiride*; that *Oſiris* with the *Ægyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may ſeeme

The forme of *Aſtoreth* (or *Aſtarte*) ſeemeth to haue beene a ſheepe, for *Deut.* 7.13. the word in the plurall number ſignifieth ſheep: and this may confirme *Auguſtins* opinion, that *Aſtarte* was *Iuno*: for the forme of her husband *Iupiter Hammon* was a Ramme. χλαίνη χαλὸν Ἄδωνιν.

ſeeme to be the ſame with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howſoeuer theſe *Zidonians* were thus anciently ſoſtered with the milke of Idolatrie: yet they were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Goſpell of *Chriſt* after his Aſcenſion, than the *Iewes*: who had beene taught by *Moſes*, and the *Prophets* ſo many yeeres, whereof our Sauiour

Math.11.v.20. in *Matthew* and *Luke*. *Woe bee to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I ſay vnto you, it ſhall be eaſier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of iudgement than for you.*

It receiued a *Chriſtian* Biſhop with the firſt: who was afterward of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre*. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*: and continued in their poſſeſſion till *Baldwinus* the firſt, then King of *Hieruſalem*, in the yeere 1111. by the helpe of the *Danes* and *Norwaies*, who came with a Fleete to viſite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recouered, the commaundement thereof being giuen to *Euſtace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrie. And againe in the yeere 1250. it was reedified and ſtrengthned by *Lodowicke* the French King: while hee ſpent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land. Laſtly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in poſſeſſion of the *Turke*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

Tyr.11. Bell. Sacr.14. Vitriac.c.27.

Niger Poſtellus.

†. III.

Of Sarepta, with a briefe Hiſtorie of Tyre in the ſame coaſt.

Sarepta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next Citie Southward from *Zidon*, betweene it and the Riuer called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) ſtanding in the way towards *Tyre*, a Citie very famous for the excellent Wine growing neere it: of which *Sidonius*.

Vina mihi non ſunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæq; Sareptano palmite miſſa bibas.

I haue no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This Citie had alſo a *Biſhop* of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, as the reſt: and is now called *Saphet*, ſaith *Poſtellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was ſituate that ſometime famous Citie of *Tyre*, whoſe fleets of ſhips commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatneſſe and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Vtica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Affrica*, of which VIRGIL. *Vrbs antiqua fuit Tyrij tenuere Coloni Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quaſi Phœnicum*, a *Colonie* of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spaine* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Aſia* the leſſe, *Dromos Achillis*, which Citie the *Scholiaſt* of *Apollonius* placeth neere the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bithynia*.

Virgil.l. *Plin.l.5.c.19.* *Mercelin.l.22.*

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*; and ſo it is written in *Ioſua* the 19. taking name from the ſituation; becauſe built on a high Rocke, ſharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it ſeemes, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *oſtrum Sarranum*, by which name *Iuuenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being ſtill knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and becauſe it was a *Colonie* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Eſay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* alſo confirmeth, though *Beroſus* by affinitie of name makes *Thiras* the Sonne of *Iaphet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for ſo much the Prophet *Eſay* alſo witneſſeth, *Is not this your glorious Citie whoſe antiquitie is of ancient daies?*)

Gellius. l.4.c.6.

Cap.23.

Cap.23.

daies:) yet, that *Thiras* the sonne of *Iaphet* set himselfe in the bosome of the *Cananites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perswade mee.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to bee the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius* make this Citie elder than *Salomons* Temple 240. yeeres: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth that *Tyria* the Wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the storie of their Kings. *Iustin. l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euseb. in Chron. Iosephus lib. 8. cap. 2. Cedren. pa. 17.*

For strength and for the commoditie of the harbour, and the better to receiue Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent: and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middest of the Sea, as some reade, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it *situate at the entrie of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles*: and ESAY *a Mart of the Nations*: and so Proude, Wealthie, and Magnificent was this Citie, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the world. *Ezek. 28. 2. 27. vers 3. Esai. 23. 3. 27. 8.*

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Iulius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who passing alongst the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idolls that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their Citie: and the Ancestor of the *Macedonians* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremonie: but this auailed not. For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious, hee desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour wearie, gathered together as many ships as he could; and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of *Cedars*, and so many waightie Stones, from the old Citie of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materialls were often washt away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and hauing once approched their Walls, hee ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted, after which he caused 2000. more to bee hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which exequution vpon cold bloud hee performed (as some Authors affirme) vpon the issues of those slaues which had formerly slaine all their Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselues. This victorie of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrians*, *Iosephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* reuolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Gouernour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Manesse*, brother to *Iaddus* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might bee built on the Mountaines *Garizim* ouer *Samaria*: that the forces of the *Iewes* being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The Honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his sonne-in-law *Manasse*, whom the *Iewes* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died. *Iosep. ant. Iude. l. 11. c. 8. De. bell sacr. l. 13. c. 4.*

Long before this desolation of *Tyre*, by the crueltie of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beautie, riches, and power of that Citie. Hee besieged it both on the Land-side,

and with three-score ships of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victualls nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelue saile scattered that fleete, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants fiue yeeres, but with ill successe. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Storie among the *Annalls* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* conuerted into *Greeke*) adding that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Helisæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, hauing gouerned the same sixe and twentie yeeres. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200. yeeres before the victorie of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as hee destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this Citie: who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawsey and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 14.
Et cont. Ap. 1. Guil. Tyrius. de Bell. Sacr. 13. 4.
Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 15.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themselues: for so long did these *Babylonians* continue before it, *As euery head was made bald, and euery shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a conuenient number of ships, abandoned their Citie, transporting with themselues the ablest of all that remained; and with their wiues, children, and portable riches sailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perills, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselues for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Ægyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Armie. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserued for his *Seruants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repaieth them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Ezec. 29. 18.
Esai. 23. &c.
Ezek. 29. v. 19.

Now of this enterprise of *Nabuchodonosors* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue not beene silent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories remember it.

Iosep. ant. l. 10. c. 13.

After these two great *Vastations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this Citie of *Tyre* repaired and recouered it selfe againe: and continued in great glorie about 300. yeeres, euen to the comming of our *Sauiour Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neere 600. yeeres: the *Archbishop* whereof gaue place to none but to the *Patriarke* of *Hierusalem* only: who within his owne Dioceese had fourteene great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of *Phœnicia* and *Palæstina*, subiected to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracen*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyrannie it suffered with the other *Palestine* Cities 488. yeeres.

Gul. Tyr. bell. sac.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarke* of *Hierusalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleete of Gallies, it was againe recouered, and subiected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Gul. Tyr. 11. Bell. sacr. 17.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladine* hauing first taken *Hierusalem*, remoued his whole Armie and sate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleete of ships and Gallies from

from *Alexandria* into the port, this Citie as then onely remaining in the Chriſtian power.

The citizens finding themſelues reduced into great famine, and many other miſeries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and ſallying out reſoluedly vpon his armie, ſlew ſo great numbers of them, and followed their victorie with ſuch furie, as that the *Saracens* forſaking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great diſorder and diſhonour. Two yeeres after which victorie the bodie of that famous *Fredericke Barbaroſſa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Chriſtians* enemies ouer a Riuer vnfoordable, periſhed by the weight of his armor therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedrall* church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garniſhed and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before therein buried: but in the yeere 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth ſubiect to the Turks.

Of the place & monumẽt of his death. See Chap. 5.

†. IIII.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third Citie alongſt the coaſt of the Sea, which the *Aſſerites* could not obtaine, on the South bound of *Aſſer* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authors affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomie*. *Plinie* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwiſe the *Colonie* of *Claudius*. It had alſo the name of *Coth* or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hachipos*.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. In deſcrip. terr. ſanct.

But laſtly, it was intituled *Ptolomais* after the name of one of the *Ægyptian Ptolomies*: which Citie alſo as it is 1. *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliouſly wreſted from his ſonne in law *Alexander*, which called himſelfe the ſonne of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the ſame *Alexander* hauing married *Cleopatra* daughter of the ſaid *Ptolomie* not long before. Therein alſo was *Ionathan Macchabæus* treacherouſly ſurprized and ſlaine, as it is 1. *Macc.* 12. 48. by the perfidiouſneſſe of *Tryphon*, whom ſoone after *Antiochus* purſued as it is in the Storie enſuing: and by like reaſon about the ſame time was the aforeſaid *Alexander* in the warre againſt *Demetrius* one of the ſonnes of *Antiochus* the great with whom *Ptolomie* ioyned, ouerthrowne and treacherouſly murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for ſuccour: and his head preſented vnto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enioyed not the glory of his victorie and treaſon aboue three dayes, for God ſtrucke him by death.

Ptolemæus Philometer.

1. Maccab. 1. 10.

1. Macc. 11. 18.

For the beautie and ſtrength of this Citie, this *Alexander* made it his regall ſeate; two parts of the ſame being inuironed by the Sea, and the Port for ſafetie and capacitie not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This Citie is diſtant from *Hieruſalem* ſome foure and thirtie miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Caſtrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antoninus* maketh it two and thirtie *Italian* miles. In the middeſt of the Citie there was a Tower of great ſtrength ſometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub*: and therefore called the Caſtle of Flies, on the toppe whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called *Pharus* in *Ægypt*: to giue comfort in the night to thoſe ſhips, which came neere and ſought that part. It had in it a Biſhops ſeate, of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre*, after it became *Chriſtian*: but in the yeere 636. (a fatall yeere to the *Chriſtians* in thoſe parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the yeere 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the firſt, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the reuenew was giuen in recompence. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord God, one thouſand one hundred foure-ſcore and ſeuen *Saladine* King of *Ægypt*, and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the yeere of Chriſt, one thouſand one hundred ninetie and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France* it was repoſſeſſed and redeliuered to the *Chriſtians*. Laſtly, in the yeere 1291. it

Ant. Itin.

Herrold.

G. Tyr. bell. ſacr. lib. 10. cap. 28. Herrold. lib. 1. bell. ſacr. tit. 7. & lib. 2. cap. 2. & alibi.

was by the furie of the *Saracens* beſieged with an Armie of 150000. entred, ſackt, and vtterly demoliſhed: though in ſome ſort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkiſh*.

†. V.
Of the Caſtle of S^t. GEORGE.

Broch. Flue miles from *Ptolomais* towards the Eaſt, is the Caſtle of S^t. *George* ſeated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the ſame name. And though for the credit of S. *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of *England* had not ſome probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was ſtrange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Succeſſours Roially haue continued, ſhould haue borne his name, ſeeing the world had not that ſcarcitie of Saints in thoſe dayes, as that the *Engliſh* were driuen to make ſuch an erection vpon a Fable, or Perſon fained. The place is deſcribed by *Adrichomius* in his deſcription of *Aſſer*, to haue beene in the fields of *Libanus*: betweene the Riuer *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his owne wordes are theſe: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Chriſti Militem* D. GEORGIVM; *Regis filiam ab immaniſſimo Dracone aſſeruâſſe: eamq; mactata beſtia parenti reſtituiſſe. In cuius rei memoriam Eccleſia poſtmodum fuit edificata*; *In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not farre from Berytus, men ſay that the famous Knight of Chriſt Saint* GEORGE, *did reſcue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and hauing killed the beaſt, deliuered the Virgin to her Parent. In memorie of which deede a Church was after built there*: Thus farre *Adrichomius*. His Authors he citeth *Lodouicus Roman. Patric. Nauigationum, l. 1. c. 3.* and *Bridenbach Itin. 5.* The Valley vnder this Caſtle ſometime called *Aſſer*, was afterward called the Valley of S. *George*. If this authoritie ſuffice not, we may rather make the Storie allegoricall, figuring the victorie of *Chriſt*, than accept of *George* the *Arrian* Biſhop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

Itin. 4. Of the place & memorie of his death. See Chap. 9. §. 8.

†. VI.
Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtweene *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongſt the Sea coaſt, was the ſtrong Citie of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which S. *Hierome* calleth *Achziph*, and *Ioſephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended it ſelfe againſt the *Aſſerites*. *Belforeſt* findes *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Caſtle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

Hieron. de Locis Hebr. Ioſ. Bell. Iud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19. The twelue ſearchers of the Land which *Moſes* ſent from *Cadesbarne*, trauailed as farre to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, which *Recheb*, as alſo *Berothæ* which by *Ezekiel cap. 47. v. 16.* is placed in theſe North borders, belonged in *Dauids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may bee gathered out of the ſecond of *Samuel* the 8. *cap.* and 8. *verſe*, and *cap.* 10. *verſ.* 6. and it defended it ſelfe againſt the *Aſſerites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

This *Aphek* it was, whoſe Wall falling downe, ſlew ſeuen and twentie thouſand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thouſand had beene ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites*, vnder the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Iunius* finds that the *Philiſtims* incamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his Note vpon the firſt of *Samuel*, the 9. and 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battaile the *Arke* was taken) to haue beene in *Iuda*. Of which *Ioſ.* 15. and 53. and in the ſecond of Kings 13. 17. hee reades, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek*. Where others conuert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek*.

1. Kings 20. 29. 1. Sam. 29. 1.

The

The next place alongſt the coaſt is *Sandalium*, firſt called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when hee beſieged *Tyre*: and ſet it on a point of Land which extendeth it ſelfe into the Sea, betweene *Acziba* and *Tyre*: which Caſtle *Baldwine* the firſt rebuilt and fortified; in the yeere of *Chriſt* 1157. when he vndertooke the recouerie of *Tyre*.

Not much aboue a mile from this Caſtle, there ariſeth that moſt plentifull ſpring of water, which *Salomon* remembreth, called *the Well of liuing waters*: from whence not only all the fields and plaines about *Tyre* are made fruitfull by large pipes hence drawne: but the ſame Spring, which hath not aboue a bow-ſhot of ground to trauaile till it recouer the Sea, driueth ſixe great Mills in that ſhort paſſage, ſaith *Brochard*. *Cant.4.* *Itin.1.*

Within the Land, and to the Eaſt of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, ſtandeth *Hoſa*: and beyond it, vnder the Mountaines of *Tyre*, the Citie of *Achſaph*, or *Axab*, or after S. *Hierome Aciſap*, a Citie of great ſtrength, whoſe King amongſt the reſt was ſlaine by *Ioſua*, at the waters of *Merom*. *Ioſ.12.20.*

†. VII.

Of Thoron, Giſcala, and ſome other places.

FArther into the Land towards *Iordan*, was ſeated the Caſtle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eaſter-moſt Hills of *Tyre*, in the yeere 1107. thereby to reſtraine the excurſions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* againſt the *Chriſtians*: the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleaſant. From this Caſtle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the Storie of the Warres for the recouerie of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobilitie. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the bleſſed *Virgin*, in which *Humphrey of Thoron*, Conſtable to *Baldwine* the third, King of *Hieruſalem*, lieth buried: There were fiue Caſtles beſides this within the Territorie of *Aſſer*: whereof foure are ſeated almoſt of equall diſtance from each other: to wit, *Caſtrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Caſtrum Regium*, and *Belfort*: The firſt neere the Sea vnder the Hills of *Saron*: the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, ſtand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brother-hood and Fellowſhip of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themſelues, and gaue ſuccour to other *Chriſtians* at ſuch time as the *Saracens* poſſeſt the beſt part of the vpper *Galilee*) the chiefe of which Order was in *Ptolomais Acon*. The firſt Fortreſſe was for beautie and ſtrength called *Belfort*, ſeated in the high ground vpon the Riuer *Naar*, neere the Citie *Rama*: of which in this Tribe *Ioſ.*19.29. for which the *Vulgar* reades *Horma*: making the article a part of the word, and miſtaking the vowells: from the ſiege of this Caſtle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Ægypt*, was by the *Chriſtians* Armie raiſed, and with great loſſe and diſhonour repulſed. *Herold.l.2.c.4.* *Continuation is Bell. ſac.*

To the Eaſt of *Belfort*, is the ſtrong Citie of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which S. *Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of thoſe that defended themſelues againſt *Aſſer*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod*, ſurnamed the *Aſcalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territorie of *Chabol*, *Quad Syrorum lingua diſſipicere ſignificat* (ſaith *Weiſſenburg*) ſo called, becauſe *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleaſed with thoſe twentie Cities, ſeated hereabout, which *Salomon* preſented vnto him in recompence of thoſe prouiſions ſent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke this *Chabol* or *Cabul*, containing a circuit of thoſe twentie Cities giuen to *Hiram*, to haue beene without the compaſſe of the holy Land: though bordering *Aſher* on the North ſide: as it is ſaid, 1. *Reg.*9.11. that they were in *Regione limitis*: that is, in *limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrie: for it was not lawfull, ſay they, to giue to ſtrangers any part of the poſſeſſions allotted to the *Iſraelites*: howſoeuer, that af- *Ioſep.ant.*13.21. & 15.10. *Ian. annot. in* 1.*Reg.*9.11.

ter *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appeares 2. *Chron.* 8. 14. And it seemes they were conquered by *Dauid* from the *Syri Rechobæi*, whose Citie *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

2. *Sam.* 10. 6.

Almost of equall distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed ouer *Iordan*: *Giscala* was made famous by *Iohn* the Sonne of *Leui*, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred Theeues, greatly troubled all the vpper *Galilee*: at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Iudea*: by whose practice *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vpper *Galilee*, was greatly indangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This *Iohn* betraying in all hee could the Citie of *Giscala* (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the Citie, gaue opportunitie, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarims*, to surprize it: who at the same time forst it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Iosephus* authoritie rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of *Cana Maior*, and * *Cades*: (or *Cedessa*) of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter *Christ* deliuered of the euill Spirit. Neere the other, they say, it was that *Ionathas Machabæus* ouer-threw the Armie of *Demetrius*.

Cap. 26.

* See *Kadesh* in *Nephthalim*. *Matth.* 15. *Marc.* 7. *Maccab.* 11. 73. *Iosephus Antiq.* 13. *cap.* 8.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Asser*, diuers others: as on the South border, and neere the Sea, *Messall* or *Misheall*: within the Land [a] *Besara*, [b] *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the South border betweene *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the North side ioyning to *Syro-phœnicia*, is the Citie of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the vtmost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is *Chali*, and then [c] *Enoch* supposed to bee built by *Cain*, and named of his Sonne *Enoch*, but without probabilitie, as I haue formerly proued: there are others also besides these, as *Ammon* or *Chammon*, of which *Ios.* 19. 28. where also wee reade of *Nebiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we haue already mentioned, were by the *Asserites* giuen to the *Leuites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Iudg.* 1. 30. to which out of *Iosua* wee may adde *Ebron*, *Amhad*, and others, on which no storie dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

a Of which *Iosephus in vita sua.*

b Of both which *Ios.* 19. 27 *Ezek.* 47. 15.

c Or *Enosa*. *Iosephus ant. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

Ios. 21. 30.

†. VIII.

Of the Riuers and Mountaines of Asser.

THe riuers to the North of *Asser*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* ioyneth *Lycus*, *Ptolomie*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*: which Riuer of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere vnto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithstanding, where *Ptolomie* doth, betweene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a Riuer called *fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which hee also citeth *Plinie*; and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chap. but neither of those authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Asser*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre from *Balanea*, witnesse *Ptolomie*: and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus Velana*: which Riuer boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principall Riuer of *Asser*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Schrot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the maine Riuer *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the streames which runneth into it from the North side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west, *Chabul*: of the Citie adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another Riuer described by *Adrichome*, named *Iepthael*, which I finde in no other Author, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Iosua*, but the word [d] *Ghe* which is added there to *Iepthael*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the

Asia. Tab. 4.

Plin. l. 9.

Asia. Tab. 4.

Post Orthosian & Eleutherum est Tripolis.

d The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a Riuer: but this word *Ghe* is alway a Valley, as in *Gebinnon* and *Gesiemanim*.

the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and *Arius Montanus* turne it. There is also found in *Asser*, the Riuer of *Belus*, remembred by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith * *Plinie*: out of the sands of this Riuer are made the best Glasse, which sometime the *Zidonians* practised: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cendeuia*, as all *Cosmographers* both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Trauailers into those parts witnesse. It is true that the Riuer of *Chison* taketh water from *Chedumim*: but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it finde the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*; according to *Montanus*: but farther to the *South* betweene *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witnesse *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Iosep. lib. 2. Bell. Iud. c. 3.

* *L. 5. c. 19.* in *Iosua, c. 19. v. 26* It is called *Shichor*, of which name many vnderstand an other streame. *Ios. 13. 3.* which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, & diuideth *Ægypt* from the promised Land whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which city *Iunius* taketh *Shichor* in that place of *Iosua*: but howsoeuer whether this *Shichor*, *Ios. 13. 3* be a Riuer or a city, it appears that this name is found, both in the North bound of the holy Land, *Ios. 19. 26.* & in the South bound, *Ios. 13. 3.*

Besides these Riuers there are diuers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of boiling waters adioyning to *Tyre*: and [a] *Maserephot*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Maserephotmaim*, whose Well filled by the floud of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The Mountaines which bound *Asser* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlesyria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themselues farre into the Land Eastward: foure hundreth stadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giueth to the Valley of *Cœlesyria*: which those Mountaines inclose: but *Plinie* giues them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they beginne at *Theipsophon*, or *Deifacies*, neere *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they beginne to part *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from the *Desart Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians Syrion*, and the *Amorites Sanir*, neither is this any one Mountaine apart; but a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Hieremie* proueth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of those Hils of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Traconite*: and *Ptolomie* by *Hippus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth these Mountaines bordering *Asser*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*, but hee giueth no reason of his opinion.

[a] See the marginall Note aboue in the second Section of this Paragraph.

Strab. l. 10. Plin. l. 5. c. 20. Deut. 4. 48. Strab. l. 10. Pto. Asiæ. Tab. 4 Sueton.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are couered with Snow all the Summer, the *Hebrew* word *Libanon* (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Frankincense which those trees yeeld: because λίβανος is also the *Greeke* word for that Gumme.

Niger out of *Aphrodiseus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kinde of honie dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Saccher*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

Nig. pag. 503.

The Riuers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour Regions are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Iordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of *Asser*, are those Hils aboue *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountaine of *Abarim*, in *Reuben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* three-score miles distant.

§. IIII.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

†. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

THE next Portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Asher*, was the vpper *Galilee*: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the Sonne of *Iacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Ægypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able to beare armes, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leauing their bodies in the *Desarts*, there entred the Holy Land of their Sonnes 45400. besides, Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twenty yeeres of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Iordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asher*, and on the East and South-east by *Iordan*.

Guil. Tyr. Bell. sacri. l. 9. c. 15. Theodor. 4. Hist. Eccles. Mela. l. 3. c. 9. Iustin. Gestel. in itinerar. Iosep. in plurib. locis. Euseb. 8. Demonst. Vola. l. 11. f. 243.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adioyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabite, in which Tract and vnder *Libanus*, was the Citie of *Heliopolis*: which the heighth of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. POSTELLVS calls it *Balbec*; NIGER, *Marbech*; and LEONCLAVIVS, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Ægypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrewes*, and the *Chaldean Paraphrast*, otherwise *Bethsemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The Citie of the Sunne*: into which, saith *Vlpian*, *Seuerus* the *Roman Emperour* sent a *Colonie*: the other *Gesselius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a Citie in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the Queene commanded.

Abila also gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Lysanius* the Sonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Gouernour: whereof *Ptolomie* gaue it the addition of *Lysanij*, and called it *Abila Lysanij*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*; of which hee notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophister*, was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this Citie of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had receiued the *Christian* Faith, *Priscillinus* became Bishop thereof: slaine afterward by our *British Maximus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembred that in the Tribe of [a] *Manasse*, ioyning vpon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another Citie of the same name, saue that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Iosephus* calls *Abelmauhel*, and *Hierome Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel* for distinction sake it is written, *Abel Beth-Machaa*, (for belike it was the Towne of *Mahaca*, the Wife of *Macir*, the Sonne of *Manasse*, the Father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Maim*. This Citie *Ioab* besieged: because *Seba* the sonne of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *Dauid*, fled thereinto for succour: but a certaine wise woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast *Sebas* his head ouer the wall, *Ioab* retired his Armie. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may bee expounded, either to signifie bewayling, or a plaine ground, and therefore no maruell, that many Townes (with some addition for distinction

a Also a third in *Ephraim* called *Abel Mechola*, and a fourth in *Reuben* called *Abel-Sittim*, also *Abel-Mitsraim*, at the Foord of *Iordan*, and (as it seems) in the same Tribe of *Reuben*, of all which in that which follows: to which also we may adde *Abel-Magnum*, the name as some thinke of a Citie, otherwise called *Bethshemes*, neere the border of the *Philistims*, or according to others of the great stone in the border. *1. Sam. 6. 18. Iosephus ant. l. 7. cap. 10. 2. Sam. 20. 1. King. 15. 2. King. 15.*

ſtinction ſake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing many places tooke name, as *Bochim*, *Iudg.*2.4. and ſo doubtleſſe * *Abel-Miſraim*, *Gen.*50.11. and yet *Iunius* in his note vpon *Num.*33.49. thinkes that *Abel-Sittim* was ſo called, rather by reaſon of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*, and ſo perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Towne of *Eliſha* the Prophet: alſo *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Iephta* purſued them.

* And *Abel Magnum*. *1.Sam.*6.18. *Iudg.*7.24.& *1.Reg.*19.15. *Iudg.*11.35.

†. II.

Of Hazor.

IN this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous Citie of *Iabin*, in *Ioſua's* time called *Aſor* (or after the *Chaldean Paraphraſt*, *Haſzor*) by *Ioſephus*, *Aſora*; by *Iunius*, *Chatzor: which *Laicſtan* names *Hefron*; the Regall Citie, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: ſeated in the Weſt part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Aſher*. In this Citie was that great *Rendeuous*, and aſſembly of thoſe foure and twenty Kings againſt *Ioſua*: who being all ouerthrowne, ſlaine, and ſcattered, this their powerfull Citie was by *Ioſua* taken and burnt to duſt. But in proceſſe of time the ſame being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a ſecond King *Iabin*, 137. yeeres after the death of this firſt *Iabin*, inuaded the *Iſraelites*: and being ordained of God to puniſh their Idolatry, he preuailed againſt them, and held them in a miſerable ſeruitude twentie yeeres: till *Debora* the Propheteſſe ouerthrew *Siſera*, *Iabins* Lieutenant, and his Armie, neere the Mountaine *Tabor*. This Citie *Salomon* reſtored at ſuch time as he alſo reedified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Ægypt*, with [a] *Megido*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260. yeeres after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalaſar*, King of the *Aſſyrians*. It is now, ſaith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiopia*: it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another Citie of this name in the Territory of *Beniamin*, ſeated on the confines of *Aſcalon*, called the new *Hazor*, [b] ſaith *Hierome*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Iuda*, See chap. 9. §. 1. of a fourth in *Beniamin*. See that which followes in this place of a fifth in this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hen: Chatſor* we reade, *Ioſ.* 19.37. to which we may adde *Chatſor-Henan*, in the vttermoſt North-East of *Manaſſe*, ouer *Iordan*, *Ez.*47. *Num.*34.8. alſo in *Simeon*, *Chatſar-Suſima*, of which, *1.Chron.*4.31. which alſo is called *Chatſar-Suſa*, and *Chatſar-Gadda*: and laſtly, *Chatſar-Shuleb*, another Citie of *Simeon*. *fol.*19.3. a *1.King.*9. b *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.E.* Out of *Nehem.*11.33. as it ſeemes.

†. III.

Of Ceſaria Philippi.

THere was alſo on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned Citie of *Lais*, or *Laiſch*, as *Iunius* writes it, or *Leſchen*; which Citie the children of *Dan* (being ſtraitned in their Territorie vnder *Iuda*) inuaded and maſtered; and gaue it the name of their owne Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Gen.* the fourteenth, at which place *Abraham* ſurprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victorie as farre as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diuiſion of *Syria*, otherwiſe called *Sophena*. And after the poſſeſſion of the *Danites*, it had the ioynt name of *Leſchem-Dan*. *Weiſſenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneua Laiſh*, IOSEPHVS, *Dana*; BENIAMIN, *Balina*; BREITENBACH, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witneſſe *Neubrigenſis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the *Monke*, and *Poſtellus*: who alſo taketh this Citie to bee the ſame, which in *Matthew* the 15. *v.* 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in *S. Marke* ſpeaking of the ſame ſtorie, *Dalmanutha*. At ſuch time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it ſeemeth that it was either a free Citie, of the alliance and confederacie of the *Zidonians*, or elſe ſubiect vnto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of *Iudges*, *And there was none to helpe, becauſe Lais was farre from Zidon: and they had no buſineſſe with other men*, for it was aboue thirty Engliſh miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

*Iud.*18.27. *Ioſ.*19.47. *Iudg.*18. *chap.*8.10. *Verſ.*28.

In

Plin. l. 5. c. 15.

Hegesl. 1. c. 35.

In after-times when these Regions became subiect to the State of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountaine adioyning so called: and therefore *Ptolomie* calls it *Cæsaria Paniæ*. *Hegesippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copie: for in *Hegesippus* set out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at such time as *Philip* the sonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Gouernour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basan*; this Citie was by him amplified and fortified; and both to giue memorie to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæsar*, he called it **Cæsaria Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head Citie of *Traconitis*: and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned: by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia, or Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memorie of his impietie: so in *S. Hieromes* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and so recalled it, with the Territorie adioyning by the ancient name. Of this Citie was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloudie issue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith: who afterward, as shee was a woman of great wealth and abilitie, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse gratefull for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two *Statues* to bee cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ, as neere as it could bee moulded*: the other made like her selfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her hands towardes him. These shee mounted vpon two great Bases or *Pedestals* of the same Metall, which shee placed by a Fountaine neere her owne house: both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, euen to his owne time: which himselfe had seene, who liued in the Raigne of *Constantine* the Great. But in the yeere after *Christ* 363. that Monster *Iulius Apostata*, caused that worthie Monument to be cast downe, and defaced: setting vp the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from heauen broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth booke, and twentieth Chapter.

* Of another *Cæsaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestinæ*. See hereafter in the former part of *Manasse*. Of *Diocæsarea*, see *Sephoris* in *Zabulon*.

Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.

This Citie built by the *Danites*, was neere the ioyning together of those two Riuers which arise from the springs of *Ior* and *Dan*, the two [a] apparant Fountaines of *Iordan*: in a soyle exceeding fruitfull, and pleasant; for, as it is written, *Iudg.* 18. It is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world*. In the fields belonging to this Citie, it was that S. *Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tues* PETRVS, *& super hanc Petram, &c.* After this Citie receiued the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: vnder *Fulch* the fourth, King of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Godfry* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them againe it was recouered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world subiected to the *Turke*.

a *Iosephus* in the booke of the *Iewish* war 18. saith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* cast chaffe into a fountaine called *Phiala*, distant 120. stadia North-east from *Cæsaria*, which Chaffe being carried vnder ground was cast vp againe at *Paniũ* or *Dan*, whereby it is coniectured that the first Spring of *Iordan* is from this Fountaine called *Phiala*, from whence *Ior* and *Dan* receiue their waters.

†. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capharnaum* is not the least: so often remembred by the *Euangelists*. This Citie had the honour of *Christs* presence three yeeres: who for that time was as a Citizen therof, in which he first preached and taught the Doctrine of our saluation: according to that notable Prophecie of *Esay* 9. *The people that walked in darknesse, haue seene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.*

Capharnaum was seated on *Iordan*, euen where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*: in an excellent and rich soile: of whose destruction *Christ* himselfe propheciedin-

these

these words. *And thou Capharnaum which art lifted vp vnto heauen, shalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.* which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that Citie: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in *S. Hieromes* time, as himselfe confesseth: it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that haue since, and long since seene it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Salmiac* affirme, that it then consisted but of sixe poore Fisher-mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in *S. Matthew*, *Marke*, and *Luke*, also remembred; but I finde no agreement among the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Plinie* himselfe confesseth; for *Marius Niger* speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Casius* in *Casiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Ægypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœlesyria*, all *Palæstina*, and *Iudæa*. *Matth. 4. Marke, 7. Luke 8. Niger. comment. Asiæ. 4. f. 503.*

Plinie also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth foure of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I gheese *Amona* rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Pto. Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nisa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memorie of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethsan*; for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlesyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, neere the Riuer of *Hieromaix*. This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to bee the Riuer *Iaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasseh* ouer *Iordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betweene *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Iaboc* entreth the same Sea betweene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seuenth he nameth * *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a Citie so called of a *Colonie* of Horsemen there garrisond by *Herod*, on the East side of the *Galilean* Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasse* ouer *Iordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South border of the Region ouer *Iordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which *Iosephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlesyria* by *Iosephus*, *Hegesippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and last, *Plinie* nameth *Canatha*, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a Citie in the Region of *Basan* ouer *Iordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, haue the shape of a Camell. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which make them to bee these; *Cæsaria Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Iotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Euangelist* Saint *Matthew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betweene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed againe from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came vnto the Sea of Galilee, through the middest of the coasts of Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, betweene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracones*, otherwise *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole bredth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neere the same distance which may be each way fortie English miles.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

Opotos a Citie standing in the Valley of *Cœlesyria* watered by *Chrysorrhoas* as *Damascus* is. *Plin. l. 5.*

* *Plinie* hath *Hippon Dion*, for which *Volaterran* reads *Hippidion*, *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

Matth. 4.

† V.

† V.

Of Hamath.

BVt to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is seated neere the foote thereof the Citie of * *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Countrey adioyning taketh name: the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: [a] *Iacobus Zeigler*, *Iturea. Iturea Regio tenet horealia tribus Nephthali, per montem Libanum vsq; Trachones.* The Countrey of *Iturœa*, saith hee, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis Iturœa*, he mistakes the seate of this Region: and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Iturœa* (which *Hegesippus* calls *Perœa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Batcar*) the same with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it selfe is farre more to the East than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lieth betweene *Cæsaria Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the *Hebrewes* call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is seated vnder *Cæsaria*, towards the Sea West-ward.

And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœlesyria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierome* vpon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which hee calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2. *Chron.* 8. 3. is set farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numbers* 34. *v.* 8. and *Numbers* 13. *v.* 22. and in *Ezekiel* 47. 16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being the wordes: *From Mount Hor you shall poynt* (that is, direct or draw a line) *vntill it come to Hamath*: In the second place, thus: *So they went vp, and searched out the Land from the Wilderneſſe of Sin, vnto Rehob to goe to Hamath*: Then in Ezekiel: *The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come ouer against Hamath*: that is, the coast of the Sea shall bee the West border from the Southermost part of the holy Land, till you come directly ouer against *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line bee drawne to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*: which is [c] the Northwest corner of the holy Land. Now that this *Hamath* or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the Citie of [d] *Rehob* adioyning prooue it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being farre remoued and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which inclose all those Lands which *Israel* euer had possession of,) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Iturœa*, witnesse [e] *Stella* and *Laicstan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where [f] *Ionathas Macchabæus* attended the Armie of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and remoued by night.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Iturœa* (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galileæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning ouer the mountaines *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the plaines of the Territory of *Iturœa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herode* was *Tetrarch* or *President* both of *Iturœa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are

* The *Septuagint* write it *Ammath*, Hierome *Emath*, Iosephus *Amath*, *Ioſ.* 19. *v.* 35. *Chammath*, *c.* 21. *v.* 32. *Chammoth-Dor*, in the first of *Chron.* 6. 76. *Chammon*; 2. *King.* 14. 8. *Chammath-Iehuda*, as *Iunius* reads it, whereas also for further distinction there is added (in *Israel*) to note that it was of old belonging to *Iuda*, though seated in *Israel*, that is, in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*.

a *Zeigler, in Nepthal.*

b So *Hierome* in his Comment *in Amos cap.* 6. *ver.* 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it seemes, for distinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Matt Beroaldus* reiecting *Hierome*, rather follow the opinion of *Zeigler* aboue mentioned, as indeede it cannot easily bee instified, that either one or other of these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the same Citie which *Iosua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was also called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) it may bee gathered partly because the other *Hamath*, 2. *Chron.* 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chamath Tsoba*, as this (as it may seeme by *Ioſ.* 21. 32.) was *Chamath Dor*, and *Chamath Iuda*, as wee haue noted, 2. *Reg.* 24. Secondly, because *Num.* 34. 8. and also *Ezekiel* 47. 16. *Chameth* in the North side of the holy Land, is placed too neer the West corner, to bee that *Chamath-Tsoba*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moses* to name neuer a place Eastward along all the bredth of the holy Land, vntill we come to *Hermon* (for so they expound Mount *Hor*, *Num.* 34. 7.) and beyond *Hermon* Eastward in this North side, they make him to name diuers Townes, first *Chamath*, then *Tsedad*, then *Ziphron*, and lastly, *Chatsar henan*, a thing most vnlikely: seeing *Israel* had little or nothing Eastward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore wee must needes expound *Hor* to be one of the Hills neere *Sidon*, and so those Townes, as they are named to lie in order on the North side of *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manasses*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*: first, *Chetlon*, then *Chamath*, and so in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, *Chatsar-henan*.

c Of which, *Ioſ.* 19. 35.

d Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Iosua* 19. 28. is placed in *Asher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

e *Tilemanus Stella* and *Peter Laicstan*, in their Tables of the holy Land.

f *Ioseph. Ant.* 13. 8.

are ouer *Iordan* towards the East. But *Chamath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the west side of *Iordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

The Countrie *Ituræa* was so called of *Iethur* one of the sonnes of *Ismael*, it is placed in the bounds of *Cœlesyria* and *Arabia* * the Desart.

The people of *Iturei* were valiant and warrelike men and excellent Archers. Of whom *Virgil*:

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Ituræans* bowes were made.

This Citie *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim* seemes to haue beene as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleuenth sonne of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *Dauid*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certaine; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountaines, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim* were both neighbours to *Damascus*: of whose subiugation *Tohu* reioyced, because *Hadadeser* whom the *Damasceni* came to helpe, was his enemie. This *Tohu* fearing the strength and prosperitie of *Dauid*, hearing of his approach towards his territorie, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessells of gold, siluer and brasse.

But it seemeth that *Dauid* in such great successe would not haue had peace with *Tohu*, if he had bin King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tsoba*: which Citie *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himselfe Master of, as a part of the lands (* in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after diuers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being as it hath beene said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While Saint *Hierome* liued, it remained a Citie well peopled, knowne to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greekes* by *Epiphania*.

* That it doth properly belõg to *Arabia*, the name of *Ietur Ismaels* sonne, whose issue setled in the *Arabiaes*, may in part giue witnesse. Also the place of the 1. *Chro.* 5. 19. confirms it where *Ietur* is named among the *Hagareus*, against whom the *Rubenites* and *Gadites* made war, & whose country they possest in the time of *Ieroboam*, as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conquest of the *Amalekites*, *Chr.* 1. *cap.* 5. *vers.* 10. wher the countrie is placed at the East of *Gilead*.

* Of the larger promise expresst *Deut.* 1. 7. where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds; see *cap.* 7. §. 2. *Hieron. de Locis Hebr.*

†. VI.

Of Reblatha and Rama, and diuers other Townes.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Iordan* standeth the Citie *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountaine *Daphnis*: which falleth into the lake of *Meron*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Iericho*: and deliuered to *Nabuchodonosor*: who to be auenged of *Zedekia's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, first caused the Princes his children to be slaine in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might bee the last that euer hee should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, hee commaunded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in yron chaines, hee was led a slaue to *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldome-exampled calamitie, though not in expresse words, *Hieremie* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hierusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God, *I will bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldaans, yet shall hee not see it, though hee shall die therein.*

Hierem. 32. 34. &c. *Ezek.* 52.

There are besides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in *Nephtalim*, as that which is called [a]*Cedes*: there are two other of the same name, one in [b] *Issachar*, another in *Iuda*, of which *Ios.* 15. 23. and therefore to distinguish it, it is knowne by the addition of [c] *Nephtalim*, as *Iudg.* 4. It is seated on a high hill, whence *Ios.* 20. 7. *Kedesh in Galilæa in monte Nephtali*: *Iosephus* calles it *Cedesis*, and in Saint *Hie-*

a Or *Kedesh*, *Ios.* 19. 37. & 10 7. & 21. 32. *item Iud.* 4. 6.

b 1. *Chron.* 6. 72 which *Iosh.* 19. 20. is called *Kishion*.

c Sometime *Kedesh* in *Galilea*, 1. *Chro.* 6. 76.

romes time it was called *Cidissus*. *Belforest* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the *Desart* of *Pharan*.

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* perished by the hand of *Iosua*, it was made a Citie of refuge, and giuen to the *Leuites*. Herein was *Barac* borne; who ouerthrew the Armie of the second *Iabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime possest by *Teglatphalassar*, when hee wasted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the *Romans*, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some foure *Italian* miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeeres the inexpugnable Fortresse of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate neere it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated North-ward neere *Sephet*: this is to be noted; that there are (*) diuers places of this name in *Palestine*, all situate on Hills: and therefore called *Rama (Rama Hebræis excelsum; Rama with the Hebrewes is high.)* Also that for this *Rama Ios.* 19. 36. they reade *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of diuers Townes) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they reade *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the West they place * *Bethsemes*, of which *Ios.* 19. 38. which defended it selfe against *Nephtalim*, *Iud.* 1. 33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet* towards the East was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

Adioyning to which standeth *Carthan* [a] or *Kiriathaijm* a Citie of the *Leuites*, not farre from the Mountaine out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*: a place by our Sauiour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, hee made choise of twelue, which he called and ordained to bee his *Apostles* or Messengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the [b] *Euangelists*.

Adioyning to these are *Magdalel*, a place of strength, [c] and *Masaloth*, of which we reade that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the [d] *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothaes* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, [e] one neere *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47. 6. another (vpon a weake coniecture out of *Ioseph. ant. l.* 5. *c.* 2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neere the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that ioyned with *Iabin* against *Iosua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Ios.* 11. 5. are by *Iosephus* said to haue incamped at the Citie *Beroth* in *Galilee*, not farre from *Cedesa Superior*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Beroth* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the vpper *Galilee* or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neere *Abela* (of which *Abela* or *Abel-beth Mahacah* we haue spoken alreadie) this he doth vpon a coniecture touching the place 2. *Sam.* 20. 14. where some reade *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim*: but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Berai*: for *Sheba* being of *Beniamin* (in which Tribe also there is a Citie called *Beroth* or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that Citie after him.

To the North of *Beroth* of *Nephtalim* standeth *Sebarim* vnder *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezek.* 47. and *Aroseth gentium*, neere the waters of *Merom* or *Samachonitis*, the Citie of *Sisara* Lieutenant of the Armie of the second *Iabin*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong Citie: besides many others whereof I finde no particular storie of importance: as *Ser* in *Iosua c.* 19. *v.* 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Assedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama* which they call *Edama*: also *Hion* which they call *Ahion* of which in the Bookes of *Kings*. Then the strong Citie of

Cinnereth

Ios. 12. 22. 2. *Reg.* 15. 29.
() See in *Beniamin*, and in *Ephraim*.
* Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus solis*) as that in *Iuda*, 2. *King.* 14 15. where *Ioash* King of the ten tribes ouercame *Amasia* of *Iuda*, of which also I vnderstand the place, *Ios.* 21. 16. & 1. *Sam.* 6. 14. & 2. *Chron.* 29. 18. A third as it seemes was in *Dan*, 1. *Kin.* 4. 9. which *Ios.* 19. 41. is written *Hirshemes*, which is as much as *Ciuitas solis*.
[a] *Iud.* 1. 31. a So it appears by comparing of the places. *Ios.* 21. 32. and 1. *Chr.* 6. 76. *Adrichomius* both here and elsewher deceiued by the double name, makes two of one: although I denie not but that there was another *Kiria-thaijm* in *Ruben*, of which *Ios.* 13. 19.
b *Marke* 3. *Matth* 10. *Acts* 1. *Matt.* 5. *c.* 7.
c *Ios* 19. 38.
d 1. *Mac.* 9. 2.
e *Barathena Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ desertæ: Iunio eadē cum Berothai vna ciuitatum Hadadezeris*, 2. *Sam. cap.* 8. *v.* 8. *Ios.* 18. 25. *Asiroth. Hieron. Iud.* 4. *Lyr in Iud.* 4. *Ios.* 19. 37. 1. *Reg.* 15. 20. 2. *Reg.* 15. 29.

Cinnereth after called *Gennezareth*, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberias*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * *Mat.* 19.2. also diuers others named, *Ios.* 19.33 *Ytuca* or *Chukkok*: *Horem* & *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Iosua*: *Iirzon*, *Lakkum Iepnaell*, *Heleh*, and [a] *Reccath*, which two last they place neere *Cæsaria Philippi*: To these they adde out of *Iosua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Iunius* readeth *Fossa Adamai*, making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of *Adamath*, as it seemes; or at least the custodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of *Num.* 34.10. they adde *Sephana* which 1. *Sam.* 30.21. seemes to bee called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tithon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* 47.16. and the latter out of *Iosua* 19.33. it may appeare by *Iunius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediani*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The Citie of [b] *Nephthalim* which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naasson* neere vnto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob.* 7.7. but in the *Greeke* Text there is no signe, neither of the one nor of the other.

Marc. 6.53. *Luc.* 5.1.

* This place of the *Maccab.* warrants no *Galgala* or *Gilgal* in *Nephthali*, but may wel be vnderstood of *Gilgal* in *Beniamin* or in *Manasse*.

a This *Reccath* or *Raccath*, *Iunius* thinks that it is the same with *Kanthan* (one of these being made of the other by Transposition of letters) of which *Kanthan* we haue noted already, that it is also called *Kiria-thaim*. b In the place, 1. *Reg.* 4. 15 which also they bring to proue that there was a Citie called *Nepthalim*, as it is euident by the following Verles: the Tribe of *Nepthalim* is meant; and not any Citie of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABVLON.

OF *Zabulon* or *Zebulon*, another of the sonnes of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai* 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged vnable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their issues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the Riuer *Chison*: Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore, of which *Ioseph. Ant.* 13.c.19. *Debbaset* of * which *Ios.* 19.11. *Iekonam* or *Iokneham* (whose King was [a] slaine by *Iosua*, and the Citie was giuen to the *Leuites*) and *Gaba* after called the Citie of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrisond by *Herode*. Then the Citie which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *Citie of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, [b] burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lieutenant of the *Roman* Armie. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth Citie of [c] *Elon* Iudge of *Israel*, because hee is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at *Aialon*.

To the East of this Citie of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Ios.* 19.15. on the border of *Asher*: and beyond it the lesser [d] *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* conuerted Water into Wine: the native Citie of *Nathaniel*, and as it is thought of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountaines of *Zabulon*: and then the Citie of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it selfe against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe* which standeth in the partition of the vpper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romanes*. Not farre from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron* whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Then *Damna* or *Dimna*, a Citie of the *Leuites*: then *Noa* or rather *Neha*, of which *Ios.* 19.13. Then *Dothan* or *Dothain*, where *Ioseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Eliseus* besieged by the *Syrians*, strooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the East they imagine [e] *Amthar* or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Leuites*. The last of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, situate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnaum*, the native Citie of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous then the *Capharnaims*,

* *Iosua* 12.22.
a *Iosep.* 2. *bel.* 19
b *Iosep.* 2. *bel.* 22
c *Iud.* 12.12.
d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Asser*. *Ios.* 21.2. *Nathaniel* is said to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Canisius* reads *Matt.* 10 4. *Simon Kanites*, which word *Luc.* 6. 15, hee thinketh, to be expounded by *Zelotes*.
e The *Hebrew Hammethoar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Amthar*, *Ios.* 19. 13.) *Vatablus* expoundeth *quæ gyrat*, *Iunius* ioynes it with the word going before it, and reades *Rimmonem Metheorum*, *Matth.* 8.11. *Marc.* 1.6. *Luc.* 4.10.

pharnaims, and others, receiued the same curse of threatned miseries, as *Woe bee vnto thee Bethsaida, &c.*

Alongst the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of *Iotapata*: fortified by *Iosephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long siege surprised by *Vespasian*: who slaughtered many thousands of the Citizens: and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Iosephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that* Sea and the Lake of *Genezareth* within *Zabulon* was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilean* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*, it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our *Sauiour* called *Matthew*, from the toll or custom-house, to be an Apostle, and neere vnto it raised the daughter of *Iairus* from death: it was built (as *Iosephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raigne of *Tiberius Cæsar*: in the most fruitfull part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchres: Quùm iuxta nostras leges* (saith hee) *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *Whereas by our law hee should bee seuen dayes held as vncleane, who inhabited in such a place*: by which wordes, and by the whole place of *Iosephus* it appeares, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nepthalim*.

Neere vnto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*: More into the Land toward the South-West is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of *Holofernes* and *Iudeth*, such as it is. Neere which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it, *Capharath* fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romans*: and *Iapha* an exceeding strong place afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie slew 15000. of the Citizens; and caried away aboue two thousand prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Leuites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Iosephus* in his owne life, then *Iasie* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Ios.* 19. 12.) for he thinkes that it is not that *Iapha* of which we spake but now out of *Iosephus*. *Ideala* of which *Ios.* 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Iadela*: vnder it Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seate) and the Citie *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Iudeth* 7. 3. otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffra*, the birth-Citie of *Zebedaus*, *Alphaus*, *Iames* and *Iohn*: Then *Sepheris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Iosephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsaria*; the Citie of *Ioachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*, it was walled by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*: and by him, as *Iosephus* speakes, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in another place he saith *Vrbium Galilææarum maxima Sepheris & Tiberias*. This *Sepheris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere hee wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall seate of the nether *Galilee*, and so rounded it with a strong wal, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Iosephus*; and it is now but a Castle called *Zaphet*.

To the South-West of this *Sepheris* or *Diocæsaria* was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the Citie of *Marie* the Mother of *Christ*; in which hee himselfe was conceiued, it standeth betweene Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran* Sea. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twenty yeeres, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many yeeres. It was erected into an *Archbishopricke* in the following age. Neere vnto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turkes*) and *Nahalal* of which *Ios.* 19. 15. and *Iud.* 1. 30. where it is called *Nahalal*: and *Ios.* 21. 35. where it is a Citie of the *Leuites*, neere the Sea; adioyning to the Riuer of *Chison* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iosua* for the vttermost of *Zabulon*.

In

* The names of the chiefe Cities seated about this Sea, or lake, throgh which *Iordan* runneth, were *Capernaum*, *Tiberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they adde *Cinnereth*, which in foretimes gaue name to the Lake and Countrie. *Matth.* 9. *Luc.* 5. *Iosep. Ant.* 18. 3. *Iosep.* 10. 15. *Adrich. in Zab.*

Iosep. in vita sua

Iosep. 2. *Bel.* 25.

Iosua, 21. 35. otherwise *Kisloth Thabor*, as *Iunius* thinks vpon *Ios.* 19. 12. whence 1. *Chro.* 6. 77. it is called *Thabor*.

Ioban. de Monteuilla, c. 4. & 20

Iosep. ant. 18. 3. & *in vita sua.*

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers small Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the Apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*: vnto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memorie wherof on the top of the Mountaine, the *Empresse Helen* built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chison*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one streame Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with an other streame Westward into the great Sea. This Riuer of *Chison* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim* or *Cadumim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to bee the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorseus*: though others distinguish them: and set *Chorseus* by *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a riuer rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere *Magdalum*: which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Iordanis parnus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iephthael* which *Iosua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Laiestans* Mappe in *Ortelius*.
Ios. 19. 14.

§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

THE next adioyning Territorie to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the neather *Galilee*, within *Iordan*: of whom there were increased in *Ægypt*, as appeared by their musters at Mount *Sinai* 54400. able and warlike men, who leauing their bodies with the rest in the *Desarts*, there entred the Holy Land, 64300.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English mile, or somewhat more, a Citie wherein the *Iewes* (by the practice of a certaine mutinous vpstart, *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Gouernour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Iewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficultie by *Vespasian*: who entred it by the Sea side, hauing first beaten the *Iewes* in a sea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuers of bloud running through euery street, he reserued the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Tarichea in Sueton.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cession*, or *Cisbion*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Isachar*, remembred in the first of *Kings*, *c.* 4. *v.* 17. then *Abes* or *Ebets*, *Ios.* 19. 20. and *Remeth* of which *Ios.* 19. 21. otherwise *Ramoth.* 1. *Chron.* 6. 73. or *Iarmuth*, *Ios.* 21. 29. this also was a Citie of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themselues to the *Mediterran* Sea, and towards the West as farre as the Citie of *Iezrael*, betweene which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpasses*, according to *Ziegler*, and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*: neere which *Saul* slew himselfe: vnder those *Aphec* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betweene which and *Suna*, he saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, and afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirstie of bloud, for herein also, saith hee, the *Syrians* with two and thirtie *Reguli* assisting *Benhadad*, incountered *Achab*: and were ouerthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answere, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victorie: which was, *Tell*, BENHADAD, *Let not him that girdeth his harneis boast himselfe, as he that putteth it off*: meaning that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere following in

Ios. 21. 28. *Kishion*, which 1. *Chr.* 6. 73. is called *Kedish.*

Iosua. 19. 1. *Sam.* 4. 1. 1. *Sam.* 3. 19. 1. *Kings* 20. 26. In the latter two places *Iunius* makes *Aphek* in *Asser*, according to *Ios.* 19. 30. in the first he placeth it in *Iuda*, out of *Ios.* 15. 53. 1. *Kings* 20.

the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious *Syrian* vtterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* slaine: before which ouerthrow the seruants and Counsailors of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should ouer-come them.*

1. Kings. 20. 23.

Vnder *Aphec* towards the Sea they set the Citie of *Esdrelon*, in the plaines of *Galilee*, called also the great field of *Esdrelon*, and *Maggedo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be seene, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*: After these are the Cities of *Casaloth*, of which, 1. *Macchab.* 9. 2. *Anem* or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Seesima* or *Shahatsima*, the West border of *Isachar*, of which *Ios.* 19. 22. From hence ranging the Seacoast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrimes*: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-house and Magasine of the *Christians*, and built by the *Earle* of S^t. *Giles* or *Tolouse*.

Iudith. 1. 8. & 7. 3.

1. Chron. 6. 73. Ios. 21. 29.

From the Castle of *Pilgrimes* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the Riuer *Chison*: where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets, and Priests of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idoll of *Baal*, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God *was either in pursuite of his enemies not at leisure, or perchance a-sleepe, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the bankes of *Chison* adioyning.

At the foote of this Mountaine to the North standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of *Porsina* and *Porphyria*, sometime a *Suffragane* Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Seacoast towards *Tiberias* by the bankes of *Chison*, there are found the Citie of *Hapharaim* or *Aphraim*, and the Castles of *Mesra*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the Riuer *Chison*: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widdowes only sonne.

Luc. 7.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named *Iosua* 19. betweene the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchauntresse that vndertooke to raise vp the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith* named *Ios. c.* 19. *v.* 19. 20. Then *Dabarath* as it is named, *Ios.* 21. 28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1. *Chron.* 6. 72. This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe ouer *Chison*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

Next to *Daberath* is *Arbela* situate, neere the Caues of those two Theeues which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herodes* time. It ioyneth on one side to the Mountaine of *Isachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Iesrael*: which valley continueth it selfe from *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Isachar*, euen to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon*, and the Riuer *Chison* on the North. In these * plaines *Gedeon* ouerthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*: *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

* Called *Campus Magnus*, 1. *Mac.* 12. 49. and *Harbatha* for *Harabath*. 1. *Macc.* 5. 23. & 9. 2. *Iudg.* 6. 1. *Sam.* 31. 1. *Kings.* 20.

§. VII.

§. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

†. I.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Thersa, and others.

THE next Tribe which ioyneth it selfe to *Issachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Iordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Ioseph*, the eleuenth sonne of *Iacob*. His mother was an *Ægyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasses* with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Iacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of *Iacob*, and made vp the number of the twelue *Patriarkes*.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Ægypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being consumed in the *Desarts*, there entred of their issues, 52700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Iordan* on the East, and *Dora* vpon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Iesrael* on the North, and *Mashmata* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name; which *Solinus* confirmes. Afterward when the *Scythians* inuaded *Asia* the lesse, and pierst into the South, to the vttermost of *Cœlesyria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* giuen it by the *Greekes*. *Plin. lib. 5. c. 18.*

These barbarous Northren people constrained the *Iewes* to fight against their owne Nation and kindred, by whose handes when they had obtained victorie, they themselues set on the *Iewes* which serued them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the vtmost towards the South of *Cœlesyria*: and *Strabo* ioynes it to *Galilee*. It is seated betweene *Iordan* and the Hills of *Gilboe*, *in aulone ad montes acrabitenæ*, saith *Ziegler*. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of *Iesrael* neere *Iordan*: after that, *Iordan* streightneth it selfe againe into a Riuer: leauing the Sea or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithstanding, *Montanus* describes it farre to the West, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, neere *Endor*, contrarie to *Stella*, *Laicstan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasse* could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane* an enemie, or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemie.

Ouer the walls of this *Bethsan* the *Philistims* hung the bodie of *Saul*, and his sonnes, slaine at *Gilboe*. It had, while the *Christian* Religion flourished in those parts, an *Archbishop*, who had nine other *Bishops* of his Dioceese, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later trauailers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillers and other pieces of excellent marble, which witnesse the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village. *Iudg. 1. Ios. 17. de Bell. sacr.*

From *Bethsan* keeping the way by *Iordan*, they finde an ancient Citie called *Salem*, which Citie the ancient *Rabbines*, saith *Hierome*, doe not finde to be the same with *Hierusalem*: there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a towne of that name, neere *Hieron. in Epist. ad Euagr. & in Loc. Hebr.*

neere *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture *Gen.* 13.18. doe not confirme, where the *Vulgar* readeth *tranſiuitq; in Salem vrbem Sichemorum* (for which others reade, *venit incolumis ad Ciuitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adiectiue) yet the place *Iohn* 3.13. where it is ſaid, that *Iohn* was baptizing in *Ænon* neere *Salem*, may ſomewhat ſtrengthen this opinion, and yet it is not vnlikely that this *Salem* of which S. *Iohn* ſpeaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, 1. *Sam.* 9.4. This word *Iunius* maketh to be the plurall of *Shuhal*: of which wee reade, 1. *Sam.* 13.17. for as for that which is added out of *Cant.* 6.12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Saleim*, neere *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

This Citie Bezek by the place, *Iud.* 1.3. ſeemeth to haue been in *Iuda*. *Ioſep. ant.* 6.5.5. *Sam.* 1.c.11.

Not farre from thence where they place *Salem*, they finde *Bezech* the Citie of *Adonibezet*, *Ioſephus* calls it *Bala*, here it was that *Saul* aſſembled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and *Iuda*, to the number of 330000. when hee meant to relieue *Iabeſh Gilead*, againſt *Naaſh* the *Ammonite*: who would giue them no other conditions of peace, than to ſuffer their right eyes to be thruſt out. Neere *Bezech* is the Citie of *Bethbera* or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Iudg.* 7.24. in the ſtorie of *Gideon*: and then *Ephra* or *Hophra*, wherein *Gedeon* inhabited: in the border whereof ſtood an Altar conſecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled downe and defaced: and neere it that ſtone, on which *Abimelech* the Baſtard ſlew his 70. brothers: a Heatheniſh cruelty, practiſed by the *Turke* to this day; and not farre hence, betweene the Village of *Aſophon* and *Iordan*, *Ptolomæus Lathurus* ouerthrew *Alexander* King of the *Iewes*: and ſlaughtered as *Ioſephus* numbreth them 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomie* paſt by the Villages of the *Iewes*; he ſlew all their women: and cauſed the yong children to bee ſod in great caldrons, that the reſt of the *Iewes* might thereby thinke that the *Ægyptians* were growne to be men-eaters, and ſtrike them with the greater terrour.

Joſ. l. 13. c. 21. *ant.*

* This *Aner Iunius* vpon 1. *Chron.* 6.70. makes to bee the ſame with *Tabanac*, of which *Ioſ.* 21.25 *Hierom* names it from *Aner* the Confederate of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14.13 *Ioſua* 12.17. *1. King.* 14.

Towards the Weſt and on the border of *Iſachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Leuites*; and *Abel-Meholа*, which *Iunius*, *Iudg.* 7.22. placeth in *Ephraim*, it was the habitation of *Heliſæus* the Prophet, numbred among thoſe places, 1. *Reg.* 4.12. which were giuen in charge to *Baana* by *Salomon*, to whoſe charge alſo *Tahanac* belonged, a place of great ſtrength, which at the firſt reſiſted *Ioſua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie giuen to the *Leuites*.

In the bodie of this Territory of *Manaſſe*, but ſomewhat neerer *Iordan*, than to the *Mediterran* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Therſa*, whoſe King was one of thoſe that *Ioſua* ſlew: which the Kings of *Iſrael* vſed for their Regall ſeate: till ſuch time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Ieroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her ſonnes health: who knowing her, though ſhe were diſguiſed, told her of her ſonnes death.

Iudg. 9.v.54.

The ſecond was *Thebes* neere *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Ægypt*, and *Greece*, of great fame: in the aſſault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baſtard *Abimilec* was wounded by a waighty ſtone, throwne by a Woman ouer the Wall, who deſpairing of his recouery, commanded his Page to ſlay him out-right, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he periſhed by the ſtroke of a Woman. But others ſet this Citie in *Ephraim* neere *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

Hier. Mac. 1.c.5

The third is *Aerabata*, of which the Territory adioyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies* or Gouernments in *Iudæa*) for which *Hierome*, 1. *Macc.* 5. reades *Arabathena*: but in the *Greeke* it is *Acrabatine*: *Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This Citie had one of the largeſt Territories of all *Paleſtine* belonging to the Gouernour thereof. *Ioſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond Booke of the *Iewes* Warres, c.11.25.28. and elſewhere.

The difference betweene a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the firſt was taken for a Prouince, and the other for a Citie with ſome leſſer Territory adioyning, and a *Tetrarch* is the ſame with *Præſes* in Latine, and *Preſident* in Engliſh, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof ſo called: *Plinie* nameth ſeuen-

Plin. l.5.

teene

teene *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemster*, *Vlster*, *Connath*, and *Mounster*. *Euseb. in Chron.*

To the South-west of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam* or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the *Leuites*: but *Iunius* out of *Ios.* 21. 25. and 1. *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that these two are but one: and that *Ibleham Ios.* 16. 11. is another name of the same Citie.

Then is *Iesrael* a Regall Citie, set at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein *Iezabel* by a false accusation caused *Naboth* to bee stoned, to the end shee might possesse his Vineyard adioyning to the Citie, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Ioram also was cast vnburied into the same field: for which his Mother *Iezabel* murthered *Naboth*. *King. 2. cap. 2.*

Toward the Sea from *Iesrael* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Ahaziah* King of *Iuda* fled from *Iehu*, when hee had slaine *Ioram*, hee was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound hee died at *Mageddo* adioyning. The Scripture calls this Citie of *Gaber*, *Gur*. *2. King. 9. 27.*

Then *Adadremmon*, neere vnto which the good King *Iosias* was slaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a Warre vnaduisedly vndertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Assyria* against the King thereof; by the commaundement of God: whom *Iosias* thought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour Citie to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whose King was slaine among the rest by *Iosua*: yet they defended their Citie for a long time against *Manasse*. *Iud. 1. c. 5.* *Ios. 12. 17.* The Riuer which passeth by the Towne, may perhaps bee the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorseus*: and not that of which wee haue spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that haue described the Holy Land delineate no such Riuer. *Moore* only sets it downe in his *Geographie* of the twelue Tribes: but the Riuer which passeth by *Maggeddo* hee vnderstandeth to bee but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place: agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Iudges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, giue it no other name then the Torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia*, euen to *Sebaste* or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Iosephus* calls *Cæsaria Palæstinæ* a Citie of *Phœnicia*, yea *Laurentius Coruinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as farre as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolomie* sets downe *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Iudea*: this Riuer running East and West paralell with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomie* in his fourth Table of *Asia* calleth *Chorseus*. The later trauailers of the holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day. *Strab. l. 16.* *Iosep. l. 15. c. 13.* *Niger.*

†. II.

Of Cæsaria Palæstinæ, and some other Townes.

FRom *Maggeddo* toward the West, and neere the *Mediterran* Sea, was that glorious Citie of *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Plinie* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomie* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, betweene this Citie and *Ioppe*, to which *Vespasian* gaue the name of *Flauia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceede all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which hee reared within the Walls, of cut and polisht marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing

blowing from the Sea the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and Anchors. This worke hee performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kinde hath not beene found in any Kingdome, nor in any age: which, because the Materialls were fetcht from farre, and the waight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe, I haue added *Iosephus* owne wordes

Iosep. l. 15. c. 13. of this worke: which are these: *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: & in viginti vlnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum plerag, pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine nouem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam maiora, minora alia; To mend this inconuenience of place* (saith IOSEPHVS) *hee compast in a Bay wherein a great fleete might well ride: and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fiftie foote long, eighteene foote broade, and nine foote thicke: some bigger, and some lesser.* To this he added an arme or cawsie of two hundred foote long, to breake the waues: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with diuers, stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent hee called *Drusus* after the name of *Drusus* the sonne in law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour hee intituled the Citie it selfe, *Cæsaria* of *Palæstine*: all which he performed in twelue yeeres time. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that receiued a Bishop: afterward erected into

L. 14. c. 12. bell. Iacr. an Archbishopricke, commanding twentie others vnder it, saith *Tyrius*.

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Gelasius* to haue beene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius* the *Centurion* baptized by S. *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the *Apostle*: S. *Paul* was heerein two yeeres prisoner, vnder the *President Fælix*, vnto the time and gouernment of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeale, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to bee called a God by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death, saith *Iosephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some reade *Ios.* 1. 2: so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*. But *Iunius* for *in Naphoth Dor*, reades *in tractibus Dor*: and so the *Vulgar*, *in regionibus Dor*: although 1. *Reg.* 4. 11. for the like speech in the *Hebrew* it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Iosua* call it *Nepheth-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ios.* 12. 23. *Iudg.* 1. 27.) may seeme to bee *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull Citie: and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Macchab.* 15. 11. placeth it betweene the Hill *Carmel* and the mouth of the Riuer *Cherseus*: for so some name the Riuer *Chorseus*, of which wee haue spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the sonne of *Demetrius*: where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 120000. foote-men

Macc. 1. 13. 15. and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villaine that receiued 200. talents for the ransome of *Ionathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him slew his owne Master, vsurping for a while the Kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seate of the Dioceese of *Cæsaria*.

Gul. Tyr. de Bell. sacr. l. 10. c. 6. From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Euangelists*, they find in these parts neere the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe Hierome in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal* or *Gilgal*, was in *Beniamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Macc. 1. 7. v. 31. Then *Antipatris* so called of *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees* it was called *Caphar salama*: in the fields whereof *Iudas Macchabeus* ouerthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Iudæa* by a traiterous *Iew*, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder *Bacchides*, and then vnder *Nicanor*. To this was S. *Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the

Iewes.

Iewes. In after-times the Armie of *Godfrey* of *Bulion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Assur*, saith *Brochard*. Neere vnto this Citie the Prophet *Ionas* was three dayes preserued in the bodie of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territorie taketh name: which *Cestius* the *Romane* wasted with fire and sword, because the *Iewes* which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moses*. Neere vnto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundreth Prophets, and fed them, after which hee himselfe is said to haue obtained from God the Spirit of prophecie also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

BECAVSE these fiue Tribes, of *Asser*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the halfe of *Manasse*, possest the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I haue therefore gathered a briefe of those Kings which haue gouerned therein: at least so many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest haue perished, it is not strange: seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and reuolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquests of Heathen Princes, haue been torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine: but all *Cosmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casiotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomie* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the Riuer *Eleutherus*, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterran* sea, as farre as the Riuer of *Chorseus*, which seemes to be that which the *Iewes* call the Torrent, or Riuer of *Maggeddo*. *Plinie* extends it farther and comprehends *Ioppe* within it: *Coruinus* and *Budæus*, *Ioppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata* (saith BVDÆVS) *quæ nunc Palæstina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (saith hee) *which now is called Palæstina of Syria.*

Ptol. 4. Tab. Asiæ.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 19.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea side of *Iudæa*, and *Palæstina*, euen vnto *Pelusium*, the first Port of *Ægypt*. On the contrary *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it vp in *Cœlesyria*, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldome deceiued in his owne Art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Ilands)

Strab. l. 16. Budæ. de Ass. l. 4.

Ilands) to wit, *Aradus, Orthosia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolemais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subiect to that people were called *Zidonians*: the same state continuing euen vnto *Iosuas* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Vandall Warres*. But in processe of time the Citie of *Tyre* adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

Esay. 23. 19

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Iosua* yet gouerned *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Ægyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sonnes *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possest the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second Sonne) the vse of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuite after his sister *Europa* taught the *Græcians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surprised *Tyre*, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets deuised the fable of *Iupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*: and findes *Cadmus* his successour: whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reuerence, making it a part of their owne, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: which memorie *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses:

F. 17. 20

Hic Reginagrauem gemmis auroq́; popoſcit
Implenstq́; mero pateram: quam BELVS *& omnes*
A BELO *ſoliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle 30
(Waightie with precious stones and massie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* vs'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemeth to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Libya*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Telegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith S. *Augustine*, *Moses* left *Ægypt*: *Agenors* successour liuing at once 40 with *Iosua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For bee it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought vp in *Ægypt*: where he learnt the vse of letters (*Ægypt* flourishing in all kind of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an *Ægyptian*: yet is it very likely that either he came to saue his owne Territory: or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Ægypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of 50 that Nation: and by *Iosua* conducted ouer *Iordan*, to conquer and possesse the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Ægyptians*, by reason of the losse which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could

not

not hinder the *Hebrewes* from inuading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Deserts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Ægypt* hauing such Vessells, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vse: did not in all probabilitie neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the *Philistims* which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adioyning vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against *Iosua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Iosua* called the strong Citie, *Accho* afterward *Ptolomais*, *Aczib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those dayes. C. 19. v. 29.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mightie, especially by Sea, it appeareth, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *Dauid* and *Salomon* could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it selfe 13. yeeres against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the prouidence of God, seemed vnresistable) spent more time in the recouerie of *Tyre*; than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Iosephus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyras* the sonne of *Iaphet*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Callisthenes* deriue it *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the *Greekes* from the word *Phonos*, of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that *Phœnix* the sonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his sonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnnecessarie.

The *Æthiopians* affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and ciuill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselfe was instructed by the *Libyans*: to wit, from the South and Superior *Ægyptians*: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philosophie: and from them the *Greekes*, then barbarous, receiued Ciuilitie. Againe, the *Phœnicians* challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Ægyptians* at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were *Affricans*; whence *Lucan*.

Phœnices primi (famæ si creditur) ausi *Lucan. l. 3.*
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

Phœnicians first (if fame may credit haue)
In rude Characters dar'd our wordes to graue.

And that *Cadmus* was the sonne of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Ægyptian*, it appeareth by that answere made by *Zeno*; when hee in a kinde of reproch was called a stranger and a *Phœnician*:

Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum? nam CADMVS *& ipse* *Athen. 1. Dipnos.*
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.

If a *Phœnician* borne I am, what then?
CADMVS was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

Ioseph. contra Appionem.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Iosephus* the Historian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* liued in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Ægypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the *French* doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greekes* the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druids* are as ancient as those *Gaules*, and that they sent their sonnes hither to bee by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this inuention on *Moses*, the same hath no probabilitie at all, for hee liued at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in *Ægypt*, and *Assyria*, and he himselfe was brought vp in all the learning of the *Ægyptians*, from his infancie.

But true it is that letters were inuented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall floud: either by *Seth*, or *Enos*, or by whom else God knowes; from whom all wisedome and vnderstanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath hee giuen the same inuention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in *Mexico*, when it was first discouered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently vsed by the *Ægyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans* a kinde of *Heraldrie*; and their Princes differing in *Armes* and *Scutchions*, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations. *Iura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* *Iurisc.* *Naturall Lawes are common and generall.*

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BVt whatsoeuer remaineth of the storie and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the bookes of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaseas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor liued at once with *Iosua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the *Græcians* besieged *Troy*, *Phasis* gouerned *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremies* time and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in *Iuda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremie* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, *&c.* as of seuerall Kings. *chap. 27. v. 3.*

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee inuaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia*, about *Tyre*, and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleete, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and pettie Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subiected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*: remembred by *D. Stculus* in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependancie vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Empire against the *Græcians*. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betweene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeeres and somewhat more betweene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed

eſteemed the more vnworthie of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*) hee rather ſubmitted himſelfe by the inſtigation of his Subiects (who foreſaw their vter ruine by reſiſtance) than that hee had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*. *L.4.*

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that hee was a man of ill liuing: and moſt voluptuous; alſo that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women dancers, and ſingers: whom he to this end chiefly inuited, and aſſembled: that hauing beheld the moſt beautifull and liuely among them, hee might recouer them for his owne vſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of theſe coaſts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the *Perſians* were neere him with an Armie too waightie for his ſtrength, and finding that hee was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Ægyptians*: hee determining to kill himſelfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent wreſted the ſword out of his hand and ſlew him: which done ſhee alſo therewith pierced her owne bodie, and died. *Athen.l.12.c.13* *Hieron.l.1.cont. Iouin.*

After *Alexander* was poſſeſt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driuen thence, Hee gaue the Kingdome to *Hephæſtion*, to diſpoſe of: who hauing receiued great entertainement of one of the Citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this Citizen no leſſe vertuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this Honour might bee inferred on ſome one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and preſented vnto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, IVSTINE *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch Alynomus*: who at the very houre that hee was called to this regall Eſtate, was with his owne handes working in his Garden, ſetting hearbes, and rootes, for his reliefe and ſuſtenance: though otherwiſe a wiſe man and exceeding iuſt.

Theſe were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whoſe eſtate being afterward changed into Popular or *Ariſtocraticall*: and by times and turnes ſubiected to the Emperours of the Eaſt: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Ioſephus* the Hiſtorian, as is ſaide, had many things wherewith hee garniſhed his Antiquities from the *Tyrian* Chronicles: and out of *Ioſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a deſcent of ſome twentie Kings of the *Tyrians*, but theſe Authors; though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Epheſius*, doe in no ſort agree in the times of their raignes; nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the firſt King of the *Tyrians*, that *Ioſephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the ſame perchance that the ſonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourtie and ſixth Chapter, ſpeaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*. *c.46.*

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* ſucceeded, if hee be not one and the ſame with *Abibalus*. *Dauid* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*) conſtrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom alſo *Dauid* complaineth *Pſal.*83. *Prep.Euang.l.9. c.4.*

Hiram ſucceeded *Suron*, whom *Ioſephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* ſometime *Hieromenus*, ſometime *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras Chiram*. He entred into a league with *Dauid*, and ſent him *Cedars* with Maſons, and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Hieruſalem*: after he had beaten thence the *Iebuſites*. The ſame was hee that ſo greatly aſſiſted *Salomon*: whom he not only furniſhed with *Cedars*, and other Materialls towards the raiſing of the Temple, and with great ſummes of money, but alſo he ioyned with him in his enterprize of the Eaſt *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furniſhed *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the moſt excellent Nauigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram* there is not onely mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Ioſephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 3d booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration againſt the *Grecians*: and in *Zonaras* Tome the firſt. This Prince ſeemed to be very mighty and magnificent, he deſpiſed the 20. townes which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himſelfe againſt *2.Sam.5.&c.* *2.Sam.c.5.* *1.King.c.1.9.10* *1.Chron.14.* *2.Chron.2.8.9.*

that victorious King *Dauid* and gaue his Daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called
1. *King.* 11. the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the Idoll of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* liued 53. yeeres.

Theoph. 17. yeeres. *Baleastartus* whom *Theoph. Antiochenus*, calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and raigned 7. yeeres according to *Iosephus*.

Abdastartus the eldest sonne of *Baleastartus*, gouerned 9. yeeres, and liued but 20. yeeres according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* he raigned 12. yeere, and liued 54. who being slaine by the foure sonnes of his owne Nurce, the eldest of them held the Kingdome 12. yeeres.

Astartus brother to *Abdastartus*, recouered the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and raigned 12. yeeres.

Ioseph. 54. *Theoph.* 58. *Astarimus*, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. yeeres, and liued in all 54.

Theoph. *Phelles* the fourth sonne of *Baleastartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*, and raigned 8. Moneths; liued 55. yeeres.

Ithobalus (or *Iuthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Astarimus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the *Goddesse Astarta*, which was a dignitie next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vncle *Phelles*: and raigned 32.
Ioseph. 32. *Theoph.* 12. yeeres, the same which in the first of Kings *chap.* 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose Daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married.

1. *King.* 16. *v.* 31 *Ioseph* 6. yeeres *Theoph.* 26. *Badezor* or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succeeded his Father, and raigned 6. yeeres, and liued in all 45.

Ioseph. 9. *Theoph.* 29. *Mettimus* succeeded *Badezor*, and raigned but 9. yeeres, (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sonnes *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two Daughters *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion raigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. yeeres, and liued 56: In the 7. yeere of whose raigne, *Elisa* sailed into *Affrica*, and built *Carthago*, 143. yeeres and 8. Moneths, after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our accompt was 289. yeeres after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* must be farre out of square. For *Pygmalion* couetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as hee accompanied him
Iustin. l. 11. *Virgil. l.* 1. in hunting: or if wee beleeue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Affrica* as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers teares, and by threates from the *Oracle* arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Familie of the *Barcæ* in *Affrica*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hannibal*. *Seruius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts, others from *Iedidia*, a surname of *Salomon*.

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion*: and raigned 36. yeeres: the same that ouerthrew the fleete of *Salmanassar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which hee continued his siege before it on the Land side fiue yeeres, but in vaine.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* gouerned the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himselfe to bee as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was slaine in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who serrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13. yeeres together, ere he preuailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and raigned 10. yeeres a tributarie, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death it was gouerned by diuers *Iudges*, succeeding each other: Firſt, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them some 7. yeeres, and odde Moneths: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeere: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4. yeeres: after him *Irom* sent thence also, 20. yeeres. In the 17. of whose raigne *Cyrus* beganne to gouerne *Persia*.

§. III.

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Of BOZIVS *his conceit that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them receiued and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true* GOD.

OF the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things vnder Heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who onely is vnchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the said *Bozius*, inforcing heerehence, that the prosperitie and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their imbracing or forsaking the true Religion, to proue this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to haue beene *Edumæans*, descended from *Esau*, *Iacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be beleeued that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glorie, was in any sort truely deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the proofe which the Scriptures giue of *Hirams* good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) he brings many coniecturall arguments: whereof the strongest is their petigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posteritie of *Esau* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, he endeuours to shew, partly by weake reasons, painefully strained from some affinitie of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authoritie. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and others witnesse, that the *Tyrians* came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Esiongaber*; or vnder the *Amalekites*, who descended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Esau*, whose chiefe Citie was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posteritie did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Israel*. Hereunto hee addes that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Astartis*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themselues differed much in their Philosophie from the Idolatrous customes of the *Greekes*. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumæans*, was an *Vniuersitie*, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Iob*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

Such is the discourse of *Bozius*, who labouring to proue one *Paradoxe* by an other, deserues in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Esau* brought vp his children it is no where found written, but that himselfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posteritie were Idolaters, is directly proued in the fiue and twentieth Chapter of the second booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetuall enemies to the House of *Israel*, saue only when *Dauid* and some of his race, Kings of *Iuda*, held them in subiection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant of *Dauids* vnfriendly behauiour amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betweene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Ioab* slew all the Males of *Edom*: neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edomites* were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the pietie and ancient wisedome of *Eliphaz* the

Themanite was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* punished, for being such as *Dauid* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reason with *Iob*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hus*, the Countrie of *Iob*: and to *Sueh* the Citie of *Bildad* the *Suhite*, as both such *Chorographers* who best knew those parts, doe plainely shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For *Iob* is said to haue exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wisedome, all the people of the East; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is that *Eliphaz* the sonne of *Esau* had a sonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And *Ismael* also had a sonne called *Thema*: of whom it is not vnlike that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the seuenth Chapter of the booke of *Iudges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst giue battaile to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeue that such a people were descended from one of *Esau* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all *Edom* haue beene: if one Tribe of them, yea one Familie of a Tribe had beene so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But wee no where finde that *Edom* had to doe with *Amalec*: or assisted the *Amalekites*: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being sonne to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtlesse was no *Edomite*. And thus much in generall for all the *Seignorie* of the Red Sea-coast, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to haue held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places as *Elan* and *Esiongaber* on the Red Sea shore, yet in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himselfe saith, that *Israel* did compasse all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs haue knowne it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrie: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into *Ægypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable soeuer, are needlesse in so manifest a case. For in the 83. *Psal.* *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozius* himselfe confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appeares, *Gen. c.* 10. *v.* 15. & 19. appointed by God to haue beene destroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Asser Ios.* 29. because they were euer Idolaters, and of the cursed seede of *Canaan*, not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God that hath sent King* DAVID *a wise sonne*, wee cannot inferre that hee was of *Dauids* Religion. The *Turke* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Astaroth*; and drew *Salomon* also to the same Idolatrie.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Salomon* in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne endes, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouision of Corne, and Oile, and the offer of twentie Townes or Villages in *Galilee*. And if wee rightly consider things, it will appeare that *Hiram*, in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*, Hee allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-pestered: being otherwise apt to yeeld silkes: as the *Andarine* silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oile, which hee wanted, hee gaue that which hee could well spare to *Salomon*. Also gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiser: who hauing got the gold first, gaue to *Hiram* the worst Villages that hee had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessarie police which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *Dauid* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: through which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carrie and recarrie their Wares on Cammells,

to

to their fleetes on the Red Sea; and backe againe to *Tyrus*: ſo that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſſe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the *Iſraelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to ſhare with the *Tyrians* in their aduentures. Yet *Salomon* as *Lord* of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the *Philiſtims*, might haue greatly diſtreſſed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps haue brought them euen into ſubiection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treaſure, in magnificent workes, than in purſuing the conqueſt of all *Syria*. Therefore hee willingly aided him, and ſent him cunning workmen, to increaſe his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and inſtruments of pleaſure.

As theſe paſſages betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no ſtrong Arguments of pietie in the *Tyrians*: ſo thoſe other prooles which *Bozius* frames negatiuely vpon particular examples, are very weake. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It ſeemes to me, that hauing more cunning than the *Greekes*, and being very ambitious, hee would faine haue purchaſed diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his houſe obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of ſuch hopes, if hee had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but ſingle examples. Euery ſaluage Nation hath ſome whoſe wiſedome excelleth the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wiſedome of theſe men expreſſe any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whome being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to ſay, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatrie, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Vtica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all *Colonies* of the *Tyrians* (of which, I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their firſt beginnings: therefore, the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were ſo likewiſe.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue been formerly a ſtrange kinde of deuout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is ſo peremptory, that he ſtileth men of contrary opinion, *impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honeſtie, with temporall happineſſe. Doubtleſſe this doctrine of *Bozius* would better haue agreed with *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Aſſyrians*, *Greekes*, *Romanes*, and all thoſe Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then proſper moſt, when they drew neereſt vnto the true Religion: what may bee ſaid of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as faſt as *Rome* it ſelfe grew: and was inlarged with ſome new ſuperſtition, almoſt vpon euery new victory? How few great battailes did the *Romanes* winne, in which they vowed not either a Temple to ſome new God, or ſome new Honour to one of their old Gods? yea, what one Nation, ſaue onely that of the *Iewes*, was ſubdued by them, whoſe Gods they did not afterward entertaine in their Citie? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Iewes*, they reiected, vpbraiding the *Iewes* with him, as if hee were vnworthy of the *Romane* Maieſtie: ſhall we herevpon enforce the lewd and fooliſh concluſion, which Heathen writers vſed againſt the *Chriſtians* in the *Primitiue Church*: That ſuch Idolatrie had cauſed the Citie of *Rome* to flouriſh, and that the decay of thoſe abominations did alſo bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought ſo, if proſperitie were a ſigne or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeale of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſely termes impious, giues ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeede. But ſuch indiſcretion is vſually found among men of his humour; who hauing once either fooliſhly imbraced the dreames of others, or vainely faſhioned in their owne braines any ſtrange *Chimera's* of Diuinitie, condemne all ſuch in the pride of their zeale, as *Atheiſts* and *Infidels*, that are not tranſported with

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the like intemperate ignorance. Great pittie it is that such madde Dogges are oftentimes incouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselues cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of EPHRAIM, *and of the Kings of the tenne Tribes, whose head was* EPHRAIM.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of EPHRAIM.

Psal. 59. 78. 108 *Par.* 25.

HAVING now past ouer *Phœnicia*, we come to the next Territory adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: sometime taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose issues when they left *Ægypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Desarts* (*Iosua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to bee able men 32500. who sate downe on the West side of *Iordan*, betweene *Manasse*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Iordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdome of *Israel*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and seated on the top of the Mountaine *Somren*, which ouer-looketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *August. Cæsar*. This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochard* found greater then those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other hewne and carued stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sonnes of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæsar* called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the Prophets *Helisæus*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monkes.

Neere *Samaria* toward the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to bee worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

Sichar. Ioh. 4. 5. *Maborthan. Ioseph.* 11. *ant.* 14.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolosa*: It was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Leui*, in reuenge of the rauishment of their sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* cuened

euened with the ſoyle. *Ieroboam* raiſed it vp againe: and the *Damaſcens* a third time caſt it downe.

Vnder *Sichem* toward the Sea ſtandeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon* on the Mountaine *Amelec*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Iſrael*. And vnder it *Betheron* of the *Leuites*, built as it is ſaid by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Neere to this Citie *Iudas Maccha-baus* ouerthrew *Seron* and *Lyſias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified. *Iudg.*12.15. 2.*King.*13.

Betweene *Betheron* and the Sea, ſtandeth *Samir*, of which *Ioſ.*10. And *Saron* whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua*: it is alſo mentioned *Acts* 9.35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cæſarea Palaſtina*, extendeth it ſelfe alongſt the coaſt as farre as *Ioppe*, ſaith *Adrichome*. Though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitfull plaine Region; for not onely this Valley is ſo called, to wit, betweene *Cæſarea* and *Ioppe*, but that alſo betweene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for ſo S. *Hierome* vpon the fiue and thirtieth Chapter of *Eſay* interprets the word *Saron*: and ſo doth the ſame Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdia*, reade *Saron* for *Aſſaron*: vnderſtanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Dioſpolis*, or the Citie of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Iudæa*, the fift in dignitie (or the third after *Plinie*) where Saint PETER (*non ſua ſed Chriſti virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Ioppe Sarona*. This *Ioppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, thoſe Rauens and ſpoylers of all Eſtates, diſturbers of Common-weales, vſurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other reſpect led than to amplifie their owne glory, troubled the whole world: and themſelues, after murthering one another, became a prey to the moſt ſaluage and barbarous Nations. *Ioſ.*12.18. *Act.*6. *Luc.*23. *Niger.Comm.*4. *Aſiæ.fol.*503.14.

In *Dioſpolis* (ſaith *Will.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whoſe honour and memorie *Iuſtinian* the Emperour cauſed a faire Church to bee built ouer his Tombe, theſe be *Tyrius* his wordes: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Ioppe, per latè patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranſeuntes, Liddam quæ eſt Dioſpolis, vbi & egregij Martyris* GEORGII *vſque hodiè Sepulchrum oſtenditur, peruenerunt, eius Eccleſiam quum ad honorem eiuſdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum,* AVGVSTVS IVSTINIANVS *multo ſtudio & deuotione prompta ædificari præcepe-rat, &c. They hauing left* (ſaith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Ioppe, paſſing ouer the great open plaine of Eleutheria, came to Lidda, which is Dioſpolis: where the ſumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr* S. GEORGE *is at this day ſhewed; whoſe Church, when the Godly and Orthodoxe Prince of the Romanes,* High *and Mightie* IVSTINIAN *had commanded to bee built, with great earneſtneſſe and preſent deuotion, &c.* Thus farre *Tyrius*, by whoſe teſtimonie we may coniecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; but rather ſome better *Chriſtian*: for this of *Alexandria* was ſlaine there in an vprore of the people, and his aſhes caſt into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet alſo it may bee, that this *Georgius* was a better *Chriſtian*, than hee is commonly thought: for his wordes of the Temple of GENIVS, *How long ſhall this Sepulchre ſtand?* occaſioned the vprore of the people againſt him: as fearing leſt hee would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This alſo *Marcellinus* reports; who though hee ſay that this *Georgius* was alſo deadly hated of the *Chriſtians*, who elſe might haue reſcued him: yet hee addeth that his aſhes, with the aſhes of two others, were therefore caſt into the Sea, leſt if their Reliques had been gathered vp, Churches ſhould bee built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not this *Georgius*, whoſe name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius*, aboue cited, witneſſeth to haue been buried at *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis*. The ſame alſo is confirmed by *Vitriac.* S. *Hierome* affirmes that it was ſometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Chriſtians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Biſhop *Suffragan*. Of this Saint *George* ſee more aboue in this ſecond Booke. C.7.§.3.†.5. *L.*12.c.11. *Salig.Tom.*6.c.4

Neere to *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis* ſtandeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward

ward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Iuda* neere *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not farre from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which, they say, adioyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the Hils of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* liued; and wherin he is buried.

See in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, *cap.* 12. §. 1.

Sam. 1. *c.* 25. *v.* 5

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Aialon* of the *Leuites*, of which 1. *Chron* 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the Warre of the *Iewes*. Also *Balsalisa* (for which *Iunius*, 2. *Reg.* 4. 42. reades *planities Shalisæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Iunius* vpon 1. *Sam.* 6. where we reade of the Land of *Shalisha*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

Ant. 13. 21. *de Bell. Ind.* 1. 6.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gosna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of gouernment, the second in dignitie, of which the Countrey about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sara*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies* or *Præsidencies* of *Iudæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly Citie and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which Citie and Territory *Israel* gaue vnto their Leader *Iosua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Hieroms* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* ingrauen, in memory of that greatest of wonders, which God wrought in *Iosua's* time.

Iudg 2. 9. It is called *Thimnath Chores*. *Ios.* 19. 50.

Hieron. in locis Hebr.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Iudas Maccabeus* with 3000. *Iewes* ouerthrew the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gaser* or *Gezer* which *Iosua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharao* of *Ægypt*; the people all slaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* rebuilt it.

Maccab. 1. 7. 40.

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citie of *Iesleti*, of which *Ios.* 16. 3. otherwise *Pelethi*, whence *Dauid* had part of his *Prætorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of *Silo*, whereon the *Arke* of God was kept so many yeeres, till the *Philistims* got it.

To this they ioyne the Citie of *Machmas* or *Michmas*: in which *Ionathas Macchabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

See in *Beniamin*. *Maccab.* 1. 9. *v. vlt.*

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophecied; and neere it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recouered from *Ieroboam*; after the great ouerthrow giuen him. Then *Kirsaim* of the *Leuites*, of which *Iosua* 21. 22. which *Iunius* thinkes to be the same with *Iokmeham*, of which 1. *Chro.* 6. 28. As for *Absaloms Baalasor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reades it the *Plaine of Chatzor*; and finds it in the Tribe of *Iuda*; as *Ios.* 15. wee reade of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neere *Kedesh* *v.* 23. and the other the same as *Chetzron* *v.* 25.

King. 1. *c.* 4. and see *Rana* in *Beniamin*.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citie of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a Tribute vpon the people. But it seemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so *Iunius* for *domus Millo*, reades *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Salomo ædificabit Millo*, he reades *ædificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* reade τὴν ἄκραν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

Iud. 9. *v.* 6. *&* 20

1. *Reg.* 11. 27. *Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place, *locum publicum necessarium ciuibus Ierosolymitanis atque Israelitis.* 2. *King.* 15. 29. *Ios.* 17. *v.* 15. 16.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*; and *Ianoach* or *Ianoah* spoyled by *Teglatphalassar*; *Pekah* then gouerning *Israel*; with diuers others, but of no great fame.

The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the Sonnes of *Ioseph*, on the West of *Iordan*: seuerall parts whereof are the Hill of

Samron

Samron or *Samaria*, 1.*Reg*.16.24. * the Hill of *Gahas*, *Iudg*.2.9. the Hill of *Tſalmon* or *Salmon*, *Iudg*.9.48. the Hills of the Region of *Tſuph* or *Tſophim*, *Iudg*.9.5. where *Rama-Tſophim* ſtood, which was the Citie of *Samuel*.

The great plentie of fruitfull Vines vpon the ſides of the Mountaines, was the occaſion that *Iacob* in the Spirit of Prophecie, *Geneſ*.49.22. compared *Ioſephs* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſe*, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well ſide, and ſpreading her [a] Daughter-branches along the Wall: which *Allegory* alſo *Ezekiel* c.22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the tenne Tribes, whoſe head was *Ephraim*) proſequutes: as alſo in his Lamentation for *Iuda*, hee followeth the other *Allegorie* of *Iacob*, *Gen*.49.9. comparing *Iuda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the higheſt of theſe Hills of *Ephraim*, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both ſides of *Iordan*, they finde the Caſtle called *Dok*: which they make to bee the ſame with *Dagon*, of which *Ioſeph*. 1.*Bell*.*Iudg*.c.2. in which Caſtle as it is 1.*Maccab*.16 *Ptolomie* moſt traiterouſly, at a banquet, ſlewe *Simon Maccabeus* his Father-in-Law.

Among the Riuers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in the ſecond of *Samuel*, c.23.v.30. where though *Iunius* reade *Hiddai ex vna vallium Gahaſi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* read *Hiddai* of the Riuer of *Gaas*. Alſo in this Tribe they place the Riuer of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great droughth: where he was [b] fed with the Rauens: and after that the Riuer was dried vp, he trauailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieued by the poore Widow of *Zarepta*, whoſe dead ſonne he reuiued, and increaſed her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby ſhe ſuſtained her life.

* Alſo the Hill of *Phinehas*, where *Eleazar* the high Prieſt the ſon of *Aaron*, was buried, *Ioſ*.24.33. And the two tops of Hils, *Gerizim* wher the bleſſings, & *Hebal* where the curſings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut*.11 & 27. & *Ioſ*.8.

a It ſeemeth that *Iacob* in this prophecie the rather vſeth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainely to ſignifie *Colonies*: which in the *Hebrew* phraſe are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Ioſua* and eliwhere oftē.

b 1.*Reg*.17.3. 1.*Reg*.17.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from IEROBOAM *to* ACHAB.

OF the firſt Kings of *Iſrael*, I omit in this place to ſpeake: and reſerue it to the *Catalogue* of the Kings of *Iuda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuiſion from *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to ſpeake. The firſt of theſe Kings was *Ieroboam*, the ſonne of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zereda*, who being a man of ſtrength and courage, was by *Salomon* made ouer-ſeer of the buildings of the *Millo* or Munition in *Hieruſalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſe*: and ſo many of them as wrought in thoſe workes. During which time as he went from *Hieruſalem*, hee encountred the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that he was by God deſtinied to be King of *Iſrael*: and to command ten of the twelue Tribes. After this fearing that thoſe things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, hee fled into *Ægypt* to *Shiſhak*, whom *Euſebius* calleth *Oſochores*, whoſe Daughter hee married: the Predeceſſour of which *Shiſhak* (if not the ſame) did likewiſe entertaine *Adad* the *Idumean*, when he was carried yong into *Ægypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Ioab*; which *Adad*, the King of *Ægypt* married to his Wiues ſiſter *Taphnes*; vſing both him and *Ieroboam* as inſtruments to ſhake the Kingdome of *Iudæa*; that himſelfe might the eaſilier ſpoile it, as he did: for in the fifth yeere of *Rehoboam*, *Shiſhak* ſackt the Citie of *Hieruſalem*, and carried thence all the treaſure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the ſpoiles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the preſents of *Tohu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an ineſtimable value. 1.*Reg*.14.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the *Iſraelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that ſtate: yet preferring the policies of the world before the ſeruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule ſhould repaire to *Hieruſa-*

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lem to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might bee drawne from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Ægyptian Apis*, saith S. *Ambrose*, or rather of *Aarons* Calfe in *Horeb*) further he made election of his Priests out of the baseſt and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe seate and Palace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Iudæan* Prophet, whome *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Ioel*: His hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posteritie.

Ambrose vpon the 1. Chap. of the Epistle to the *Romanes*.

1. *King.* 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. *Chron.* 13.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Iuda*, and died after he had gouerned two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his sonne succeeded: who in the second yeere of his reigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam* was slaine, and rooted out by *Baasha*, who reigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeeres.

Baasha the sonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made warre with *Asa* King of *Iuda*: hee seated himselfe in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Iuda*, to restraine their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who inuaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Asa* carried away the Materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twentie yeeres and died.

1. *Kin.* 15. & 16

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his sonne, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambris* after he had reigned two yeeres: and in him the prophecie of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seuen dayes; But *Ambris* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forst him to burne himselfe.

1. *King.* 16.

Ambris or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seate from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater, no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subiected to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue; seeing *Benadad* the Sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Asa* King of *Iuda*, to assaile *Baasha* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* raigned twelue yeeres, sixe in *Thersa*, and sixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

1. *King.* 16.

1. *King.* 15.

§. III.

Of ACHAB *and his Successors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.*

ACHAB or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not onely vp-held the *Idolatrie* of *Ieroboam*, borrowed of the *Ægyptians*: but hee married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his *Ægyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*: and erected an Altar and a Groue to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. GOD sent famine on the Land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* preuailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false prophets: and afterward flieth for feare of *Iezabel*.

Benadad, not long after, besieged *Samaria*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at libertie: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Micheas*) reproueth him: afterward hee caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to bee stoned. Then ioyning with

Iosaphat

Ioſaphat in the warre for the recouerie of *Ramoth*, hee was ſlaine as *Michæas* had foretold him.

Hee had three ſonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ioas*: beſides ſeuentie other ſonnes by ſundry wiues and Concubines.

Ochozias ſucceeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: hee bruiſed himſelfe by a fall: and ſent for counſaile to *Beel-zebub* the God of *Acharon*. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the meſſenger on the way: and miſliking that *Ochozias* ſought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the meſſenger, If there were not a God in *Iſrael*? *Ochozias* ſendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie ſouldiers to bring *Eliah* vnto him, both which with their Attendants were conſumed with fire. The third Captaine beſought mercie at *Eliahs* hands, and hee ſpared him, and went with him to the king; auowing it to the king that he muſt then die, which came to paſſe in the ſecond yeere of his raigne.

Beelſe-bub was the ſame with *Belus* and *Pluto*, ſaith *Vigenere* vpon *Liui*. 2. *Kings* 1.

Ioram the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, ſucceeded: He allured *Ioſaphat* king of *Iuda*, and the king of *Edom* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Moabites*, who refuſed to pay him the tribute of 20000. ſheepe. The three kings wanted water, for themſelues and their horſes, in the Deſarts. The Prophet *Eliſha* cauſeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are ouerthrowne: their king flieth to *Kirharaſeth*, and being beſieged, according to ſome Expoſitors, burnt his ſonne on the walles as a Sacrifice, whereat the three kings moued with compaſſion returned and left *Moab*, waſting and ſpoyling that Region. Others, as it ſeemes with better reaſon, vnderſtand the Text to ſpeake of the ſonne of the king of *Edom*, whom they ſuppoſe in this irruption to haue beene taken priſoner, by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* ſhewed him ore the walls, threatning, vnleſſe the ſiege were diſſolued, that he would offer him in ſacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* beſought thoſe of *Iuda* and *Iſrael* to breake off the ſiege for the ſafetie of his ſonne: which when the other kings refuſed to yeeld vnto, and that *Moab* according to his former threatning had burnt the king of *Edoms* ſonne vpon the rampire, that all the aſſailants might diſcerne it, the king of *Edom* being by this ſad ſpectacle inraged, forſooke the partie of the other kings; for want of whoſe aſſiſtance the ſiege was broken vp. 2. *King.* 3.

After this the king of *Aram* ſent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the leprouſie. The anſwere of *Ioram* was; Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that hee doth ſend to heale a man from his leprouſie? adding, that the *Aramite* ſought but matter of quarrell againſt him. *Eliſha* hearing thereof, willed the king to ſend *Naaman* to him; promiſing that hee ſhould know that there was a Prophet in *Iſrael*, and ſo *Naaman* was healed by waſhing himſelfe ſeuen times in *Iordan*. *Eliſha* refuſed the gifts of *Naaman*. But his ſeruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the ſellers of ſpirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians* of *Simon Magus*. 2. *King.* 5.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of *Aram* or *Damaſcus*, hauing heard that this Prophet did diſcouer to the king of *Iſrael* whatſoeuer the *Aramite* conſulted in his ſecreteſt councell, ſent a troupe of horſe to take *Eliſha*: all whom *Eliſha* ſtrooke blinde, and brought them captiues into *Samaria*: *Ioram* then asking leaue of the Prophet to ſlay them, *Eliſha* forbade him to harme them: but cauſed them to be fed and ſent backe to their owne Prince in ſafetie.

The king of *Aram* notwithſtanding theſe benefits, did againe attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cauſe thereof to the Prophet *Eliſha*. *Eliſha* by prayer cauſed a noiſe of Chariots and armor to ſound in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the ſiege; an act of great admiration as the ſame is written in the ſecond of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdome of *Syria* by the death of his Maſter, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontire tooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which warre he receiued diuers wounds, and returned to *Ieſrael* to be cured. But whileſt hee lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in *Gilead*, was anoynted king by one of the children of the 2. *King.* 7.

Prophets sent by *Elisha)* surprized and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Ahab*.

Iehu who raigned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his foregoers, but also their Religion; for which hee receiued a promise from God, That his seede should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, for which hee was plagued with grieuous warre, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Iordan*:
Pag.86. in which warre he was slaine, saith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* raigned 28. yeeres.

Ioachaz or *Iehoahaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whome *Azael* and his sonne *Benhadad* often inuaded, and in the end subiected, leauing him onely 50. horse,
2.King.13. 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* raigned 17. yeeres.

After *Ioachaz Ioas* his sonne gouerned *Israel*, who when hee repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as he lay in his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commaunded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisha* couered the kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue smitten fiue or sixe times, and then hee should haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as hee gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *Ioas*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battells, and recouered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his father *Ioachaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amazia* king of *Iuda*, who prouoked him to make the
2.King.14. warre, whereupon hee entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Ioas* raigned sixteene yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

Ieroboam the third from *Iehu*, followed *Ioas* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors; but hee recouered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and raigned one and fortie yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who raigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menahem*
2.King.16.19. being inuaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of siluer, which he exacted by a Tribute of fiftie shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* gouerned twentie yeeres.

Pekahiah or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras Phacesia*, succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, hee was slaine by *Phaca* or *Pekah* the Commaunder of his armie, who raigned in his place. In this *Pekahs* time *Phulassar* or *Tiglat-Phylassar* inuaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wan *Iion*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Ianoach*, *Kedesh*, *Hasor*, and *Gi-*
2.King.15.29. *lead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captiues into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achas* king of *Iudaa* against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekah* of *Israel* and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed the Monarchie of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inuiting of the great *Assyrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Iudaa*. *Pekah* raigned twentie yeeres.

Then *Hoshea* or *Osea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, he sought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* king of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastred it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Niniuie* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them:

and

and re-planted *Samaria* with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a Riuer in *Perſia*, or rather in *Arabia Deſerta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with thoſe of *Sepharuaijm* (a people of *Sephar* in *Meſopotamia* vpon *Euphrates*, of whoſe conqueſt *Senacherib* vaunteth) alſo with thoſe of *Ana*: which were of the ancient *Auins* who inhabited the Land of the *Philiſtims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neere vnto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, called *Hauæi*, willing to returne to their ancient ſeates. To theſe he added thoſe of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites*, and ſometime the Vaſſalls of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, which ſo often afflicted them. And thus did this *Aſſyrian* aduiſe himſelfe better than the *Romanes* did. For after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the Cities of *Iudæa*, and *Hieruſalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their owne thin Garriſons, which ſoone decaied: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could be driuen thence againe to this day.

Ptol. l. 5.

Eſai. 37.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, hapned in the yeare of the world 3292. the ſixth yeare of *Ezekia* King of *Iuda*: and the ninth of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Ieroboam*,	Raigned	22 Yeares.
2.	*Nadab*,		2 Yeares.
3.	*Baaſha*,		24. Yeares.
4.	*Ela*,		20. Yeares.
5.	*Zambris*,		7. Daies.
6.	*Omri*,		11. Yeares.
7.	*Achab*,		22. Yeares.
8.	*Ochozias*,		2. Yeares.
9.	*Ioram*,		12. Yeares.
10.	*Iehu*,		28. Yeares.
11.	*Ioachaz*,		17. Yeares.
12.	*Ioas*,		16. Yeares.
13.	*Ieroboam*,		41. Yeares.
14.	*Zacharias*,		6. Moneths.
15.	*Shallum*,		1. Moneth.
16.	*Menahem*,		10. Yeares.
17.	*Pekahia*,		2. Yeares.
18.	*Phaca*,		20. Yeares.
19.	*Hoſea*.		9. Yeares, about whoſe time writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of DAN, SIMEON, IVDA, RVBEN, GAD, *and the other halfe of* MANASSE.

§ I.

Of DAN, *where of Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Townes.*

NOw following the coast of the *Mediterran* Sea, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, ioyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which familie there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the *Deserts*, there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes 66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this *V.46.* Tribe on the Sea coast was *Ioppe*, or *Iapho*, as in the 19. of *Iosua*: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Hierusalem*. From hence *Ionas* imbarked himselfe when hee fled from the seruice of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Macchabæus* gouerned the *Iewes*, the *Syrians* that were Garrison in *Ioppe*, hauing their fleet in the Port, inuited 200. prin- *Macc.2.12.* cipall Citizens aboord them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the *Romanes*, and by *Cestius* the Lieutenant vtterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeare of *Christ* 1250. *Lodonick* the French King gaue it new Walls and Towers: It is now the *Turkes*, and called *Iaffa*. There are certaine Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported that *Andromeda* was fastned with chaines: and from thence deliuered from the Sea-Monster by *Perseus*. This fable (for so I take it) *L.3.1.15.de bel. Iud.Solin.c.47. Plin.l.5.c.9.* is confirmed by *Iosephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of *Ædileship*, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of *Rome*. S. *Hierome* vpon *Ionas* speakes of it indifferently.

The next vnto *Ioppe* was *Iamnia*, where *Iudas Macchabæus* burnt the rest of the *Sy-* *2.Macc.12.* *rian* fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at *Hierusalem* 240. furlongs off. It *De Bell. sacr.* had sometime a Bishops seate, saith *Will.* of *Tyre*; But there is no signe of it at this time that such a place there was.

After *Iamnia* is the Citie of *Geth* or *Gath*, sometime *Anthedon*, saith *Volaterran*. And *F.244.* so *Montanus* seemes to vnderstand it. For he sets it next to *Ægypt*, of all the *Philistim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volaterran* giues neither reason nor authoritie for his opinion; for *Ptolomie* sets *Anthedon* farre to the South of *Ioppe*: And *Geth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philistims*: and about sixteene miles from *Ioppe*; where S^t. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and *Hieron.in Micheam.* *Seminarie* of the *Anakims*: strong and Giant-like-men, whom *Iosua* could not expell, nor the *Danites* after him: nor any of the *Israelites*, till *Dauids* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did diuers others not much inferiour in strength and stature vnto *Goliath*.

Roboam

Roboam the Sonne of *Salomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the sonne of *Amazia* destroied it againe. It was also laid waste by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Pelke* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the holy Warre calls *Ibylin*, I much doubt: the errour growing by taking *Gath* for *Anthedon*. *L.21.c.18.*

Not farre from *Geth* or *Gath* standeth *Bethsemes* or the house of the *Sunne*. In the fields adioyning to this Citie (as is thought) was the *Arke* of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned loose by the *Philistims*: and the *Bethsemites* presuming to looke therein, there were slaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000 by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter and the great lamentation of the people: it was called the great * *Abel*, saith S^t. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other Cities of this name; one in [a] *Nepthalim*: another in *Iuda*: and another in *Isachar*. *Hierome* finds a fifth in *Beniamin*. *Sam.1.c.6.v.18.*

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong Citie of *Accaron* offereth it selfe, sometime one of the fiue *Satrapies*, or Gouernments of the *Philistims*. S^t. *Hierome* makes it the same with *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*. *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it selfe against the *Danites* and *Iudæans*. It worshipped *Beel-zebub* the God of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Ahaziah* King of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose Messengers *Eliah* meeting by the way caused them to returne, with a sorrowfull answere to their Master. This Citie is remembred in many places of Scripture.

* Or rather not the citie it selfe, but the great stone in the field, vpon which stone the *Philistims* set the *Arke*, the change being easie from *Eben* or *Aben*, which signifieth a stone, to *Abel* which signifieth mourning.

Christianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Asdod* was also an habitation of the *Anakims*, whome *Iosua* [b] failed to destroy, though he once possest their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple dedicated to the [c] Idoll *Dagon*: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, after the *Arke* of God was by the *Philistims* carried into their Temple; and in the second fall it was vtterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous [d] *Iudas Machabæus* slaine by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the Lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Ionathas*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire: neere which also he ouerthrew *Apollonius*.

[a] See in *Nepth.* c. 7. §. 4. † 6. 2. *King.* 1.

[b] It was besieged by *Psammetichus* the father of *Pharao Neco* for 29 yeers together whence *Ieremy* 25.v.20. speaks of the residue of *Asdod*, to wit, the greatest part hauing perished in this siege.

[c] 1. *Sam.*5.4.

[d] *Macc.*1.c.9. *Macc.*1.c.10. *Ios.*19.41. *Iud.*13.25, &c. 18.v.2.

Gabinius the *Romane* rebuilt it. It had a Bishops seate while Christianitie flourished in those parts. But in S^t. *Hieromes* time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the *Apostle* baptized the *Eunuch*, are *Tsorah*, or *Sarara*, and *Esthaol*, and betweene them *Castra Danis* neere *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampson* was borne, may seeme by the words *Iud.* 18. 12. to bee in the Tribe of *Iudah*, as the other also were bordering Townes betweene *Dan* and *Iuda*.

After these within the bounds of *Iuda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they finde *Gedor*, or as it is 1. *Mac.* 15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Iewes*, and neere which himselfe was by the *Macchabees* ouerthrowne. 1. *Macc.*15.16.

Then *Modin* the Natiue Citie of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulcher the seuen Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth as they serued for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeeres after their first setting vp, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witnesse.

There are besides these the Citie of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: seated in the border of *Iuda*, *Beniamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the *Arke* of God remained twentie yeeres in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *Dauid* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*: Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Barachias*, or *Ieboida*, who was slaine betweene the Temple and the Altar: also *Vrias* whom *Ioachim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered as we finde in *Ieremie*. Many other places which *Alias Cariathbaal* and *Baal*, or *Baalpharosim* 1. *Sam.*7.1. & 2 *Sam.*6.2. 2. *Chron.*24.22. *Mat.*23.33. *Ier.*26.20.

they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin* taken with great slaughter by *Iudas Machabæus*: and *Lachis*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, in which also *Amazias* was slaine: The same which *Senacherib* tooke, *Ezechias* raigning in *Iuda*.

2. *Macc.* 12. 13. *Ios.* 12. 11. 2. *Reg.* 14. 19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Iosua c.* 19. from the *Verse* 41. where also it is added that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they inuaded *Leshem*, and inhabited it: which Citie after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Iturea*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrarch*: but of this Citie see more in *Nepthalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of fame.

It hath two Riuers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountaines of *Iuda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which haue no seedes or stones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taste, and sauour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the Riuer, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loued.

Hieron. in Esay. & Micheam. 1. Broch. Breid. Iud. 16. 4.

§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes vp the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Ægypt*: who being the second Sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that familie while they abode in *Ægypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their liues in the *Desarts*, there entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing armes, who were * in part mixed with *Iuda*, and in part seuered, inhabiting a small Territorie on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the first Citie adioyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

* And therefore no maruel that diuers places named, *Ios.* 15. in the large portion of *Iuda* be reckoned in this Tribe: see *Ios.* 19. v. 1. & 9. where thus much is expressly noted. *Volat. Geog. l.* 11 *fol.* 244.

The *Reguli* or pettie Kings thereof were called *Ascalonitæ*: of which *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Historie of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sonnes of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Armie in *Syria*, falling in loue with a yong Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie and called it after his owne name: the same hath *Nicolaus* in his Historie, saith *Volaterran*.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Booke remembreth a Lake neere *Ascalon*, wherein there hath beene a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the *Goddesse* of the *Syrians*: hauing the face of a Woman and the bodie of a Fish: who, as I haue said before, in the storie of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fed and releeued by Doues. And therefore was the Doue worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Doue is for holy held, in *Syria Palæstine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the *Philistims*. It bred many learned men (saith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sosus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus* who wrote the storie of *Bithynia*.

Vol. vi supra.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* borne, that seeking after our Sauiour, caused all the Male-children of two yeeres old and vnder to be slaine. In the

Christian

Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made Warre in the holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. *Eius muros cum* SALADINVS *diruisset*, RICHARDVS *Anglorum Rex instaurauit*, saith *Adrichomius*. *Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.*

In *Dauids* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for hee nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* onely, when hee lamenteth the death of *Saul*, and *Ionathane*, not speaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streetes of Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* restored it as hee did *Azotus* and *Gaza*. 2.*Sam.*1.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrewes* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians Azan*: of *Azonus* (as they say) the sonne of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by *Iupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* giues the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*: because belike hee rebuilt it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the fiue *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*: and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Ægypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* inuaded the Empire of *Persia*, it receiued a Garrison for *Darius*: in despight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desart*. *Vol.l.11.* *Steph. de Vrb. Iud.1.6.16.* 1.*King.6.&alib.*

Alexander Ianneus King of the *Iewes* surprised it: and slew 500. *Senators* in the Temple of *Apollo* which fled thither for Sanctuarie: but this *Gaza* was not set vp in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had ouer-turned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Machabees*, and gaue many wounds to the *Iewes* till it was forst by *Simon*: of which hee made so great account as he purposed to reside therin himselfe, and in his absence left *John* his Sonne and Successour to be Gouernour. In *Brothard* his time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name of *Gazara*. *Iosep.13.ant.19.* *Macc.1.15.* *Broch.Itin.7.*

At the very out-let of the Riuer of *Besor*, standeth *Maioma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priuiledge of a Citie was giuen by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance* after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But *Iulian* the *Apostata* soone after fauouring the *Gazeans*, made it subiect vnto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*. *Hist.trip.l.6.c.4.* *Niceph.10.hist. cap.4.*

On the other side of *Besor*, standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Ianneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the fauourite of *Augustus*. *Iosep.13.ant.19.* 21.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* ouerthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name * of *the Torrent of Ægypt*, till the *Septuagint* conuerted it by *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Es.*27.12. giuing the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. *Plinie* cals it *Rhinocolura*; and *Iosephus*, *Rhinocorura*: [a] *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by lots, betweene the three Sonnes of *Noah*. *Iosep.13.ant.19.* 21.14.&c.

* *Iunius* calls it *Vallis Ægypti* the name of the streame seemes to be *Shichor*. See in *Asser*, Chap. 7.§.3.†.8. in the margent a *Epiph. tom.2. in refut. Manich & in Ancorato.*

Within the Land and vpon the Riuer of *Besor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth betweene *Kadesh* and *Shur*, *Gene.*20.1. That it was neere to the Wildernesse of *Beer-shebah*, it appeares *Gene.*20.31. and therefore no maruaile that as elsewhere *Beer-shebah*, so sometime *Gerar*, bee made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of olde a distinct Kingdome from the *Philistim Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; Saint *Hierome* saith that afterward it was called *Regio salutaris*; *the healthie Countrie*: so that it was no maruaile that *Abraham* and *Isaac* liued much in these parts. Of King *Asa's* conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see 2.*Chron.* 14.14. *Gene.10.19.*

More within the Land was *Siceleg* or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *Dauid* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, but 1.*Sam.*30.

but *Dauid* followed them ouer the Riuer of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recouered the prey.

Ioſep. 10, 11. 12. Next *Dabir* ſometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuerſitie, as they ſay, or *Academie* of old *Paleſtine*. In S^t. *Hieromes* time it ſeemes it had the name of *Daema*: *Ioſua* 15. 49. it is called *Vrbs Sanne*: from the name, as it ſeemes, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Vrbs Arbahi*. For euen hence alſo were theſe *Ioſ.* 11. v. 21. Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Calebs* promiſe of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Ioſua* and the Hoaſt of *Iſrael* were at the ſurpriſe, it appeares *Ioſ.* 10. 39. This Citie *Ioſ.* 21. 15. is named among thoſe which out of *Simeon* and *Iuda* were giuen to the *Leuites*. And hence it ſeemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Beſides theſe, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of leſſe fame, as *Haiin*, of which *Ioſ.* 19. 7. which alſo *Ioſ.* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Iuda* and *Simeon* (for which *Iunius* thinkes *Haſham* is named 1. *Chron.* 6. 59. though * in the place of *Ioſua* theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Tholad* ſo named 1. *Chron.* 4. 29. for which *Ioſua* 19. 4. wee haue *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Suſa* ſo named *Ioſua* 19. 5. for which *Ioſua* 15. wee haue *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Suſa Equitatus*.

* And alſo 1. *Chron.* 4. 32.

In the ſame places of *Ioſua* and of the *Chronicles Chorma* is named, which they thinke to be the ſame with that of which *Numb.* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot bee in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumæa*. For *Iſrael* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Deſart*.

Deut. 1.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this Tribe: ſo called of the Oath betweene *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neere vnto which *Hagar* wandred with her Sonne *Iſmael*. It was alſo called the Citie of *Iſaac*, becauſe hee dwelt long there. While the *Chriſtians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian Deſart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Ioſua*, and of the *Chronicles*, aboue noted, becauſe they helpe vs nothing in ſtorie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Iuda*, certaine of this Tribe being ſtreightned in their owne Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1. *Chron.* 4. 39. (the ſame place which *Ioſ.* 15. 36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of *Cham*: where they ſeated themſelues: as alſo fiue hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroied the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

Gen. 21. 31.

* As it ſeemes in the Land of *Iuda*. See in the firſt *Paragraphe* of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan. Iud.* 16. 3.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampſon* the chiefeſt: vnto which he carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Riuers are *Beſor*, and the *Torrent* of *Ægypt* called *Shichor*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

THE

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF IVDA.

OF *Iuda* the fourth Sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Ægypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the *Deſarts*. And of their ſonnes there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatneſſe of this number was the greateſt Territorie giuen, called afterward *Iudæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in theſe Tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong vnto the children of *Iuda*: who had a kind of Soueraignтie ouer them: as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this ſmall Prouince (if it be meated by that ground giuen to this Tribe onely) were vncredible, if the witneſſe of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *Dauid* numbred the people, they were found fiue hundred thouſand fighting men.

The Cities of *Iuda* were many. But I will remember the chiefeſt of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Iudæa* from *Idumæa*: whoſe King firſt ſurpriſed the *Iſraelites* as they paſſed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and tooke from them ſome ſpoiles, and many priſoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne by the *Iſraelites*, the ſonnes of *Keni*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that Territorie: who before the comming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt betweene *Madian* and *Amalek*. *Num.21.v.3. Ioſ.12.v.14. Iud.1.v.16.*

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed, the next to *Arad*: ſo called becauſe of Scorpions, which are ſaid to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acrabathena* was denominated: of which we haue ſpoken in *Manaſſes*. On the South ſide alſo of *Iudæa* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Iethnam*, and *Aſor* or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Townes. *Num.34.4. Deut.8.15.*

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Iuda*, of which the *Deſart* and Forreſt adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himſelfe from *Saul*. After theſe are the Cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah* and *Aſemona*, or *Hatſmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, we finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which ſee *Ioſ.*15. alſo *Carioth* by *Ioſua c.*15. *v.*25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Iudas* the Traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampſon* which *Reboboam* reedified. Beyond theſe towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iatthir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Chriſtians*: neere vnto this Citie was that remarkeable battaile fought betweene *Aſa* King of *Iuda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithſtanding beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victorie as farre as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recouered. *Iudg.*15.8. 1. *Chron.*11.6. *Iun.* out of the 1. *Chron.*4.32. notes that this *Hetham* though it were within the bounds of *Iuda* belonged to *Simeon*. *Ioſ.*15.48. *Hieron.in loc. Hebr.*

Not farre from *Iether*, ſtandeth *Iarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua*, and the Citie ouerturned. Next vnto it is *Mareſa* the natiue Citie of the Prophet *Michæa*: Betweene it and *Odolla*, *Iudas Macchabæus* ouerthrew *Gorgias*: and ſent thence ten thouſand *Dragmas* of ſiluer to be offered for Sacrifice. *2.Macc.*12.35.

Odolla or *Hadullam* it ſelfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Ioſua*, and the King thereof ſlaine. *Ionathas Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila* or *Keila* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* ſometime hid himſelfe: and which afterward *Gen.*38.*v.*1. *Ioſ.*12.15. *1.Sam.*23.1.

afterward he deliuered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained and was seene by S^t. *Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron* sometime called *the Citie of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reason of this name they giue as if it signified the Citie of foure: because the foure *Patriarchs*, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plaine by the places *Iosua* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not signifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whose sonne as it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled *Ios.* 15.) were the sonnes of this *Anak*, *Num.* 13. 23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worne for ornament: and it seemes that this *Anak* inriched by the spoiles which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name: and leauing the custome to his posteritie, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seuen yeeres before *Tsoan* or *Tanis* in *Ægypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen, to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the rest to the *Leuites*. It had a Bishop in the *Christian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis* or the free Citie, remembred often by S^t. *Hierome*. Then *Eglon* whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Iosua* vtterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next Citie of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Gouernment or *Præsidencies* of *Iudæa*. In sight of this Citie *Iudas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

Ios. 10. *v.* 11.

Macc. 1. 3.

Euseb. in Chron. *Broch. Itin.* 6.

In the yeare 1301. it was ouer-turned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the *Christian* times it had a Bishops seate of the Dioceese of *Cæsaria* of *Palæstine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which and of *Gederoth* * *Ios.* 15. *v.* 36. & 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Iosua* followed the slaughter of the fiue Kings before named, a Citie of great strength in the Valley of [a] *Terebinth* or *Turpintine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth 1. *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it seemes) they seat it neere vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Libna* of the *Leuites*. It reuolted from the subiection of the *Iewes* while *Ioram* the sonne of *Iosaphat* ruled in *Hierusalem*: And next vnto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Iosua* vtterly dispeopled.

* Also 1. *Chron.* 4. 39. as is aboue remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon*.

[a] *Iunius* for *in Valle Terebinthi* hath *in valle querceti*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrewe* reading *in valle Elah*.

Iosep. 13. *ant.* 9. *Macc.* 1. 6.

On the other side of *Emaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethsor*: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all *Iuda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (*the house on the Rocke*, or *of strength*.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Iudas Macchabæus*. *Lysias* forst it, and *Antiochus Eupator* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Genes. 53. 48.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within sixe miles of *Hierusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*: sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this Citie was *Abessan* or *Ibzan*, *Iudge of Israel*, after *Iephtah*, famous for the thirtie Sonnes and thirtie Daughters, begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Iuda* in the time of the *Iudges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and maried *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to be the native Citie of our Sauiour *Iesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

Ruth. 1.

Hieron. in comm. super Math. c. 2. *Math.* 2. 1. *Amos* 1. *v.* 1.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a Citie of the same name: and therefore was this of our Sauiour called *Bethleem Iuda*.

From *Bethleem* some foure or fiue mile standeth *Thecua*, the Citie of *Amos* the Prophet:

Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the Citie of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethſura* and *Hieruſalem*: on whoſe Hills adioyning the glorious gilt ſhields of *Antiochus* ſhined like lamps of fire in the eies of the *Iewes*. The Citie of * *Bezek* was alſo neere vnto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-bezec* commanded; who had during his raigne tortured 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the ſame end befell himſelfe by the ſonnes of *Iuda*, after they had taken him priſoner. 1.*Macc.*6.32. *Ioſeph.Ant.*12. c.14. 1.*Macc.*6.v.36. *See in *Manaſſ.* c.7.§.7.†.1. *Iudg.*1.v.6.& 7

The reſt of the Cities in this part (moſt of them of no great eſtimation) wee may paſſe by vntill we come to the magnificent Caſtle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble ſteps, exceeding beautifull and ſtrong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the *Deſart* of *Ieruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *cliuus floridus*, where in the time of *Iehoſaphat*, the *Iewes* ſtood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, maſſacring one another, when they had purpoſed to ioyne againſt *Iuda*: neere which place is the Valley of bleſſing, where the *Iewes* the fourth day after, ſolemnely came and bleſſed God for ſo ſtrange deliuerance. *Ioſep.*14.*ant.*22. 2.*Chro.*20.v.16. & 26.

Now the Cities of *Iuda* which border the Dead Sea, are theſe; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tſohar* which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: ſo called becauſe *Lot* in his praier for it vrged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tſohar*, which ſignifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.*14.2. In the *Romans* times it had a Garriſon, and was called (as they ſay) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balezora*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hen-gaddi*, firſt *Aſaſonthamar*: neere vnto which are the Gardens of *Balſamum*, the beſt that the world had called *Opobalſamum*: the moſt part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queene of *Ægypt* ſent for out of *Iudæa*, and *Herod* who either feared or loued *Anthonie* her huſband, cauſed them to be rooted vp and preſented vnto her: which ſhee replanted neere *Heliopolis* in *Ægypt*. This Citie was firſt taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the moſt remarkable Cities of *Iudæa*: and one of the *Præſidencies* thereof. 2.*Chron.*11. *Some call it *Bal-ſaliſa* and *Vitula conſiſtens*. See in *Gad c.*10.§.5. *poſt principium in Haroher.* *Gen.*19.20. *Hieron. in Oſe.* *Hebr. Chatſatſou-thamar.* 2.*Chron.*20.2. *Gen.*14.7.

The reſt of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Ieſrael*; not that which was the Citie of *Naboth*, of which alreadie: but another of the ſame name, the Citie of *Achinoam*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Abſalom* ſlew: alſo as ſome thinke the Citie of *Amaſa*, *Abſaloms* Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this ſeemeth to be an errour grounded vpon the neereneſſe of the words, *Iſrael* and *Ieſrael*: and becauſe the 2.*Sam.*17.25. *Amaſaes* father is called a *Iiſraelite*, who firſt of the *Chron.*2.17. is called an *Iſmaelite*: indeede the *Hebrew Orthographie* ſheweth that *Amaſaes* Father is not ſaid to be of the Citie *Ieſrael*, but an *Iſraelite* in Religion, though otherwiſe an *Iſmaelite*. 1.*Reg.*21. 2.*Sam.*17.25.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills or Mountaines, as thoſe of *Engaddi* vpon the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of *Iuda*, which begin to riſe by *Emaus*, and end neere *Taphna*, and theſe part *Iuda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which ſtand ſingle there is that of *Hebron*: at the foote whereof was that Oake of *Mambre*, where the three *Angells* appeared to *Abraham*, which S^t. *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree; and ſaith, that it ſtood till the time of *Conſtantine* the yonger. There is alſo that Mountaine called *Collis Achilla*, on the South ſide of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, incloſing the old Caſtle, erected by *Ionathas Macchabæus*, and called *Maſſada*, garniſhed it with ſeuen and twentie high and ſtrong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundreth thouſand men; being as it ſeemeth a place vnacceſſable, and of incomparable ſtrength. *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.& quæſt. Hebr.* *Ioſep.*14.*Ant.* c.20.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Aſphaltitis*, this Countrie had foure Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, deſtroied with fire from Heauen for their vnnaturall ſinnes.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

THE TRIBE OF REVBEN and his Borderers.

†. I.

The seates and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wanne from SEHON *King of Hesbon.*

ON the other side of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Iacobs* sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the *Desarts*, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before wee speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Iordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wee are to remember that out of *Abrahams* kindred came many mightie Families: as by *Isaac* and *Iacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Iewes*: by *Esau* or *Edom* the *Idumæans*: by *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Keturah* his last wife the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possest by the *Canaanites*, and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Iacob*, whose children were bred in *Ægypt*, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Esau and his sonnes held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South. *Ismael* tooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea; stretching his possession ouer all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as farre as the Riuer of *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Hauilah*.

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leauing a part to *Midian*, and passing ouer *Arnon*, inhabited the plaines betweene *Iordan* and the Hills of *Abarim* or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon sate downe on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possest the Tract from *Rabba* afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountaines of *Gilhead*, and without them as far-forth as *Arroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him ouer the Riuer of *Iaboc*, as they had done *Moab* ouer *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundrie parts of *Canaan*, so the border betweene the Riuer of *Iaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselues, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of *Iordan*, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possest by the *Emims* a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after expulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the *Zamzummims* or *Zuræi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Iosua. 13.

Num. 21. *v.* 24.

Gen. 14.

Now where it is written that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to bee vnderstood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancester beaten the *Moabites* out of the plaine Countries, betweene *Abarim* and *Iordan*, and driuen them thence from *Hesbon* ouer *Arnon*, and this happened not long before

before *Moſes* arriuall vpon that border, when *Vaheb* gouerned the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moſes* paſt *Arnon*, was not the ſonne of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balac* the ſonne of *Zippor*. And it may be that thoſe Kings were electiue, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab* betweene *Arnon* and *Iordan*, as farre North as *Eſſebon* was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Iſrael* arriued there out of *Ægypt*, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Iephtah* the Iudge of *Iſrael* iuſtly defend the regaining of thoſe Countries againſt the claime of the *Ammonites*: becauſe (as hee alleaged) *Moſes* found them in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*, and not in the handes of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (ſaith *Iephtah*) had three hundred yeeres time to recouer them, and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now. *Iudg.* 11.

And leſt any ſhould maruaile why the *Ammonites* in *Iephtah* his time ſhould make claime to theſe Countries: whereas *Moſes* in the place *Numb.* 21. *verſe* 26. rather accounts them to haue beene the ancient poſſeſſion of the *Moabites* then of the *Ammonites*: it is to bee noted that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is ſaid that the yron bed of *Og* was to be ſeene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is alſo ſignified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed, was by him or his Anceſtors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were ſeated ſo confuſedly together that it was hard to diſtinguiſh them: ſo alſo were the ſonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Iſmael*. Yet the reaſon ſeemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Iephtahs* time; for ſometime the one Nation, ſometime the other of all thoſe borderers acquired the Soueraignetie: and againe that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the Mountaines of *Galaad*, or *Gilhead*, and as farre South as *Arroer* belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking aduantage of the time, they then ſought to recouer it againe. Yet at ſuch time as *Moſes* ouerthrew *Sehon* at *Iahaz*, the *Ammonites* had loſt to the *Amorites*, all that part of their poſſeſſion which lay about *Arroer*, and betweene it and *Iaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og* two Kings of the *Amorites* hauing diſplanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. v.* 24. that *Iſrael* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboc*, *euen vnto the children of Ammon*, ſo as at this time the Riuer of *Iaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had alſo poſſeſſions ouer *Iaboc* which at length the *Gadites* poſſeſt, as in the thirteenth chapter of *Ioſua verſ.* 25. it appeares.

Ioſ. 13. *verſ.* 25. *Iunius* notes that the one halfe of the Land of *Hammon* which in this place of *Ioſua* is ſaid to haue beene giuen to the *Gadites*, was taken firſt from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place *Deu.* 3. 11 proueth that aſwell *Og*, as *Sehon*, had gotten Lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the Rubenites.

THe chiefe Cities belonging to *Reuben* were theſe, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar, without any ſhew of warrant*, readeth *Iethſon*. The *Vulgar* or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint* thoſe two *verſes* 36. and 37. and 21. *Ioſ.* being wanting in the old *Hebrew* Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedſon* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedſon* by writing ſlipt into *Iethſon*. *Ioſ.* 21. 37.

This Citie which they gaue to the *Leuites*, imparts her name to the *Deſart* adioyning: from whence *Moſes* ſent his Embaſſage to *Sehon*. In the ſame place of *Ioſua* where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Betſer & villa eius*, reades *Boſor in ſolitudine Miſor*, without any ground from the *Hebrew*: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Towne called *Miſor*, in the border betweene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth* neere the *Dead Sea* (for the Countrie betweene being Mountainous hath fewe Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Laſa* or *Leſbah* of which *Geneſis* 10. *verſ.* 19. the *Greekes* call it *Callirhoe*: neere *Deut.* 2. 26. It was a marginall note out of the 3. *Deut.* where the 70. kept the word *Miſor*, ſignifing a plaine which after crept into the Text,

Ioseph. 17. ant. c. 9 & Hieron. in quæst. Heb. in Gen.

which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweete water, all which soone after their rising, being ioyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macherus* in this Tribe.

Acosta. l. 3.

The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenyes*: and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Inga's* or *Kings*. The other towne is *Macherus* the next between *Lasa* and *Iordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing vpon a mountaine euery way vnaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Iannæus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Gabinius*, in the warre with *Aristobulus*, saith *Iosephus*. It was thither (saith *Iosephus*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein hee was slaine: his armie soone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, and himselfe after this murther neuer prospering. Not farre from *Macherus* was *Besor* or *Bozra*, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the *Leuites*, and neere it *Liuias* vpon *Iordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Liuia* the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

Ioseph. 13. ant. c. 24. & 14. ant. c. 10. & alibi. Ioseph. bell. Iud. l. 7. c. 25.

Deut. 4. 43. Ios. 20. 8. Euseb. in Chron. Hier. in loc. hebr.

To the North of *Liuias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phinees* pierced the bodie of *Zimri* and *Cosbi* with his speare bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the middest of their sinne: and from hence *Iosua* sent the Discouerers to view *Ierico*, staying heere vntill hee went ouer *Iordan*. As for the *Torrent Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreames of, reading *Ioel* 3. 18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Iunius vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the *Church*, in which the iust being placed, grow as the *Cedars*, as it is *Psal.* 92. 13.

Num. 25. 1.

Ios. 3. 1.

The plaine Country hereabout, by *Moses* called *The Plaines of Moab*, where he expounded the Booke of *Deuteronomie* to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same booke precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great *Desart* of *Paran*: where they had long wandred. On the East it had *Chaseroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomie* in *Palæstina*, the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which *Gen.* 36. 39.) by the *Geographers* called *Medaua* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Iordan*: and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Iunius* Edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban Deuteron.* 1. 1.) the same which the *Geographers* call *Libias*: and some confound it with *Liuias*, of which euen now wee spake.

Deut. 34. 1.

* The same as it seems which *Num.* 21. 30. is called *Medeba*, whence wee reade of the plaines of *Medeba*, *Ios.* 13. *v.* 9. 16. of which also we reade in the warres of *Dauid* against *Hanum* the *Ammonite*. 1. *Chron.* 19. 7. Also 1. *Macc.* 9. 36. *Esai.* 16. 2. See before, *c.* 5. §. 7.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Cælesyrea*, it had *Thophel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cælesyria* stood: which was in the region of *Decapolis*, and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be ouer against or neere vnto *Suph*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *the red Sea*, as also *Num.* 2. 14. 40 it translateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomie* there is no addition of any word in the *Hebrew* to signifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vseth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the region of *Suph* or *Suphah*: which doubtlesse was about these Plains of *Moab* towards the dead Sea: where the Country being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as also the red Sea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

Iob. 1. 28. Iud. 7. 24. Ioseph. ant. 4. 7.

The place in these large plaines of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those diuine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara* where *John* baptized, which in the Storie of *Gedeon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Iosephus* saies it was where after the Citie *Abila* stood, neere *Iordan*, in a place set with Palme trees: which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the Plaines of *Moab*, *Numb.* 33. 49. (that some call *Abel-sathaim* and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Moses*: This place is also called *Sittim*; which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars, than from Thornes, with

Num. 25. 1. Exod. 25. 10.

Adrichomius

Adrichomius and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle was made.

Toward the Eaſt of theſe plaines of *Moab*, they place the Cities, *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma* and *Hesbon* the chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, and *Elhahel*, and *Kiriathaima* the ſeate of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two firſt of theſe *Moſes* ſeemes to giue a note that the names were to be changed: becauſe they taſted of the *Moabites* * Idolatrie. For *Nebo* (in ſtead of which *Iunius Eſ.* 46. 1. reades *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, and *Baal-meon* is *the habitation of Baal*. Of the ſame Idoll was the Hill *Nebo* in theſe parts denominated: from whoſe top; which the common Tranſlators call *Phaſgah*, *Moſes* before his death ſaw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Iordan*. In which ſtorie *Iunius* doth not take *Phaſgah* or *Piſgah*, for any proper name: but for an appellatiue, ſignifying a Hill: and ſo alſo *Vatablus* in ſome places; as *Num.* 21. 20. where he noteth that ſome call *Piſgah* that top which looketh to *Iericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be ſomewhat ſtrengthened by the name of a Citie of *Reuben* mentioned *Ioſ.* 13. 20. called *Aſhdoth-Piſga*, which is as much as *decurſus Piſga*: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from *Piſga*. In the ſame place of *Ioſua* there is alſo named *Beth-peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: ſo called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence alſo *Baal* the Idoll was called *Baal-Peor*, which they ſay was the ſame as *Priapus*: the chiefe place of whoſe worſhip ſeemes to haue beene *Bamoth-Baal*, of which alſo *Ioſ.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which *Num.* 22. 41. they reade *the high places of Baal* (for ſo the word ſignifieth) to which place *Balaak* firſt brought *Balaam* to curſe the *Iſraelites*.

Num. 31. *v.* 37. *Gen.* 14. *v.* 5. *Num.* 32.

* *Exod.* 23. 13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo. Pſ.* 16. 4. *non aſſumpturus ſum nomina eorum in labys meis Hoſ.* 2. 17. *amouebo nomina Babalimorum ab ore eius.*

What name they vſed for *Nebo* it doth not appear: but *Baal-meon* it ſeems they named ſometime *Bayth*, as *Eſ.* 15. 2. & ſometime *Beth-meon*. *Eſai.* 48. 23.

†. III.

Of diuers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.

THere were beſides theſe diuers places of note ouer *Arnon*, which adioyned to *Reuben*: amongſt which they place *Gallim*, the Citie of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gaue his Daughter *Michol* from *Dauid*: but *Iunius* thinkes this Towne to be in *Beniamin*: gathering ſo much out of *Eſay* 10. *verſ.* 29. where it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*. With better reaſon perhaps out of *Numb.* 21. *v.* 19. wee may ſay that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in theſe confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Iſraelites* paſt after they had left the Well called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim* which the Prophet *Hieremie* threatneth with the reſt of the Cities of *Moab*.

1. *Sam.* 25. *v. vlt.*

Hierem. 48.

Madian alſo is found in theſe parts, the chiefe Citie of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian* or *Madian* by the Red Sea; wherein *Iethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which theſe of *Moab* became Idolaters, and receiued an exceeding ouerthrow by a Regiment of twelue thouſand *Iſraelites*, ſent by *Moſes* out of the plaines of *Moab*: at ſuch time as *Iſrael* beganne to accompanie their Daughters: their fiue Kings with *Balaam* the South-ſayer were then ſlaine: and their Regall Citie with the reſt deſtroyed. The other *Madianites* ouer whom *Iethro* was Prince, or Prieſt, forgate not the God of *Abraham* their Anceſtor; but relieued and aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their painefull trauailes, through the *Deſarts*: and were in all that paſſage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adioyning to *Edom*, and ſometime reckoned as the chiefe Citie of *Edom*, there is that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes* or *petra*. It was alſo called *Ioctheel*, as appeares by the place 2. *Reg.* 14. It was built (ſaith *Ioſephus*) by *Recem*, one of thoſe fiue Kings of the *Madianites* ſlaine as before is ſayde: after whom it was called *Recem*: Now they ſay it is called *Crac* and *Mozera*.

Eſa. 16. 1. 1. *Reg.* 14. 7.

Lib. 4. *Ant.* 7.

The *Soldans* of *Ægypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Ægypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which *Plinie* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the Prouince adioyning tooke name: which name seemes to haue been taken at first from *Nabaioth* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where vnderstood for all *Arabia Petræa*, (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that Prouince which neighboureth *Iudæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomie* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the *Desart* belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth calleth *Hagarims* of *Hagar*.

1. *Chron.* 5. *v.* 19. & 20.

This Citie *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Roman* Armie; and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of monie, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias* king of *Iuda* (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wanne also this Citie. S. *Hierome* finds *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be naturall of this Citie. In the time when the *Christians* held the Kingdome of *Hierusalem*, it had a *Latine Bishop*, hauing before beene vnder the *Greeke Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor* where *Aaron* died, and on the other side towards the North is the riuer of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which *Moses* incamped in the 38. Station. *Adrichome* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and betweene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so he doth the Valley of *Saue*: but the waters of *Nimra* or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seemes *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plaines of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Saue* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and vnder *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuite of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Saue*, or *Shaueh*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Absalom* set vp his Monument, as it seems, not farre from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchizedec* King of *Salem* also incountred him. But *Abraham* comming from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neere *Bethsan* otherwise *Scythopolis* in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Iordan*) could not incounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Saue* which was also called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

Gul. Tyr. 20. *bell. sacr.* 3.
Num. 21.
Deut. 2. 13.
Num. 32. 3.
Ios. 13. 27.
Esa. 15. 21.
Gen. 14.

†. IIII.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOw because the Sea of *Sodom* or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias* which was fresh water) also the Sea of the Wilderneſse, or rather the Sea * of the plaines, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Iosephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make two and twentie miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth which make eighteene of our miles and somewhat more. *Plinie* makes it a great deale lesse. But those that haue of late yeeres seene this Sea, did account it (saith a *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, grauitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur, incertum vnde superiecta vt solido ferantur periti imperiti, manibus perinde attolluntur,*

* So *Iunius* reades for the *Hebrew Haraboth* euery-where, and so also the edition of *Vatablus*, *Deuter.* 3. 17. though *Deuter.* 4. 44. it hath *mare solitudinis* as also 2. *Reg.* 14 25. the reason of this name seemes to be, because it ioynes to the plaines of *Moab* which are called *Harboth* 9. 2. whence *Moab Deut.* 34. 1. as also wee haue *Cesuloth* in *Harbath*, that is in the plaines, to wit, of *Zabulon*. 1. *Maccab.* *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon* called *Araba*. a *Descr. terr. Sancta.*

tolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taſte: of ſmell infectious, and peſtilent to the borderers. It is neither moued nor raiſed by the winde: nor indureth fiſh to liue init, or fowle to ſwimme in it. Thoſe things that are caſt into it, and the vnskilfull of ſwimming, aſwell as the skilfull, are borne vp by this water. At one time of the yeere it caſteth vp *Bitumen*: the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath alſo taught. It is vſed in the trimming of ſhips, and the like buſineſſes.

And then of the Land, hee ſpeaketh in this ſort: The fields not farre from this Lake, which were ſometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities were burnt with lightning: of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a ſad face as hauing loſt her fruitfulneſſe: for whatſoeuer doth either grow or is ſet thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeneſſe, haue nothing within them, but moulder into aſhes: Thus farre *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that thoſe Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe ſtill grow on the bankes of this curſed Lake, do looke faire and are of good colour on the out-ſide, but being cut haue nothing but duſt within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake caſteth vp, it was by the *Greekes* called *Aſphaltitus*. *Veſpaſian* deſirous to be ſatisfied of theſe reports, went of purpoſe to ſee this Lake, and cauſed certaine Captiues to be caſt into it, who were not onely vnskilfull in ſwimming, but had their handes alſo bound behind them, and notwithſtanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not ſinke.

†. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whoſe Countrie within Arnon REVBEN *poſſeſt.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whoſe Countrie (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* poſſeſt (though not taken from *Moab* but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are knowne. *Iunius* in the 21. of *Numbers* verſe 14. nameth *Vaheb*, which ſeemeth to bee the Anceſtor or Predeceſſor of *Balac*, the ſonne of *Zippor*: which *Balac* ſent for *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. For fearing to contend with *Moſes* by armes by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, hee hoped by the helpe of *Balaams* curſings or inchauntments, to take from them all ſtrength and courage, and to caſt on them ſome peſtilent diſeaſes. And though *Balaam* at the firſt moued by the Spirit of God, bleſt *Iſrael* contrarie to the hope and deſire of *Moab*: yet being deſirous in ſome ſort to ſatisfie him, and to doe him ſeruice, he aduiſed *Moab* to ſend *Madianitiſh* Women among the *Iſraelites*: hoping by them, as by fit inſtruments of miſchiefe, to draw them to the Idolatrie of the Heathen: but in the end he receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his euil counſaile, and was ſlaine among the reſt of the Princes of *Midian*. *Num.*21.22.23.24. *Ioſ.*24.

After theſe times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: ſauing that wee finde in the firſt of *Chron.* the fourth, that *Iokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Ioaſh*, and *Sareph*, all being of the iſſue of *Iuda*, ſometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the ſame Verſe, *Theſe alſo are ancient things*: to wit, as ſome expound it, the particulars of theſe mens Gouernments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, theſe Families of *Iuda* were once thus famous: but now their poſteritie chuſe rather to abide in *Babylon*, and bee Clay-workers to the King there. *v.*22.

Then we finde *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the helpe of *Ammon*, and *Amalec*, maſtered *Iſrael* and commanded them eighteene yeeres: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* ſlew in his owne houſe, and afterward 10000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had vnto whom *Dauid* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the ſame againſt whom *Saul* made Warre, it is not manifeſt, for neither are named. *Iudg.*3. 1.*Sam.*22.

med. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemie to *Saul*, he receiued *Dauid*, and relieued him: knowing that *Saul* sought his life.

1. *Sam.* 14.

2. *Sam.* 8. 1. *Chron.* 18. *Psal.* 60. *v.* 10.

After this, *Dauid* himselfe entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was said of DAVID, *Moab is my wash-pot, ouer Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning that hee would reduce them to such an abiection, and appoint them for base seruices: And that he would tread downe the *Idumæans*.

The next King after *Dauids* time, of the *Moabites*, whose name liueth, was *Mesha*: who falling from *Iuda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the seueritie of *Dauid*) fastened himselfe to the Kings of *Israel*, and paied tribute to *Ahab* 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rammes, with the woll: who reuolting againe from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was inuaded by *Iehoram*: with whom ioyned the Kings of *Iuda* and *Idumæa*: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name: when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, inuaded *Iehoshaphat*: and by reason of some priuate quarrells among themselues, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set vpon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another; so as *Iehoshaphat* had a notorious victorie ouer them all, without either bloud or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremie* the Propher, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Iehoram*, and this *Moabite* in *Zedekias* time, fourteene Kings of *Iuda* comming betweene, who wasted three hundred and odde yeeres.

2. *Reg.* 3.

2. *Chron.* 20.

Hierem. 27.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THe Territorie adioyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which ioyned to the Mountaines, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as farre to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad* the seuenth sonne of *Iacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Ægypt*, and died in the *Desarts* 45550. and of their sonnes there entred the Land promised 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* the Riuer of *Iaboc* diuided them: from *Reuben* the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec*.

Gen. 30. *Num.* 1. 32. 26. *Ios.* 13.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Aroer*: which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Iunius*, attending diligently to those wordes of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2. 36. *Ab Harahero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Ciuitate ipsa quæ est in flumine*; *Where the Citie in the Riuer is distinguished from the Citie vpon the banke of the Riuer*, (as also in like manner *Ios. c.* 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. *v.* 9.) thinketh that *Haroher* which doubtlesse belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Num.* 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was indeede seated neere *Har* of the *Moabites*, but diuerse from it. For that *Har* was neuer possest by *Moses*, it is plaine *Deut.* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith he hath giuen *Har* for an inheritance to the sonnes of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in diuers places is said to bee within and in the middle of the Riuer of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haroher*, which is said in the same places to be on the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the same *Iunius* proueth out of *Num.* 21. 15. where *Arnon* is saide to bee diuided into diuers streames, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Ios.* 13. 25. where *Haroher* is said to be seated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah*, as it seemes, cannot be the *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they seate not *Haroher* neere it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* heere we must vnderstand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*: and so wee must needes distinguish it from *Haroher*.

Esa. 15. *Deut.* 2.

Haroher. And as for **Har* (which alſo gaue the name to the coaſt adioyning) it ſeemes it continued in the poſſeſſion of the *Moabites* after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, firſt weakened by *Chedorlaomer* and his Aſſociates: but *Haroher* by the interchange of times ſuffered many ancient changes, as being wonne from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Iſraelites*, and from them, as it ſeemes in the ſtory of *Iephtha*, by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* againe by the *Iſraelites* vnder the conduct of *Iephtha*. In S. *Hieromes* time the greateſt part of this Citie periſhed by an earth-quake, as alſo *Zoar*, in which *Lot* ſaued himſelfe, in the deſtruction of *Sodom*, ſeated not farre hence: which they ſay was therefore called *Vitula conſternans*, becauſe as a wanton tumbling Heifer, ſhee was thrice ouerthrowne with earth-quake: for which cauſe alſo *Hierome* ſeemes to thinke that this *Zoar* was called *Saliſſa*, or *Bal-ſaliſſa*, as if *Bal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14.2.) and *Saliſha* which hath a ſignification of the *ternarie number*, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

Brochard takes *Haroher* to bee *Petra*, but erroniouſly, as before it is noted; ſeeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab*, adioyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-eaſt border. Betweene *Haroher* and *Iordan* they ſeate *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, becauſe they are ſaid to haue built it, *Num.* 32.34. though *Ioſua* 13.*v.*17. it is ſaid that *Moſes* gaue it to the *Reubenites*. Of this Citie among the reſt of *Moab*, both *Eſay* and *Hieremie* propheciedthat it ſhould periſh: and the Lakes about it runne with the bloud of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neere *Arnon* in S. *Hieromes* time.

Keeping the bankes of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Eſay* propheciеth, *That the waters thereof ſhould be dried vp: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not farre from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Iogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which we reade in the ſtorie of *Gedeon*: and that *Iogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appeares *Num.* 32.35. and therefore *Nobach* alſo muſt needes be in theſe parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manaſſe* it is not certaine: onely that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moſes* witneſſeth. NOBACH *alſo* (ſaith hee) *went and tooke Kenath with her Townes, and called it Nobach of his owne name*, where becauſe the verſes precedent ſpeake of the *Manaſſites*, and becauſe it is not likely that *Moſes* would haue ſeuered this ſeate of the *Gadites* from the reſt, of which he ſpake before, *v.*34.35.36. therefore it may ſeeme that this **Nobach* was in that part of *Manaſſe*, which was in the Eaſt of *Iordan*: though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he ſuppoſeth it to be the ſame with *Nob*, which *Saul* deſtroyed, of this wee ſhall ſpeake [a] in the tribe of *Beniamin*. And as for that *Karkor* where *Zebach* and *Salmunah* reſted themſelues in their flight from *Gedeon*, to which place *Gedeon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Iogbeha*, though ſome place it in *Gad*, and make it the ſame with *Kir-chares*, of which *Eſay* 15. and 2.*Reg.* 3.25. yet there can bee no certaintie that it was in *Gad*: and if it bee the ſame with *Kir-chares*, it is certaine that it was a principall Citie held ſtill by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witneſſeth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former ſimply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Shophan*: for which later the *Vulgar* makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Corona*.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimrah*, of which wee haue ſpoken, *Ioſua c.*13.*v.*27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Num.* 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-Haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is ſayd to haue beene built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, becauſe in *Ioſua* it is called *Beth-Haram*) ſome take to be *Betaramptha*, (of which [b] *Ioſephus*) after by *Herod* called *Iulias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-Haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha*, (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in [c] *Ioſephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idoll of thoſe Countries, wee reade, *Act.* 7.43. and to which

* *Deut.* 2.9. Out of which place the words, *Num.* 21.28. are to be expounded not that the citie of *Hor*, but the coaſt adioyning was waſted by *Sehon*. *Gen.* 14.5. & *Iud.* 11.35. *Hier. in epitaph. Paul & in quæſt. & loc. Hebr.* ſee *Iunius* his annotatiõs vpon 1.*Sam.* 9.2. wher he makes *Shaliſha* a plain Countrie in *Beniamin*, and the ſame with *Balſhaliſha*, 2. *Reg.* 4.42. where he expounds *Bal* or *Bahal* to be as much as *planities*. *Eſa.* 15. *Hier.* 48 *Eſa.* 15.21.

Iud. 8.11.

Num. 32.35.

* *Num.* 21.30. It is called *Nophach*, and placed in the border of the kingdome of *Sehon*, towards *Baſan*, and therefore it is not altogether vnprobable that it was in *Gad*.

[a] Chap. 12. § 1 *Iudg.* 8.10.

Num. 32.34.35.

[b] *Ioſ.* 1.*ant.* 18. *cap.* 3.

[c] *L.* 7. *Ant. c.* 7. *Vbi Græcus Codex legit* Αρημαθα, *Latinus Kabatha Metropolis Hammonitarum*

Iunius

Iunius referres the name of the Citie *Repham*, 1.*Macc.*37.) of this question it were hard to resolue. But touching *Iulius* (according to *Iosephus* sometimes *Bataramptha*) the same *Iosephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Iordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the *Greeke* word signifieth, is no more then *Regio vlterior*, *the Countrie beyond the Riuer*; and therefore they which labour to set downe the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more paines than needes. Fourteene Villages this *Iulias* had belonging vnto it, according to *Iosephus*. He makes it to haue been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias*, in honour of the adoption of *Liuia*, *Augustus* his Wife, into the *Iulian* familie: by which adoption she was called *Iulia*. Another *Iulias*, hee saith, was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, hee saith, is the same as *Bethsaida*.

*Ant.*20.11.

*Iosep.Ant.*18.3. & *Bell.Iud.*2.8.

Vpon the Sea of *Galilee* neere to *Iulias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region ouer *Iordan*) they finde *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Iosephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hissopi*. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for safegard in the time of Warre with the *Romanes*, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged, *Iosephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger shee ate her owne child, with other Tragicall accidents hereupon ensuing.

Ioseph.de Bell. Iud.l.7.c.8.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Ios.*13. is placed with *Beth-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is plaine by the story of *Gedeon* that it is neere vnto *Iordan*: where it is said, that as hee was past *Iordan* with his three hundreth, wearie in the pursuit of *Zebah* and *Salmunah*, hee requested reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gedeons* returne were by him tortured, as it seemes vnder a threshing Carre of *Tribulum*, betweene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which sort also *Dauid* vsed some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thornes, but with yron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in haste, either for Men or Cattel, *Moses*, *Gen.*33.17. witnesseth that the originall of the name was from such harbours, which *Iacob* in his returne from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Ægypt*, had their first Station, was vpon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set vp their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they vsed after for fortie yeeres in the Wildernesse. In remembrance whereof, the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles was instituted.

*Iud.*8.5.

*2.Sam.*12.31.

*Exod.*12.37.

*Leuit.*23.43.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named, *Ios.*21.38. *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, *Machanaïm*, *Chesbon*, and *Iahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* giuen to the *Leuites*, of which *Iahzer*, as *Chesbon* or *Hesbon* was a chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, whence *Num.*32.1. his Countrie is called the Land of *Iahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, hauing first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilehad*. In later times (as it may be gathered by the prophecie of *Esay*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esay* also *Hieremie* in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seemes from the *Ammonites*) by *Iudas Macchabæus*: as it is, 1.*Mac.*5.8. where *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reades *Iahzer*, though the *Greeke* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as hee gathereth out of *Iosua* 16.3. & 8. and *Iud.*1.29.) was farre from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, vntill *Salomons* time, for whom the King of *Ægypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

*Num.*21.32. 1.*Chron.*27.31. *Esai.*6.8. *Hierem.*48.92.

Of *Chesbon* it may bee maruelled that in the place of *Iosua*, and 1.*Chron.*6.81. it should be said to haue been giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Iosua* 13.*v.*17. it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius* and such as little trouble themselues with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, 1.*Macc.*5.36. among the Cities of *Gilehad*, taken by *Iudas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*: and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betweene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gaue their part to the *Leuites*: for so also it seemeth that

that in like reaſon *Dibon* is ſaid in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another giuen to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaijm*, which word ſignifieth a double Armie, we reade *Gen.*32.2. that it was therefore ſo called, becauſe the *Angels* of God in that place met *Iacob* in manner of another Hoſte or company, to ioyne with his for his defence: as alſo *Luke* 2.13. we reade of a multitude of the Hoſte of Heauen, which appeared to the ſheep-herds, at the time of our Sauiours birth: and ſo vnto the Godly King *Oſwald* of *Northumberland*, when hee was ſoone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the battaile was fought in the North-parts of *England*, is called *Heauen-field*. In this Citie of *Machanaijm Dauid* abode during the rebellion of *Abſalom*: and the ſame for the ſtrength thereof *Abner* choſe for the ſeat of *Iſhboſeth*, during the warre betweene *Dauid* and the houſe of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne which was *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, we reade often in the Scripture, for the recouering of which King *Achab* loſt his life. *Iunius* thinkes that *Ramatha-Mitſpæ*, of which *Ioſua* 13.26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Iacob* ſware one to the other, as it was called *Gilehad*, which is as much as a witneſſing heape, becauſe of the heape of ſtones which *Laban* and his ſonnes left for a monument; ſo alſo that it was called *Mitſpah*, which ſignifieth ouer-looking (becauſe there they called God to ouer-ſee and be witneſſe to their couenant) it is plaine by the place, *Gen.*31.49. that in theſe parts there was not onely a Towne, but likewiſe a Region called *Mitſpa*, it appeares, *Ioſ.*11.3. where we reade of the *Chiuuites* vnder *Hermon*, in the Countrie of *Mitſpa*, * the Towne of *Mitſpa*, as it ſeemes both by this place, and in the eighth verſe following, beeing not in the Hill Countrie, but in the valley. But ſeeing that *Iephta* the Iudge of *Iſrael*, who after hee came home from *Tob*, (whither his brethren had driuen him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mitſpa*, who doubtleſſe was of the Tribe of *Manaſſe*, and thence at firſt expelled by his brethren, it may ſeeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of *Mitſpa* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manaſſe*. By *Iudas Macchabeus* this Towne of *Mitſpa* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manaſſe*) was vtterly ſpoyled and burnt, and all the males of it ſlaine: for it was then poſſeſt of the *Ammonites*.

* Of other townes of this name, ſee in the Tribe of *Beniamin*.

*Iud.*11.36.

1.*Macc.*5.35.

Betweene *Succoth* (of which we haue ſpoken) and the Riuer *Iaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name ſignifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was ſeene*: ſo called for memorie of the *Angels* appearing to *Iacob*, and wreſtling with him there: the churliſhneſſe of which Citie, in refuſing to relieue *Gideon*, was the cauſe that in his returne hee ouerthrew their Tower, and ſlew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To theſe places of the *Gadites*, they adde *Rogelim*, the Citie of that great and faithfull ſubiect *Barzillai*, as it ſeemes, not farre from *Mahanaim*, where he ſuſtained King *Dauid*, during *Abſaloms* rebellion. To theſe they adde the Townes of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more then *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* alſo no where appeares to bee the name of a Towne, but ſtill of a Riuer. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Αλίμοις, 1.*Macc.*5.26. ſo that the name ſhould rather be *Alema*, but *Iunius* out of *Ioſephus* reades *Malla*, for this in *Alimis*: and vnderſtanding *Malla* to bee put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio*, (as we haue ſhewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sichemites*) hee takes this *Malla*, to be *Mitſpa Moabitarum*, of which 1.*Sam.*22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moſes* noteth to be as farre as the furtheſt of *Manaſſes*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So alſo *Dathema*, of which 1.*Mac.*5.10. (which *Iunius* takes to bee [a] *Rithma*, of which *Num.*33.18. a place of ſtrength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like maner *Minnith*, and *Abel vinearum*, though by ſome they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two laſt we reade in *Iephta's* purſuit of the *Ammonites*: ſeated as it ſeemes by that place of the booke of *Iudges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other in the Eaſt border, both farre remoued from the *Gadites*. But the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites* was neerer, and not farre from

*Gen.*32.30.

*Iudg.*8.17.

2.*Sam.*19.33.

*Deut.*3.14.
*Ioſ.*12.5.

a The letters *D.* and *R.* in the *Hebrew* are very like, ſo that one is oft miſtaken for another, & ſometime without miſtaking one is put for another: as for *Rodanim*, 1.*Chr.*7. we haue *Dodanim.Gen.*10.4.

from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometime *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to bee that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomie* findes in *Cœlosyria*. *Hierome* and *Calistus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it seemes neuer possest by the *Israelites*, after the ouerthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regall seate of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzummims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recouered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Ancestors: who hauing been first beaten by the *Assyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had beene) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerours for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and betweene them recouered the best part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and *Iordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those Cities and Countreys which were giuen to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. yeeres since that these *Zamzummims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but hauing these two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and vndertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recouered againe much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sonnes of *Lot* ouer the mountaines, and into the *Desarts*. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Persia* and *Assyria*, (remembred [a] in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, so by that great conquest which *Moses* had ouer those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to looke backe againe into those plaines, and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites* forsooke the worship of the liuing God, and became slothfull and licentious, they taking the aduantage inuaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisedome and vertue of their Commanders.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the yron bed of *Og* found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in *Dauids* time, and the inhabitants slaine with great seuerity, and by diuers torments. At the first assault thereof *Vrias* was shot to death, hauing been by direction from *Dauid* appointed to bee imployed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein *Dauid* so displeased God, as his affaires had ill successe afterward, euen to his dying day. From hence had *Dauid* the waightie and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which as some expound it, was vsed to be set on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a *Metropolitan* Bishop, and vnder him twelue others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those which *Ptolomie* calleth *the hilles of Hippus*, a Citie of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo* **Trachones*: the same which continue from neere *Damascus* vnto the *Desarts* of *Moab*: and receiue diuers names, as commonly mountaines do, which neighbour and bound diuers Countries: For from the South part, as farre Northwards as *Astaroth*, the chiefe Citie of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*, from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of *Hermon*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites Shenir*, others *Seir*: of which name all those Hilles also were called, which part *Iudæa* and *Idumæa*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremie* makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. These mountaines are vere fruitfull, and full

*Other names of this Citie according to *Stephanus* were *Ammana* and *Astarte*: but in this later perhaps he mistooke, which might seem to be the same *Astaroth* one of the chiefe Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of *Manasses*, *Adrichomius* sayes, it was also called *Vrbs aquarum*, because of the riuer *Iabocs* winding about it, but in the place 2. *Sam.* v. 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Iunius* reads *intercepi ab vrbe aquam*, if we must read with others, *cepi vrbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it selfe, but of some Fort adioyning.

a *Gen.* 14.

Deut. 3.

2. *Sam.* 12.

Wilh. Tyr. Bell. Sacr. 13. *cap.* 12.

Ptol. Strab. l. 16.

* Τραχὼν is, *locus asper & salebrosus*: whence it appeares that *Trachonitis regio* in these parts was properly the hil country *Deut.* 3. v. 9. *Hierem.* 22.

full of good pastures, and haue many trees which yeeld *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Riuers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the Riuer *Iaboc*: Others doe also fancie another Riuer, which rising out of the Rockes of *Arnon*, falleth into *Iordan*. *Hier. 8. & in*

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wanne from Og the King of Basan.

THis Tribe of *Gad* possest halfe the Countrie of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathæa*, as well within as without the mountaines of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expell the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* ouer the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first Iudge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* ioyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrewes*, and so continued long. *Iephta* Iudge of *Israel* had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them againe. *Iud. 10.*

Afterward wee find that cruell King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*: who besieging *Iabes Gilead*, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame vpon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* vsing to carrie a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be vtterly disabled to defend themselues: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may seeme, became the confederate of *Dauid*, hauing friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Iosephus* thinkes that this *Nahas* was slaine in the battaile, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Iabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name. *1. Sam. 11.* *Iosep. l. 6. Ant. c. 5. &c.* *2. Sam. 10. 4. 18.*

Hanun succeeded *Nahas*: to whom when *Dauid* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and shaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aydes receiued from the *Aramites* subiect to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Istob*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were ouer-turned: their chiefe Citie of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken, the Crowne which weighed a talent of gold was set on *Dauids* head, all such as were prisoners, *Dauid* executed with strange seueritie; for with Sawes and Harrowes hee tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into Lime-kills. *Istob*, that is the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small Territorie vnder *Arnon* hills. *Rehob* is another betweene *Hazor* & *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num. 13. 22.* of which see in the tribe of *Asser*. *Hiere. 40. & 41.*

Iosaphat gouerning *Iuda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them Tributaries, and they were againe by *Iotham* inforst to continue that Tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundreth talents of siluer, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two yeeres. *2. Chron. 20.* *2. Chron. 36.* *2. Chron. 26.* *2. Chron. v. 27.*

The fift King of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we reade was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedechia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the bloud of the Kings of *Iuda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who serued *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the other halfe of MANASSE.

THe rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdome of *Og* in *Basan*, with the Land of *Hus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of * *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was giuen to the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* ouer *Iordan*, of which those three later Prouinces defended themselues against them, for many ages. But *Batanea Ptolomie* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all these other Prouinces before named with *Perea*, and *Iturea*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlosyria*; as farre South as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, sauing the Land neere the Dead Sea, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of these small Kingdomes take not much more ground then the County of *Kent*.

Basan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it selfe from the Riuer of *Iabok* to the [a] *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountaines to *Iordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattell. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oakes, which beare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*, *Howle, O yee Oakes of Basban*) and by reason hereof they bred so many Swine, as [b] 2000. in one Herd were carried head-long into the Sea, by the vncleane spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it threescore Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his sonnes were slaine, *Iair* descended of *Manasse* conquered, and called the Countrie after his owne name, *Anoth Iair*, or the Cities of *Iair*.

The principall cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; *Pella* sometimes [c] *Butis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is said to haue been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Sonne *Alexander* the Great were borne. It was taken, and in part demolished by *Alexander Iannæus* King of the *Iewes*: because it refused to obey the *Iewes* lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Gouernement of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the Riuer of *Iaboc*, taken by [d] *Iudas Macchabæus*: where he set on fire the [e] Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereinto for Sanctuary; and neere it they place the Castle of *Carnion*, of which 2. *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the strong Citie of [f] *Ephron* neere *Iordan*: which refusing to yeeld passage to [g] *Iudas Macchabeus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

Iabes Gilead, or *Iabesus*, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being besieged by *Nahas* [h] King of the *Ammonites*, was deliuered by *Saul*, as is [i] elsewhere mentioned. In memorie whereof these Citizens [k] recouered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his Sonnes: which hung despightfully ouer the walls of *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*. [l] *Gaddara* or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seated by *Plinie* on a Hill neere the Riuer *Hieromiace*, which Riuer *Ortelius* seemes to thinke to bee *Iaboc*. At the foote of the Hill there spring foorth also hot baths, as at *Macherus*. *Alexander Iannæus* after ten moneths siege wanne it, and subuerted it. *Pompey* restored it: and *Gabinius* [m] made it one of the fiue Courts of Iustice in *Palæstine*. *Hierusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath* or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico*, and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonita*, accused him to *Iulius Cæsar* of many crimes: but perceiuing that they could not preuaile, and that *Herod* was highly fauoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible [n] reuenge of *Herod*, they slew themselues: some by strangling, others by leaping ouer high Towers, others by drowning themselues.

To the East of *Gadara* they place *Sebei*, [o] in which *Iosephus ant.* 5. 13. saith, *Iephtha*

* Another territory adioyning to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thisbitis*, the country of *Elias*, as it is the 1. *Kin.* 16. 1. and of *Tobias*, *Tob.* 1 2. it lay on the East to the tribe of *Neph.* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.* 1. 2. and was possest by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul* after his victory ouer the *Amalekites* & *Ismaelits* in those parts, as it is gathered out of the 1. *Chr.* 5. 10. whence it appears that it was part of *Itnræa*, of which chap. 7. §. 4. †. 5. and 6.

a So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* somwhat hath bin spoken toward the end of the fift *Paragraph* of this Chapter, see the 1. *Mac.* 5. 36. and *Deut.* 3. 14. & *Ios.* 12. 5

b *Mar.* 5. 13.

c Anciently as it seems it was called *Tophel*, see aboue in the bounds of *Moab* in this chapter. §. 4. †. 2.

d 1. *Macc.* 5.

e *Ioseph.* 12. *Ant.* 12.

f 1. *Mac.* 5.

g 2. *Mac.* 12. 27

h 1. *Sam.* 11.

i *Ios.* 6. *ant.* 5.

k 1. *Sam.* 31.

l 1. *Chron.* 10.

m *Ioseph.* 14. *Ant.* 13.

n *Ioseph.* 15. *Ant.* 13.

o Of *Mitspa* in *Gilead*, the Citie of *Iephtha*, see in the Tribe of *Gad*.

was

was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Iud.12.7. Sepultus eſt in Ciuitate ſua Gilehad*, (for *in vna Ciuitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a Citie, and to be the ſame with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, *1. Macc. 5.26.* where it readeth *Caſphor* for *Chesbon*; the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Ciuitas*, ſo of one Citie *Hesbon* or *Chesbon*, which they call *Eſſebon*, the chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more: this *Caſphor* in *Manaſſes*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we haue admoniſhed the Reader heeretofore. Of *Gamala* (ſo called, becauſe the Hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the backe of a Cammell) which *Ioſephus* placeth not farre from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* ouer againſt *Tarichea*, which is on the Weſt ſide of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, ſee this *Ioſephus* in his fourth booke of the *Iewiſh* warre: where he deſcribes the place by nature to bee almoſt inuincible: and in the ſtorie of the ſiege, ſhewes how *Veſpaſian* with much danger of his owne perſon, entring it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length after the comming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping downe the rocks with their wiues and children, to the number of fiue thouſand, thus periſhed: beſides foure thouſand ſlaine by the *Romans*: ſo that none eſcaped, ſaue onely two women that hid themſelues.

Cap.1.& 3.

About foure miles Weſt from *Gadara*, and as much Eaſt from *Tiberias* (which is on the other ſide of the Lake) *Ioſephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomie* giues the name to the hills that compaſſe the plaines in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeeme to haue beene of no ſmall note. It is ſeated farre from the hill Countrie: on the Eaſt of the Lake, as alſo *Plinie* noteth *lib.5.cap.15.* It was reſtored by *Pompey*: after by *Auguſtus* added to *Herods Tetrarchie*: It was waſted by the *Iewes*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their Nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

In vita ſua.

Ioſeph. Bell. Iud. l.2.c.19.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and *Iſrael* inuaded him: and neere vnto this his Regall Citie, it was that he loſt the battaile and his life. It ſtood in S. *Hieromes* time: and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not farre from theſe Townes neere *Iordan*, in this valley ſtood *Geraſſa* or *Gergeſſa*, inhabited by the *Gergeſites*, deſcended of the fift ſonne of *Canaan*. Of theſe *Gergeſites* we reade *Mat.8.28.* that *Chriſt* comming from the other ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coaſts: where caſting the Diuels out of the poſſeſſed, hee permitted them to enter into the herd of Hogs: in which ſtorie for *Gergeſites* or *Gergeſins*, S. *Luke* and S. *Marke* haue *Gadarens*: not as if theſe were all one (for *Gergeſſa* or *Geraſſa* is a diſtinct Towne in theſe parts from *Gadera*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this ſtorie. This Citie receiued many changes and calamities: of which *Ioſephus* hath often mention. For beſides other aduentures, it was taken by *L. Annius* Lieutenant to *Veſpaſian*: and 1000. of the ableſt yong men put to the ſword, and the Citie burnt. In the yeere 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damaſcus*: and in the ſame yeere recouered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Hieruſalem*: and by him vtterly razed. Neere vnto *Geraſa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriake Magedu*, or after the *Greeke Magdala*, where the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* deſired of our Sauiour a ſigne from heauen: the ſame place or ſome adioyning to it, which S. *Marke* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumſtances of which ſtorie it appeares that this coaſt lay betweene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countrie of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one: and findes it to be *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Iordan* according to *Ioſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appeares by the ſtorie, not far hence towards the North was the *Deſart* of *Bethſaida*, where *Chriſt* filled 5000. people with the fiue Barley loaues and two Fiſhes.

Of an other *Edrei* in *Nepht.* ſee *Ioſ.19.37. Deut.3.1.& 10.*

Item. Ioſ.13.31.

Matt.8.28.

Mar.5. Luc.8.

Matt.15.

Marc.8. Broch. itin.2.

Of this *Phiola* ſee in *Nepth. C.7.S.4.f.3.*

Matt.14. Marc.6. Luc.11. Ioh.6.

On the North of this *Bethſaida* they place *Iulias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the

South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Iulia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Iulias*, as hath beene farther spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Iosephus* makes this *Iulias*, to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Vpon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ* in *Matthew*; *Woe be vnto thee Corazim*.

Ioseph.18.aut.3. & alibi.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Og*, King of *Basan*. In *Genesis* this Citie is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1. *Mac.* 5. 26 it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Ios.* 13. 21. it is called *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Astoreth*, which was the Image of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Astaroth* in *Deut.* signifieth sheepe. Others from the ambiguitie of the *Hebrew* take *Karnaim*, to haue beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphai* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares by comparing the words *Deut.* 3. 11. *Og ex residuo gigantum*, with the words *Ios.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquijs Raphaeorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Karnaijm*) were these *Raphai*, the word would not haue beene in the duall number: neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* haue said the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphai*, or some other way fittest for perspicuitie: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Gen.14.5.

See chap.7. §.3.t.2.

* Because Horne when it is polished shineth: hence it is that the verb of this Nowne is sometime *Lucere*: as it were *corneum esse*: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exod.*34.29. reading *cornutam corneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gaue occasion to the fabulous painters to paint *Moses* with Hornes. *Iudith.*1.8. 1.*Cant.*5.

Not farre from *Asteroth Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazin*. This Citie (saith hee) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Iudith*, and there are that of this Citie vnderstand *Dauid* in his 120. *Psalme*: and heere the Sepulchre of *Iob* is yet to be seene, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which hee citeth, it is so that the *Greeke* hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth vse in that place of *Iudith*, and ioyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* doe rather proue that *Cedar* was not heereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they speake of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as euident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolores*, much more than any vnder the *Climates* of the land of *Canaan*: whence *Iunius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Iob*, it is certaine that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding those places) faine many things to abuse the *Christians*, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed that many (if not all) the historicall circumstances of *Iob* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Rup. Lyran. Oleast. in Gen. Bell. in Com. lib.1.de ver. Dei. S. Amb. sup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de ciui. Dei l.18.c.4. Chrys. Hom.2. De patientia Iob. Greg. com. in Iob.

Of *Iob* himselfe whether he were the same *Iobab* remembred in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Esau*, and King also of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet S. *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie*, with *Athanasius*, *Hyppolitus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius Emissenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eustachius* & other, cited by S. *Hierom* in his 126. Epist. to *Euagrius*, take him for the same.

For ου and αυ are often changed one into the other: whence they vsed *Austitis* for *Oustitis*, &c. Hence also by *Iunius* and others it is called *Ausanitis*, & so as it seemes they reade it in the *Septuagint*. *Iun. in Gen.*10. 23.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the *Greeke* οὖς, which the *Septuagint* vse for the word *Huts*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometime *Hus*, as *Iob* 1.*v.*1. sometime *Austitis*, as *Hieromc* 25.20. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palæstina* and *Cœlesyria*, besides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) vnder *Palmyrene* in the Countrie called by *Ptolomie Trachonitis* or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Basan* in this halfe Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated, it may in part bee gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 25. 20. where hee reckons the *Husbites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom hee therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneam turbam*, because their bounds were

not

not onely ioyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the wordes of *Hieremie*, *Lamentations* 4. 21. speaking of the same propheſie, of which hee ſpeaketh in the fiue and twentieth Chapter, muſt needes be expounded: as *Iunius* reades them, diſtinguiſhing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, ô quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; *O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*. Now becauſe the *Vulgar* doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth *Filiæ Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it ſeemes, ſome of the learned haue thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as we haue ſaid, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderſtand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes* time, they are greatly miſtaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Edumæa*. For it *Deut.3.9.* is very probable that *Eſau* when hee firſt parted from *Iacob*, did not ſeate himſelfe in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Iudæa*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the Eaſt of *Iordan*, and held a part of thoſe Mountaines otherwiſe called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir* for *Seir*, and from this his habitation did *Eſau* incounter *Iacob* when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſau* his abiding. It is true that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandred in the *Deſarts*, that the poſteritie of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo driue the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thence-forward ſeated themſelues to the South of *Iudæa*, bordering the *Deſart Paran*, and ſtretched their habitations ouer the *Deſarts* as farre as *Hor* where *Aram* died.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the ſonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the ſonne of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the queſtion is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the ſonne of *Nachor*: partly becauſe theſe Families of *Aram* ſeeme long before to haue beene loſt: and partly becauſe in *Iob c.* 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iobs* friends, which ſeemes to be of *Iobs* owne Countrie, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz*, the brother of *Hus*, the ſonne of *Nachor*: as alſo *Hieremie* 25. in the ſame continuation (though ſome other Nations named between) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *Buz* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our coniecture, that in the place of *Iob* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is ſaid to bee of the Familie of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to bee as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderſtand *Aram* the ſonne of *Sem*, *Iunius* himſelfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he ſaith that one of *Iobs* friends (which muſt needes be this *Elihu*) was of the poſteritie of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place he confeſſeth ſo much expreſly) and in as much as hee readeth not *è familiâ Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syra*; like as elſewhere *Laban* who ſprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*. Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Auſitide.*

As for the other three of *Iobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Familie, or of the Familie of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as alſo by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implied that they thought onely *Elihu* to haue beene of *Iobs* owne Countrie. See *Sixtus Senenſis.*

Franciſcus Brochard the *Monke*, in his deſcription of the holy Land in the iourney from *Acon* Eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the Eaſt of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may ſeeme to haue denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchit*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob* 2. 11. But *Iunius* thinks that the *Shuchits* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, deſcended of *Shuach* the ſonne of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen.* 52. 2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Plinie* calls *Saccæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom *Eliphaz* was, to haue beene of *Arabia* the *Deſart*: and *Eliphaz* himſelfe to haue beene of the poſteritie of *Theman* the ſonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the ſonne of *Eſau*. And ſo alſo *Nahamah* whence *Tſophar* the third of *Iobs* friends (which in this place of *Iob. c.* 2. *v.* 11. are mentioned) is by the ſame learned expoſitor

thought either to be named of *Thimnath* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah* *Gen.* 36.40. is named among the sonnes of *Esau* that gaue denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to bee the same *Nahamah*, which *Ios.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a Citie of *Iuda* in the border, as he thinkes, of *Edom*. And yet I denie not but that neere to the Land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it seemes, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which at least in latter times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is euident by the Historie of *Willelmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Sutta* or *Suites* (as hee calls it diuersly) of exceeding great strength and vse for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rocks recouered by the *Christians*: hauing not long before been lost to the great disaduantage of the Countrie, while it was in the handes of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixeteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the East of *Iordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles North-ward from the place where *Iordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

De Bell. Sacr. l. 22. c. 15. & 21.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Beheshthera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the comming of the *Israelites* was called *Nabach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilehad*, we haue spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* wee haue both *Gaulanitis superior and inferior*, oft in *Iosephus*. *Beheshthera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Basan* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Iosua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Iosephus* calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midst betweene *Cæsaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Iordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more contract, leauing the marish ground on both sides, for Lyons and other wild beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Ios. 21.27. *Deut.* 4.43.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrie of *Manasses*, *Iosephus* names two places of strength fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the *Iewes* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities we reade *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which also agrees the place *Numb.* 34. 8. where for *Chauram*, betweene *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Iosephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mahachath* or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* toward the North-east) are vnknowne: only that *Gessur* was of might, it appeares in that *Dauid* married *Maacha* the Daughter of *Tholmey* King of *Gessur*; by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked, and vnfortunate *Absalon*.

2. *Sam.* 3.3.

(***)

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of Iordan.

§. I.

Of the Citie of Damascus and the diuers fortunes thereof.

DAMASCVS of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beautie, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnes; and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and *Cosmographers*. The *Hebrewes*, saith *Iosephus*, thinke it to haue been built by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*: of which opinion S. *Hierome* vpon *Esai* seemeth to be: though in his *Hebrew* questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward, a thing very vnlikelie, seeing the citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *Dauid* was the first that subiected it to the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adadezer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recouered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principalitie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadadezer* king of *Sophena*, (otherwise *Syria Soba* or *Zobah*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken armie, inuaded *Damascena*, and possest *Damascus* it selfe, and became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life. *Iosephus. I. 14.* *In Isai. 17.* *Gen. 15. 2.* *1. Reg. 11. v. 40.*

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Ægypt* from *Dauid*, and *Ioab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Ægypts* wiues sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Ægypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning againe, became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life, and (as some writers affirme) inuaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence-out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine descents (as heereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians* & then the *Grecians* succeeded. This citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riuers of *Abanah*, and *Parphar*: whereof one of them prophane writers call *Chrysorrhoas* the golden riuer. *Iunius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seemes by the *Florentines*, after it became *Christian*: the lillies being found cut in many marbles in that *Citadell*. Against this Citie the Prophets *Amos*, *Esai*, *Hieremy* and *Zacharias*, prophecied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon* and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalassar* inuited by *Achaz* king of *Iuda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leauing of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was vtterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Hieremie* vpon *Esai*: which thing was performed by *Salmanasar*, according to *Iunius* in his note vpon that place, fiue yeeres after the prophecie. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after when *Syria* fell into the handes of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the *Christians* it had an *Archbishop*: S. *Hierome* liuing, as he affirmeth vpon the *Actes*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Saracens*: *1. Reg. 11.* *2. Reg. 5.* *Herold. 6. Bell. Sacr.* *1. 3. 8. 10. & 17.* *49. & 9.* *2. Reg. 16.* *Esai. 17.* *Ioseph. ant. 4.*

being taken by *Haomar* their King from the *Romanes*, in the yeere of our redemption 636. And in the yeere 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewes* King of *Fraunce*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austrea*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theoderick* Earle of *Flaunders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recouer *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

Onuphrius in Chron.

Vitri c.46. Wil. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5.

In the yeere 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompast it, and hauing formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the walls, and threatned extreme torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the sonne of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

Herold. Bell. Sac. 4. c. 14.

In the yeere 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the *Parthians*, inuaded that region, and besieged the citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken) He entred it and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, those that retired into the Castle which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning: he forbare the demolishing of the citie in respect of the beautie of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. lanternes of gold & siluer: but while he inuaded *Ægypt*, they againe surprized *Damascus*. Lastly in his returne after three moneths siege hee forst it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselues with their priests, desired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commaunding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a *Trophey* of his victorie he raised three towers with great Arte, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossest by the *Soldane* of *Ægypt*, with a garrison of *Mammalukes*: And in the yeere 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turkes* wrested it out of the hands of the *Ægyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans*, and *Christians*, of all neighbouring nations.

Herold. l. 6. c. 4.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing vp of their power:

NOw bee it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common wealth till *Dauids* time. For it stood without the boundes of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Iosua*, and the *Iudges*, as impertinent to that Storie: But were it so that it had some *reguli*, or pettie Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *Dauid* ouerthrew *Adadezer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth *Nubai*, inhabiting betweene *Batanea* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soone after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the North-east parts of the holy land there were three chiefe principalities whereof the Kings or Commaunders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which these were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Toha* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the cities subiect to *Adadezer* when *Dauid* inuaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were leuied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon*, the Comander of his

Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

1. Sam. 14. 47.

3082.

2. Sam. 8.

his armie, taking aduantage, made himselfe King of *Damascus*: *Adadezer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slaine. About the same time *Toha* King of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemie *Adadezer* was vtterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to *Dauid*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in *dolo* saith S. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Iudeans* and *Israelites*. But to returne to the kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria*, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Iturea*, to which I may adde *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the 2. of *Sam.* 15. as ioyning in the Territorie to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palestina* it selfe is but a Prouince, as I haue noted in the beginning of this Tract.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*. 1.*Reg.*11.

Some acount *Rezon*, other *Adad* of *Idumea*: of whome it is written in the first of Kings, that *Dauid* hauing inuaded that Region, and left *Ioab* therein to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed, fled into *Ægypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queenes sister, as before, who hearing of *Dauids* death, and of the death of his Captaine *Ioab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*; and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as I take it, *Adadezer* the sonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* inuaded, was the founder of that Principalitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his Fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the style of *Adad*, the great *God* of the *Assyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified oneneſſe or *Vnitie*. I also finde a Citie called *Adada* in the same part of *Syria*: of which, whether these Princes tooke the name, or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *Dauid* vndertooke the warre: secondly, because he leuied 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name; thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the *Desart* as farre as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and the greatest part of *Arabia Petræa* according to *Niger*. Whosoeuer was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezon* was the second: *Who was an enemie to Israel all the dayes of* SALOMON. Besides the euil that *Adad* did, the euil that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumea*, lately returned out of *Ægypt*: to wit, 23. yeeres after he was carried thither. 2.*Sam.*8.3. *and* 12. 1.*Sam.*14.47. *Plin.*l.6.c.28. 1.*Reg.*11.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*, to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabrimmon*, or *Tabremmon*, to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings. For *Asa* King of *Iuda* the sonne of *Abiam*, the sonne of *Roboam*, the sonne of *Salomon*, being vexed and inuaded by *Baasha*, the successour of *Nadab*, the sonne of *Ieroboam*, sent to *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabrimmon* the sonne of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to inuade *Israel* (while *Baasha* sought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa*: thereby to blocke him vp, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, hauing receiued his presents, willingly inuaded the Countrie of *Nepthalim*, and tooke diuers Cities, and spoiles thence: *Asa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baasha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuerted them to his owne vse. 1.*King.*15.18. 1.*Reg.*15.v.18.

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*; for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and siluer sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* inuaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth. *The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore:* 1.*Reg.*20.v.34.

restore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus: as my father did in Samaria. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was Father indeede to *Benhadad* which inuaded *Baasha*, at the request of *Asa*; But this *Benhadad* that twice entred
1.Reg.15. vpon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betweene the inuasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baasha* time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the ouerthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. yeeres of age to *Benhadad*, when hee inuaded *Baasha*, and after that 49. yeeres, ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one; it is vnlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age would make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that hee was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolue, that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* inuaded *Baasha* and *Omri*, and *Benhadad* the second inuaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at *Samaria*, by a sally of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect the *Israelites* slaughtered
1.Reg.20. 100000. of the *Aramites*; besides 27000. which were crusht by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe setteth at liberty: to whom hee rendreth those townes, that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refuseth to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier towne, and of great importance. Now three yeeres after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not be-
1.Reg.22. ing deliuered, *Achab* inuadeth *Gilead*, and assiegeth the Citie, being assisted by *Iosaphat*.
3227. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dy-
3232. eth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commaunder of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus*
2.Reg.5. had healed him, yet hee picketh quarrell against *Ioram*: and when *Ioram* by *Elizeus*
2.Reg.6. his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet,
2.Reg.6. as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besiegeth *Samaria* againe, and being terrified thence
2.Reg.7. from heauen, he departeth home, and sickeneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts
3234. to *Elizeus*, to know his estate, if he might liue. *Azael* returning, smoothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hiere-*
Amo.1.Hier.49. *mie* mention the towres of *Benhadad*. *Iosephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his succes-
Ant.l.8.c.8. sour *Azael* were worshipped for *Gods* by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith hee, that scarce yet 1100. yeeres are compleate since their warres with the *Israelites*.

Hazael or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was anointed by *Elisha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recouer his present sickneſſe: Hee waged warre with *Ioram*; who receiued diuers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Iesrael*, he and the King of *Iuda*, *Ahaziah*, or *Ochozias*, are slaine by *Iehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azael* continued the warre against *Iehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, ouer
2.Reg.12.17. *Iordan*. Hee then inuaded *Iuda*, and tooke *Gath*, but by gifts from *Ioas* hee was auerted from attempting *Hierusalem*: for hee presented him all the *hallowed things*
2.Reg.12. *which* IEHOSAPHAT, IEHORAM, *and* AHAZIAH *his fathers, Kings of Iuda had dedicated; and which hee himselfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the treasuries of the Lord, and in the Kings house.* This was the second time that the Temple was spoyled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Asa* did present *Benhadad*
1.Reg.15. with those treasures, when he inuited him to warre vpon *Baasha* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition betweene *Ioas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Armie spoyled the other Prouinces of *Iudea*, and slaughtered many principall
2.King.13.v.7. persons. Lastly, *Azael* vexed *Ioahas* the sonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremitie

extremitie, as he left him but fifty horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand footemen of all his people.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and ouerthrow of their power.

AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the sonne of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damascus*: who fought against *Israel*, with ill successe: for *Ioas* King of *Israel*, the sonne of the vnhappy *Ioachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three seuerall battels: and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Ioachaz*. 2.*Reg.*13. *Ioseph.ant.c.*9.

After this *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others of the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely *Nicholaus Damascenus* cited by *Iosephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Ieroboam* the second, the sonne of *Ioas* recouered *Damascus* it selfe, to *Iudah* saith the *Geneua*, but better in IVNIVS, *vtq; recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham Iehudæ pro Israele*; that is, *And how he recouered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Iudea*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *Dauid*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Ioseph.Ant.l.*7. *c.*6. 2.*King.*14.28.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then liuing, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Ieboas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice ouercome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, and had recouered the Cities which *Hazael* had wonne from *Israel*; and so left his Kingdome to his sonne *Ieroboam* the second, it seemeth that this *Ieroboam* without delay, and hauing nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Iosephus Rases*, after *Zonaras Raason*, the 10. *Adad*, maketh league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Iuda*; both carrie away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Hierusalem*: but in vaine. Then *Adad* alone inuadeth *Elath*, and beating out the *Iewes*, maketh it a *Colonie* of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achaz* brought *Tetglaphalassar* against *Razin*, who tooke him, and beheaded him, and wonne *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdome of *Damascus*: the *Assyrians* becomming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads* as they reigned in order are thus reckoned. 2.*King.*16.5. *Es.*7. *Ioseph.Ant.l.*9. *c.*12.

1. *Adadezer* the sonne of *Rehob*.
2. *Rezin* the sonne of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3. *Hezion*.
4. *Tabremmon*.
5. *Benhadad*, who inuaded *Baasha*.
6. *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7. *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold, with teares, of his aduancement; the same who ouerthrew *Ioram* King of *Israel*, at *Ramoth Gilead*.

And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which tooke *Geth*, and compounded the warre with *Ioas*, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slaine *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* King of *Israel*. For *Ioas* began to reigne in the 7. yeere of *Iehu* King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long wee know not) it is said that *Hazael* tooke *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Ierusalem*. It is also some proofe that *Hazael* which tooke *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time but be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth the second person in the kingdome, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of warre. To this *Hazael*, be he the first or second, succeeded

8 *Ben-*

8 *Benhadad* the third, whom *Ioash* King of *Israel* thrise ouerthrew.

9 *Resin* or *Rezin* the last, who ioyned with *Pekah* King of *Israel*, against *Iuda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Iuda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now betweene *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholaus Damascenus* findes three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we finde that *Tohu* was King of *Emath* or *Chamath* in *Dauids* time, to whom he sent his sonne *Ioram* with presents, after *Dauids* victory against *Adadezer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

2. Sam. 8. 9.

Esai 37.

§. IIII.

Of other lesser Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought vnder the Assyrians, neuer recouered themselues againe.

OF *Gessur* wee finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*. To *Talmai*, whose daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Absalon* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sopheva* or *Syria*, *Soba* or *Cœlosyria*, there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rochob* the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himselfe, and it is plaine that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of *Syria*, (which became so potent, and ioyned *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the Desart of *Arabia* with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *Dauid*, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of *Israel*. For *Ahaz* King of *Iuda* waged the *Assyrian Teglatphalassar* against *Pekah* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglath* first inuaded *Damascena*, and the region of *Soba*, and tooke *Damascus* it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the *Assyrians* attempted *Israel*. For first, *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* gouerning *Israel*) who stopt the enterprize of *Phul* with a thousand talents of siluer: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yet in his seate at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: hauing besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his sonne *Teglath* following the purpose of his Father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene *Israel* and *Iuda*, *Pekah* commaunding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Iuda*, his impresta and entertainement. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, hee carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possest himselfe of the Cities of *Nephthalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanassar*, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabonassar*, after the reuolt of *Hosea*, forced *Samaria*: and rent that Kingdome asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and *Monarchie* of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*: whom *Teglath* slaughtered; the Kingdome of *Israel* in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanassar* ouerturned; happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Belochus*, and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his sonne. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osia* ruling *Iuda*; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolued, *Achaz* yet liuing.

Lastly, the Kingdome of *Iuda* it selfe, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanassar* in vaine, and preserued for the time by God miraculously, was at length

length vtterly ouerturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeeres after the captiuitie of *Israel*, and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeere of *Hosea*: that of *Iuda* in the eleuenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeere of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, *whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200. yeeres. After these the *Persians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeeres. 3603. 3811.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successours the *Seleucidæ* reigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the *Romanes*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall bee shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering vpon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the only people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of trueth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of BENIAMIN, *and of Hierusalem.*

§. I.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of Beniamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.

OF the Tribe of *Beniamin*, the twelfth and yongest sonne of *Iacob*, whom hee had by *Rachel*, there were mustred at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the *Deserts*, there entred the holy Land of their Issues 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territory on this side *Iordan*, betweene *Iuda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neerest *Iordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a *Beniamite*: they were all three reinhabited with *Beniamites*, after the returne out of Captiuitie, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11.35. and *Esd.* 2.35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Macchabæus*. 1.Chron.8.12. Macc.12.38.

Samarim or *Tsemaraim*, named of *Tsemary*, one of the sonnes of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land standeth *Iericho*, one of the *Toparchies*, and the last of *Iuda*; seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the citie of *Palmes*. From the time of IOSVA, who vtterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of *Achab*: in whose dayes *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne *Segub*: according to the curse of IOSVA: in which and other respects, *Hos.* 12.14. calleth IOSVA a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*. 1.*Reg.*17.36. *Ios.*6.29. *1.Chron.6.60. This *Halmon* is called *Halmeth*, whence they make a new Citie *Almath*, as if this Tribe had giuen fiue Cities to the *Leuites*.

To the Southeast of *Iericho* stood *Halmon* of the *Leuites*, of which *Ios.*21.18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Ios.c.*15. *and c.*18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so

so much mention in the Scripture, where *Iosua* first ate of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those borne in the *Desarts*, and celebrated the *Passeouer*.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the *Etymologie* of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Deut.* 11. 30. that the name was knowne before the comming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Ios.* 5. 9. *Ob deuolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, because their fore-skinnes (the people beeing there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appeares by comparing the places, *Ios.* 15. 7. *and* 18. 17. for it was in the borders of *Iordan*; of which *Ios.* 22. 13. and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. * It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the two Hills *Garizim* and *Hebal*: vpon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both beeing the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Beniamin* (of which also wee reade oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason * *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which hee came yeerely to giue iudgement to the *Israelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was neere *Iordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitspa* neere the West Sea, towards the land of the *Philistims*.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vsed yeerely to come, is * *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal* which was the first place, where the *Arke* resided, after they past ouer *Iordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-ieharim*, & at length to *Hierusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Iosua* pitched vp the twelue stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Iordan*, when it was drie, that the *Israelites* might passe ouer it: by which Storie, as it is set downe *Ios.* 4. it appeares, that the same day that they passed ouer *Iordan*; they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither also *Samuel* came yeerely to giue Iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the *Leuites* wife against *Gibha*, and the *Beniamites*, *Iud.* 20. 1. and another against the *Philistims*, 1. *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither also *Iudas Maccabæus* gathered the *Iewes*, (when *Hierusalem* was possest by the *Heathen*) as it is 1. *Macc.* 3. 47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus Orationi fuerat Mitspa antea Israeli*. Touching this *Mitspa*, to auoid confusion, it is to bee remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Iuda*, of which *Ios.* 15. 38. * *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*: *Mitspa* of the *Moabites*, where *Dauid* for a while held himselfe, commending his parents to the King of *Moab*, 1. *Sam.* 22. 3. and lastly, this chiefe *Mitspa* of the *Beniamites*. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recouered from the *Iebusites*, and also in the time of the *Macchabees* (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeys*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Iewry*, as Gouernour ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the *Iewes*) he was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall bloud of *Iuda*, as it is *Hierem* 14.

Neere vnto this *Mitspa*, the * Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the pillar or Stone, for a *Trophy* against the *Philistims*.

Touching *Bethel* which (as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Ioseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *Nehem.* 11. 31. *and Ios.* 18. 22.) and how another Citie called *Luz* * neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Iudg.* 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Iacobs* vision: and how

Ieroboam

* *Deut.* 11. 30.
* 1. *Sam.* 7. 15.
* *Iunius* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kiriath-ieharim* where the Arke abode. For (saith he) by the Law, *Exod.* 23. 17. the greatest meetings in their annuall feasts were to be, where the *Arke* was, but this place doth not speake of festiuall, but of iudiciall meetings: and besids the Priests did vse to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings whersoeuer they were, as appeares 1. *Sam.* 12. *v.* 11. *&* c. 14. *v.* 18. neither is it easie to expound *Bethel* otherwise then for the Citie *Bethel*: though *Iunius* also take it for the place where the *Arke* was, 1. *Sam.* 10. 3.
* It was no other than this *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which *Ios.* 11. 8. as appeares by that which is added *Versus orientem*, for *Iosua* notes the three quarters North, West, and East, to which hee followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* & others out of this place imagine a *Mitspa* or *Maspha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Asser*.
* 1. *Sam.* 7. 11. *Ios.* 16. 1.

Ieroboam, by erecting one of his calues heere, of *Bethel* (which ſignifieth the houſe of God) made it * *Beth-auen*, that is, the houſe of Vanitie, *Hoſ.*4.15. and 10.5. as alſo other memorable things of this place, they are ſo well knowne, out of the Hiſtories of the Scripture, that we may well paſſe them ouer.

The territorie of *Bethel*, which at the firſt belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* againſt *Ieroboam* (of which 2. *Chr.* 13.) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdome of *Iuda*: and ſo it continued, as appeares by the Storie of *Ioſhua*: which performed the Prophecies againſt the altar of *Bethel*, 2. *Reg.* 23. whence thoſe coaſtes 1. *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apharema*, which *Greeke* word ſignifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories* or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epiſtle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Iewes*, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appeares 2. *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephrauin*, which *Ioſ.* 18.23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibha*, and *Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*, * it is noted alreadie, in the deſcription of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes ſo called, becauſe of their high ſituation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Iuda* (as it ſeemes becauſe *Mat.* 2. it appeares that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and alſo out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to haue beene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; theſe three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, as it ſeemes, wee haue teſtimonie *Ioſ.* 19.29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Ioſ.* 19.36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim* 1. *Sam.* 25.1. which more often is called * *Ramatha*, and 1. *Sam.* 1. 1. *Ramathaim Tſophim*: for which the *Septuagint* haue *Aramathaim-ſophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Ioſeph* of *Arimathæa Matt.* 27.57. was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we reade 2. *Reg.* 8. 29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. The firſt, which is moſt often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Beniamin*, ſeated as wee ſaid, neere *Bethel* the vttermoſt South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cauſe *Baaſha* in the time of *Aſa* King of *Iuda*, fortified it, to hinder thoſe that did flie from him to *Aſa*. Of this *Rama* or *Ramatha* I ſhould rather thinke *Ioſeph* was, that buried *Chriſt*: becauſe it was neerer to *Hieruſalem*, and after the captiuitie belonged to *Iudæa*, as it appeares *Eſd.* 2. 26. where in that it is ioyned with *Gebah*, it is plaine that he ſpeaketh of that *Rama* with whoſe ſtones (after *Baaſha* had ceaſed to build it) *Aſa* (as it is 1. *Reg.* 25.22.) built *Gebah* adioyning to it: both being in *Beniamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the tenne Tribes, ſo was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdome of *Iuda*: whence 2. *Reg.* 23.8. wee reade that *Ioſiah* through all his Kingdome, euen from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-ſheba* which was the South-border, deſtroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibha* which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickedneſſe of which Citie in the time of the *Iudges* had almoſt vtterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are euidently diſtinguiſhed *Eſai.* 10.27. of which word]* *Gibha*, in another forme *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gabaath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this citie alſo to *Rama* of *Beniamin*, appears *Iud.* 19.13. where the *Lenite* with his wife not able to reach to *Rama*, tooke vp his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1. *Sa.* 22.6. it ſeemes that there was in this *Gibha* ſome towre or *Citadell* called *Rama*: where *Iunius* reades in *excelſo*, for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings place in this citie, was *Rama*: as it ſeemes that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Naioth*. The great Citie of *Hai* ouerthrowne by *Ioſ.* which *Ioſ.* 7.2. is placed neere *Beth-auen* vpon the Eaſt of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proued *Nehe.* 7.10.30. though it be not named by *Ioſua* c. 18. for it was burned by him and laid deſolate, as it is *Ioſ.* 8.28. *In ſolitudinem in tumulum perpetuum*; Another Citie

* Borrowing the name of a neighbour towne in the confines of the Kingdomes of *Iuda* and *Iſrael* betweene *Hai* and *Bethel*. *Ioſ.* 7.2. and 18.12.

* See c. 9. §. 1.

* Of this *Ramatha* I vnderſtand the place 1. *Macc.* 11. 34. where it is named for one of the three *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the *Iewes* out of the country of *Samaria*, this lying toward the Eaſt to *Iericho*: and *Lydda* toward the Weſt: and *Apherama* (of which euen now we ſpake) lying in the midſt between the two other. A ſixt *Rama* it ſeemes there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Ioſ.* 19.8. is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwiſe *Baalath-beer*.

* *Gibha* in conſtruction, that is, Gouerning a genitiue caſe is *Gibbath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* reade *Ioſ.* 24.33 *Gibaath* Phinees. for which *Iunius* hath *Collis Phincaſi* (for this word is oft times an Appellatiue ſignifying a Hill) but *Adricomius* taking notice of this, builds his Citie *Gabaath* vpon this Text & placeth it in *Beniamin*, when as the words adioyned, note that this Hill was in the Mountains of *Ephraim*.

Citie of chiefe note reckoned *Ios.* 18.25. in this Tribe was *Gibhon*, the chiefe Citie of the *Heuites*: whose cunning to bind the *Israelites* by oath to saue their liues, is set downe *Ios.* 9. whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinæi* or *Proselites*: and were bound to certaine publique seruices in the house of God: which oath of sauing these *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine 2. *Sam.* 21.1. This *Gibeon* or *Gibhon* with *Almon* and *Iebah* (of both which wee haue spoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were said *Ios.* 21.28. to be giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Beniamites*. Neere to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appeares. 1. *Reg.* 2 26. where *Ebiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*: It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, *Nehem.* 9. 31. and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Arke* was at *Kiriath-iearim*: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloudshed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set downe 1. *Sam.* 21. and 22.) in the iudgement of *Iunius*, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

* The word *Nethinim* or *Nethinei*, is as much as *dati* (as it were a *Deo dati*) or as *Iunius* expounds it *deditiij*, it is vsed, 1. *Chr.* 9. 2. and in *Esdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Micmas also in this Tribe *Nehem.* 9. 31. was a place of fame, of which *Esai.* 10.28. where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migron* in this Tribe. In *Micmas Saul* had his Campe 1. *Sam.* 13. 2. (when he left *Gibha* to *Ionathan*) and there also was *Ionathan Macchabæus* his aboad. 1. *Macc* 9. 73. Of *Giscala* in *Galilee Iosephus* makes often mention, but of any heere in *Beniamin*, which they make the natall place of *S. Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, hee sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of lesse importance I omit, and come to the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes and Gouernours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whence *Ios.* 18.28. it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

§. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

AT what time *Hierusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princesse of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrahams* time. But * according to others, that Citie out of which *Melchisedec* incountred *Abraham* (in his returne from the ouerthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the riuer of *Iordan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greekes Solima*.

* See in the hither halfe of *Manasse*.

Hierusalem (whensoeuer or by whomsoeuer built) was a principall Citie in *Iosua* his time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in those dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Iosua* slew) was then King of *Hierusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Iebusites* it is manifest: for how long soeuer they held it before *Moses* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeeres after him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebusæi* (the children of *Iebusæus* the sonne of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Iebus*. And so much did that Nation relie on the strength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

2. *Sam.* 5. v. 6.

Dauid, after he had by Gods assistance possest it, and turned out the *Iebusites*, gaue it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a *Citadell* or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Iebussalem*, the Citie of the *Iebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the *Greekes* call *Hierosolima*. After *Dauids* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and walles, could not any where in the world

Ioseph. Ant. lib. 11 Strab. geog. lib. 16.

bee

bee exampled: and beſides that it had 150000. inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foote of depth, cut out of the very rocke: and 250. foote of breadth: whereof the like hath ſeldome beene heard of, either ſince or before.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdome of the *Iewes* was cut aſunder, *Shiſhac* King of *Ægypt*, and his predeceſſour, hauing bred vp for that purpoſe, *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Ieroboam*, *Salomons* ſeruant; and both married to *Ægyptians*: the State by the one diſturbed, by the other broken: *Siſhac* firſt inuaded the Territorie of *Iuda*, entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſackt it, and became Maſter not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all thoſe ſpoiles which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was againe ſackt and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Ioas* King of *Iſrael*; while *Amaſia* the twelfth King thereof gouerned *Iuda*. 2.*Chron.*12. 2.*King.*14. 2.*King.*16.

Not long after *Achaz* the fifteenth King of *Iuda* impoueriſhed the Temple, and preſented *Teglatphalaſſar* with the treaſures thereof. And *Manaſſe* the ſonne of *Ezekiah*, the ſonne of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embaſſadors of *Merodach*, loſt the remaine, and the very bottome of their treaſures. It was againe ſpoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Ioakim* then reigning. But this vngratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by theſe Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perſiſting in all kinde of impietie, filling the Citie euen to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raiſed vp that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchodonoſor*, as his ſcourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the walles and towers which imbraced them, euen and leuell with the duſt, carried away the ſpoiles with the Princes and people, and cruſht them with the heauie yoake of bondage and ſeruitude full 70. yeeres, inſomuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed-vp field, *Hieruſalem* a heape of ſtone, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briers, but (as *Hierome* ſpeaketh) Euen the birds of the ayre ſcorned to flie ouer it, or the beaſts to tread on that defiled ſoile. 1.*Chron.*5.26. 2.*King.*25. 2.*King.*19. 2.*Par.*18. *Mich.*3. *Hier.* 25.26.29.

Then 70. yeeres being expired, according to the Prophecie of *Daniel*, and the *Iewes* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie enough: and the Citie meanely inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for ſome 60. and odde yeeres, till *Nehamia* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie ſpoiled by *Bagoſes*, or *Vagoſes*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the firſt; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not deſtroyed, nor robbed, though *Craſſus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as he could of that which *Pompey* ſpared. *Hier.* to 3. *trad. Heb.* *Nehem.*12. 34. &c.

* The firſt of the *Egyptian* Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who diſſembling his Religion, came vp to *Hieruſalem* to offer Sacrifice. *Ioſ.*12. *ant.*1.

But the damages which it ſuſtained by the violence of ſacrilegious *Tyrants*, were commonly recompenſed by the induſtrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberalitie of ſtrangers. Before the captiuitie, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the ſecond Temple, was requited by the bountie of his ſonne *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The miſchiefe wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were ſent to *Hieruſalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the loſſes, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well ſeeme forgotten in the reigne of *Herod* that vſurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many ſumptuous workes did ſo adorne them, that hee left them farre more ſtately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of *Salomon*. *M.T.C. pro Cylla.*

§. III.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our *Saviour Christ Iesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeeres. But then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being stirred vp, by God, to be the reuenger of *Christ* his death; and to punish the *Iewes* sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with the *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. Hee began the siege at such time as the *Iewes*, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the *Passeouer*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the ciuill dissension, oppressed them within the walles; a forcible enemie assailed them without. The *Idumæans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Iewes* Kingdome, thrust themselues into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* tooke it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victorie, eleuen hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe, and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleeue that there had beene any such place or habitation. Onely the three *Herodian* towres (workes most magnificent, and ouertopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining that thereouer became victorious.

Esd.1.c.4.v.45.

After this; such *Iewes* as were scattered heere and there in *Iudæa*, and other Prouinces, beganne againe to inhabite some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Ælius Adrianus the Emperour* slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three *Herodian* Towres, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold; *That there should not stand one stone vpon another*, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulchre of Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, hee againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a Sowe to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despight of the *Iewes* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thencefoorth euer enter into the Citie, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

Gul.Tir.Bel.Sa. l.14.c.12.

But the *Christian* Religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by *Christians*; and so it continued 500. yeeres.

Onuphrius Chro.

It was afterward in the 636. yeere after *Christ*, taken by the *Ægyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odde yeeres.

G.Tir.l.18.c.5. 18.19.&c.

In the yeere 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*, which *Godfrey*, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because *Christ*, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recouery, it remained vnder the successours of *Godfrey* 88. yeeres: till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by *Saladine of Ægypt*: and lastly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turkes* cast out the *Ægyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbaret*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it *Ierusalem* alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the world haue with their inhabitants, in seuerall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impietie

impietie of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slaverie; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possest; of the walls and buildings, yea of the soyle and the beasts that fedde thereon.

For, euen that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect, lost all her fertilitie, and fruitfulnesse; witnesse the many hundreds of thousands which it fedde in the dayes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beast that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe, neither was it enough that *Achan* himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Iewes.

OF the originall of the *Iewes*, prophane writers haue conceiued diuersly and iniuriously. *Quintilian* speakes infamously of them, and of their leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernitious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Ægyptians*. Others affirme that while *Isis* gouerned *Ægypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ierosolymus*, and *Iudas* ledde thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because hee was taken vp and saued out of the waters. But *Iustine*, of all other most malicious, doth derive the *Iewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damascus*, saith hee, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had tenne sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of *Iuda*; so called of *Iudas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The yongest of the sonnes of *Israel* hee calleth *Ioseph*: who being brought vp in *Ægypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious, and this *Ioseph* (saith hee) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Ægypt*. Further, hee telleth how these men thus banished, when in the *Desarts* they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found relicfe the seuenth day, for this cause euer after obserued the seuenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselues, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, lest discouering their vncleanesse, they might also bee expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Ægyptians*. These and like fables hath *Iustine*. *Iustin. l. 36.*

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grosly belie them, in affirming, That in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Asse*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the fift booke of his owne Historie truely confessed of the *Iewes*, that they worshipped one onely God: and thought it most prophane to represent the *Deitie* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Iudas* with *Idumæa*, the first parents of the *Iewes*.

Claudius Iolaus drawes them from *Iudæus*, whose parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrewes*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these re- Cited by *Stephanus* in *Iudæa*.

ports seeme to haue been gathered out of diuine letters; though wrested and peruerted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and altred the Storie of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Floud; and giuen new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes, in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrewes*: all which fainings, as touching the *Iewes* and their originals, *Iosephus* against *Appion*, and *Tertullian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the Children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldæans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the *Greeke Grammarian*, deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Iewes*, from *Abrahon*; hauing mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the sixt descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Iacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Iacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Iuda*, honoured the name of *Iudas*, the sonne of *Iacob*, and became *Iudæans* or *Iewes*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes; the rest of the tenne Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Iudæans* continued their names, though they suffered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

Tert. in Apol.

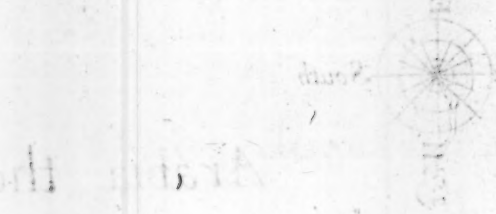
Caleb. f. 63.

The gouernement which this Nation vnder-went, was first paternall: which continued till they serued the *Ægyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and leaders, *Moses* and *Iosua*, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they subiected themselues to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before wee intreate, wee are first to speake of their Gouernment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iosua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

CHAP. 4

The desert Arabia
Saccæa
Agræi
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Palmerina
Soba of Adadezer
Betach
Berothy
Carath
Emath or Ituria
of Tohu
Adrach
Thebe of Elias & Tobit
The mountains Saner
Ceda
Caphor
Rabb
Fanum Baal
Hermon
Gaulon
Bathanea
Gaulanit
Syria da masci
Asteroth Carnaim
Basra
Gessur
Themon
Raphaim
Edrai
Pella
Gessuri regio
Catterbenan
Phiale fons
The ouerthrow of Ogg by Moses
Iabes Galaad
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damascens
Hus, the teritories of Iob
Damascus
The toure
Machati
of Libanus
MANASSES
Sueta
Enganim
Carmon
Recath
Helon
Bacanitis
Bethsaida desert
Magedon
Gerasa
Gadara
Cæsaria
Philippi
Reblata
Iulias
Lake Meron
Dan
Hoba
The sea of Galile
Chalcis
Sephama
Ior
Gallilee superior
Corozaim
Capernaum
Hippos
Abelbathmabacha
Daphnes
Magedald
Bethsan or Scythopolis
Abila
The ouerthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Iosua
Tiberias
Tarichea
Augustus temple
Sabarim
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Isachar
Gadeon ouerthrew
NEPTA-
Remmon
Masaloth
Carham
Heliopolis
Libanus
Beroth
Haroseth
Iasita
Methora
Iatapata
Chamath
Amothdor
LIM
Bethanat
Sepbet
Carthea
Assedim
Asor
Bethlem
Gabara
Chabul
Dothaim
Bethulia
Arbela
The ouerthrow of the Damascens by Baldwyn
Naara
Reobe
Bethsimes
Nablol
Legio
Alab
Noe
The ouerthrow of Iabin
Dabarith
Engannim
Chaly
Iephthacli
Belma
Rabboth
Aphec
Abdon
Canaan
Belfort
Bethemec
Damna
Gabatha
Beritus
ASOR
Giscala
Georgia
Semeron
M. Tabor
Tabor
Anarath
Athasclath
Alcath
Achzap
Thorom
Saron
Bersabe
Saffa
Regnim castle
Rama
Helbacer
Cethron
Tyre Antiq
Iudi
Monfort
Iabnath
Saren
Nazaret
Sephor
Sarid
Gaba
Zabulon
Memnas Sepulcre
Accziba
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
THE
Sandaliam
Castrum Iamphiæ
Tyre
Ptolemais Acon
PHOENICIAN
Cyprus
SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN
SEA
Cast of Pilgrimes
Cæsaria palestin

Arabia the stonie



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CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from the death of IOSVA *to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of* IEPHTHA.

§. I.

Of the inter-regnum *after* IOSVA's *death: and of* OTHONIEL.

WHEN *Iosua* was now dead, who with the aduice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: It pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Iuda* (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to vndertake the Warre against the *Canaanites*, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew ten thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants crueltie as else-where hath been signified, they returned in the same kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which hee now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iust iudgement against himselfe.

The tribes of *Iuda* and *Simeon* did also master and possesse during this *inter-regnum* (or as some thinke, before the death of *Iosua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron* and *Hierusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Iebusites* afterward reedified. They tooke also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it bee not set downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as *Moses* and *Iosua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authoritie among them: and that hee with the aduice of *Phinees* directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded without a chiefe, the good successe which followed their vndertakings witnesseth the contrarie. And it was *Caleb* euen while *Iosua* gouerned, as appeares *Ios.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his Daughter *Achsah*: which hee performed to *Othoniel* his yonger brother after the conquest: whose behauiour in that seruice was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Iudge soone after. But while those of *Iuda* made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recouered the mountainous Countries (for they could not driue out the inhabitants of the Valleys, *because they had Chariots of yron*) *Iud.* 1. 19. The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories: in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of *Ioseph* recouered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recouer from *Dan* all the plaine Countries, and forst them to saue themselues in the Mountaines. *Iud.* 1. 25. *Iud.* 1. 32. And

now

now the *Israelites* vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better aduised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only ioyne themselues in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they serued the Idols of *Baal*, and *Astaroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the *Lord God* whom they had prouoked with their *Idolatrie*, deliuer them into the handes of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*: whom *Chushan Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeeres, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people, and to raise vp *Othoniel* to bee their Iudge and Leader: who by God assisted, deliuered his brethren from oppression: and inforst the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Desarts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adioyning, after which the *Israelites* had peace fourtie yeeres, during all the time of *Othoniels* gouernment. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to haue been the yonger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Iudges* he is twice called *Othoniel* the Sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* yonger brother. Others doe rather interpret those wordes (*Calebs* yonger brother) as if they signified the meaneft of his kinred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Calebs* Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othoniel* should haue beene the meaneft of the kinred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Iephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenas*, *Calebs* yonger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his yonger brothers sonne; to whom it was not only lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Cosin German *Calebs* daughter.

Iud. 3. 10.

2608.
2648.

How long it was from the death of *Iosuah* to the gouernment of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seemes to haue been no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best writers are of opinion, that betweene the times of *Iosua* and *Othoniel* that ciuill warre brake out betweene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuites* wife. For it is written that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Iuda* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Interregnum*, so was hee commanded to doe against *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what should bee done, which sheweth it to haue been when *Iosuah* was dead, and before the gouernment of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gouernours, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attended such a ciuill Warre, if their power had been as great, as it was in the menaging of this action, wherein they so weakned the body of their estate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

Iud. 17. & 18. & 19.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

THere liued in this Age of *Othoniel*, *Pandion* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fift King of *Athens*: who beganne to rule in the twentieth yeere of *Othoniel*, and gouerned fortie yeeres. Hee was Father to *Eriethes*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater*: vnder whome *Linus* the *Musician* liued. In his time

time alſo the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Thurſus*, were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flouriſhed in this age, who are ſaid to haue found out the vſe of iron: but *Geneſis* hath taught vs the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in iron and braſſe. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* gouerned *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Ehuds* time. But S. *Auguſtine* making a repetition of thoſe fables, which were deuiſed among the *Græcians* and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whoſe parentage there is a little agreement. *Vues* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Auguſtine de Ciuitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where he that deſires his pedigree may finde it. *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the ſonne of *Eleuſius* King of *Eleuſina*: which *Eleuſius* by carefull induſtrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occaſion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prowe a grauen or carued Serpent; who becauſe he made exceeding great ſpeed to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from ſome neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Gen. 4. 22. Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Aphereſis* of the two firſt letters. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 18. c. 13.*

Whether the times of theſe Kings which liued together with *Othoniel*, and after him with the reſt of the Iudges and Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, be preciſely ſet downe, I cannot auow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I deſire to be excuſed, if in theſe compariſons I erre with others of better iudgement. For whether *Euſebius* and all that follow him, or his oppoſites (who make themſelues ſo conuerſant with theſe ancient Kings, and with the very yeere when they beganne to rule) haue hit the marke of time of all other the fartheſt off and moſt defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. Firſt, becauſe the Authors themſelues, from whom the ancienteſt *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but coniecture: Secondly, becauſe their owne diſagreement and contention in thoſe elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is ſuch, as no man among them hath yet ſo edified any mans vnderſtanding, ſaue his owne, but that he is greatly diſtracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This diſagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes; but euen in computation of thoſe times which the indiſputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath ſummed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the *Iudges* and the oppreſſions of *Iſrael*, in the times from the egreſſion to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the *Perſian* Empire, the ſeuentie Weekes, and in what not? Whereſoeuer the account of times may ſuffer examination, the arguments are oppoſite, and contentions are ſuch, as for ought that I ſee, men haue ſought by ſo many wayes to vncouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condenſt than before: I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in theſe computations: and therefore that ſuch and ſuch Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or that yeere, I auow it no otherwiſe than as a borrowed knowledge, or at leaſt as a priuate opinion: which I ſubmit to better iudgements. *Nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad vnguem quærenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, ſayes *Diodore*.

§. III.

§. III.

Of EHVDS *time, and of* PROSERPINA, ORITHYA, TEREVS, TANTALVS, TITYVS, ADMETVS, *and others that liued about those times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged *Moab* to inuade and suppresse them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miseric readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest ouer *Israel*: whom God himselfe exposed to those perils: within which they were so speedily folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteene yeeres vnder *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gera* to deliuer them: by which weake man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, hee resolued to attempt vpon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himselfe of the following victorie: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their gouernment, or to choose a King to command, and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining priuate accesse vpon the pretence of some secret to be reuealed, he pierst his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, he did repasse *Iordan*, and inuading the Territorie of *Moab*, ouerthrew their Armie consisting of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistims* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* liued in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeeres from the death of *Othoniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeere 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, trauailed into *Moab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourscore yeeres which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*: otherwise *Pluto*, stale *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephisus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he meane not two distinct Riuers. This stealth being made knowne to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioyned themselues, they agreed together to recouer her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily relcued him: and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering of *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this storie somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyritheus*, saith he, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and because *Pyrithous* was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for foode to *Aidonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Euristheus* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Molossi*

Paus. in Att.

which

which *Stephanus* writes with a ſingle (*S*) were a people of *Epirus* inhabititing neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines *Oeta* is one of the moſt famous, where *Hercules* burnt himſelfe. The Riuer of *Acheron* (which the *Poets* deſcribe to be in Hell) riſeth out of the ſame Hills. There is another Nation of the *Moloſſi* in *Theſſali*: but theſe are neighbours to the *Caſſiopai*, ſaith *Plutarch* in his *Greeke* queſtions.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erictheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets aſcribe this rape to the North winde, becauſe *Thrace* is ſituate North from *Athens*. In his time alſo *Tereus* rauiſhed *Philomela*, of which the fable was deuiſed of her conuerſion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* hauing married her ſiſter *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to ſee her ſiſter, forſt her in the paſſage, and withall cut out her tongue, that ſhee might not complaine; perſwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in law's mercileſſe behauiour towards her, *Philomela* expreſſed by her needle vpon cloth, and ſent it *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne* cauſed her onely ſonne *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and ſet before *Tereus* her huſband, ſo dreſt as it appeared to be ſome other ordinary foode: of which when he had eaten his fill, ſhee cauſed his head, hands, and feete, to bee preſented vnto him: and then fled away with ſuch ſpeede towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets fained, that ſhee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to bee *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pauſanias* hath built neere the Rockes *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the name *Daulis*, where theſe things are ſuppoſed to haue beene done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appeares that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his *Peloponneſian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſe*, (as the Poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis* a Countrie in *Greece* not farre from *Attica* a Citie whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his ſonne in law: as it is good to beleeue, ſaith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom hee might haue ſuccour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that ſhould haue held the Kingdome of *Odryſe*, which was greatly diſtant from thence. The occaſion that the Poets choſe a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may ſeeme to haue beene partly becauſe, as *Pauſanias* ſayes; *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; As if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and to her ſiſter, did for euer hate that place.

L. 9. Pau. in Att.

Thuc l. 2.

Neere this time *Melampus* (who is ſaid to haue vnderſtood the voyces of Birds and Beaſts) flouriſhed, being alſo eſteemed for an excellent Phyſician. Hee reſtored to their former health the Daughters of *Pratus* King of the *Argiues*, who (as the Poets pleaſe) were made mad by *Iuno*: and thinking themſelues to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be conſtrained to the Plough: for in thoſe Countries, where the ground was light, they did vſe often to plough with Kine.

Pauſ. l. 1. Homer. Odiſſ. 11

In the 47. yeere of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gaue it his owne name; about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Prieſt of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, deuiſed the *Heroicall* Verſe.

Pauſ.

Of the ſame date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Euſebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and alſo of that part of which the people were anciently *Maones*. Of *Tantalus* was deuiſed the fable that ſome Poets haue applied to the paſſion of loue: and ſome to the couetous that dare not inioy his riches. *Euſebius* calls this *Tantalus* the ſonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymph Pleta*: *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, giue him another Mother. He was ſaid to be the ſonne of *Iupiter*: as ſome will haue it; becauſe he had that Planet in his aſcendent, betokening wiſedome and riches. It is ſaid that when he made a feaſt to the *Gods*, hauing nothing more precious: he cauſed his own Sonne to be ſlaine and dreſt for the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the ſhoulders;

Euſeb. prep. Euang. l. 2. Zezes hiſt. 10. Chil. 5.

shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seeke after Diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most deareſt. And where it was deuiſed, that hee had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet ſuffered the torment of hunger and thirſt, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reaſon of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwiſe and to higher deſires tranſported, he enioyed no pleaſure at all by the reſt. Of whom *Ouid:*

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
TANTALVS, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here TANTALVS in water ſeekes for water, and doth miſſe
The fleeting fruit hee catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted vpon him, for that hee diſcouered the ſecrets of the Gods: that is, becauſe he taught wiſedome and vertue to mortall men: which ſtorie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſt in Verſe. Others expound this fable otherwiſe and ſay, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirſtie of more abundance, was neuer ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt couetouſneſſe:

TANTALVS *à labijs ſitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirſting TANTALVS doth catch at ſtreames that from him flee,
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the Gods to vaine and vnworthy men, that he was therfore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quòd furatus,
Cœtanijs conuiuis
Nectar Ambroſiamq; dedit.

Becauſe that ſtealing immortalitie,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* giue
To gueſts of his owne age to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the ſecrets of Diuinitie ought not to bee imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meates in a foule ſtomake, are therein corrupted, ſo the moſt high and reſerued myſteries are often peruerted by an vncleane and defiled minde.

Mark. 4. 11. *To you it is giuen* (ſaith *Chriſt* in MARKE) *to know the myſterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without, all things bee done in parables.* So is it ſaid of him, that *he expounded all things to his Diſciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre vpon a place of S. PAVL: *Quod ſi* PAVLO *licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & vſque ad illud progreſſio ſuppeditauit, fortaſſe de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret; If* PAVL *might haue vttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heauens, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peraduenture we might know ſomewhat more of God.*

Mark. 4. 34.

Greg. in Orat. de vetita ratione diſ. de Deo. 2. Cor. 12.

Pythagoras, ſaith *Reuclin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe man, *Aſino lyram expenere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, vt Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & vnguenta Scarabæus:*

baus: quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo diuinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius, quàm loquendo apprehendantur; To set an Asse to a harpe, or to learne mysteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a trumpet, or a Iay a viall, or Scarabies and vncleane flies soueraigne ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not disclose diuine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the *Ægyptians* communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their secrets might bee hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceede with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* slew, because he sought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the Sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *Iuno's* reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where shee was deliuered of *Tityus*: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the graue of this Gyant, affirmes that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*.

Porrectusq; nouem TITYVS *per iugera terræ,* Hom. Od. 11.
Assiduas atro viscere pascit aues.

Nine furlongs stretcht lies TITYVS, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungrie birds with his renewing liuer daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still liued, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus King of *Thessalie* liued also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first serued as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him aduanced; but hauing slaine *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellespont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, hee was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid*, which saith:

Ilion aspicies, firmataq; turribus altis
Mœnia, APOLLINEAE *structa canore lyra.*

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high
Built with the harpe of wise APOLLO's Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witnesse, saith *Pausanias*. Paus. in Att.

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the daies of *Deborah*, liued *Perseus*, the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seeke their aduenture on *Africa* side) *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakely accompanied as shee hunted, neare the Lake *Triton*, was surprised and slaine: whose beautie, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beautie whereof was such and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

Triton a Lake of *Africa*, which *Plinie* calleth *Pallantias*. Didym. in pereg. Hist.

Cecrops, the second of that name and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or after *Eusebius*, the 14. King of the *Argiues*, began also their raignes, as it is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31 yeares. Also *Bellerophon* liued in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Praetus* of the *Argiues*, to accompanie her, but refusing it, shee accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: wherupon *Praetus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, between him and his Sonne in law *Iobates*: giuing secret order to *Iobates* to dispatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it dishonorable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) pittying his innocencie, sent him the winged Horse *Pegasus*, sprung vp of the bloud of *Meduſa*, formerly slaine by the Souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him, a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerua*: vpon which beast *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimæra*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arriued to *Iobates* in safetie: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to flie vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies so to vexe *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde: of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiters* owne stable, *Aurora* beg'd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diuersly expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vndeserued aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreme hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliuerance and honor: but waxing ouer-proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euer-during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell *Pyrate* of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the sterne, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the inuention of sailes (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Æneas*.

Euseb. in chron.

Plutar. in claris mulier.

L. 5. Æneid.

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Iauan*) deriue their name of *Iones*, is said to haue beene about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Iaones*, which hath a neere resemblance to the word *Iauan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himselfe tooke name from *Iauan*: it being a custome obseruable in the Histories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

Homer. in hymno ad Apoll. Lib 18. c. 12. de Ci. Dei, l. 18. c. 15

The inuasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betweene the comming out of *Ægypt*, and the death of *Iosua*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

§. IIII.

Of DEBORA *and her Contemporaries.*

AFter *Israel* had liued in peace and plentie to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuer of all goodnesse, and many of those being worne out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so is securitie as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sinnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Iabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, inuaded the Territorie of *Israel*, and hauing in his seruice 900. yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subiection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Propheteſſe, who incouraged *Barac* to leuie a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grieuance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chiefe holds of *Iabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the daies of *Ieptha* the *Gileadites* tooke the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was, presſed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the *Moabite*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Iael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest meanes. For the mightie *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humilitie of a Beast. And to approue that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell: or as he did the *Ægyptians* in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waues of the Sea: and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Iosua*: sometimes by the ministerie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houshold seruants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the *Edomites*; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the sight of *Iehosaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteſſe speake vnto *Barac* in these wordes: *But this iourney that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell* SISERA *into the handes of a Woman.* In which victorie all the strength of the *Canaanite Iabin* fell to the ground, euen to the last man: in the end of which Warre it seemeth that *Iabin* himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Iudges*.

2 Chron. 20.

Iud. 4. 9.

After all which *Deborah* giueth thankes to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulnesse and great mercies, shee sheweth the weake estate whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatrie by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in these wordes: *Was there a shield or speare seene among fortie thousand of Israel?* she also sheweth how the *Israelites* were seuered and amased, some of them confined ouer *Iordan*, and durst not ioyne themselues to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Asherites* kept the Sea-coast, and forsooke their habitations towards the Land, and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling neare the place of the battaile (belike fearing the successe) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesseth *Iael*

Iud. 5. v. 8.

V. 17.

the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Familie of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subiection, to hold correspondencie with *Iabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them meanes, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee directeth her praises and thankes to God only victorious.

From the beginning of *Iabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased vnto *Israel*, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdome of *Argos* which had continued 544. yeares was translated to *Mycænæ*: The translation of this Kingdome *Viues* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the sonne of *Lynceus* diuide the Kingdome: of which *Acrisius* being eldest held *Argos* it selfe: *Prætus* his brother possest *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witnesse *Prætus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Pau. in Corinthiacis.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the sonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it is fained that *Iupiter* turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other Worthie man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enioyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the *discus*, or leaden ball, slew him vnwillingly. After this *Perseus*, to auoide the infamie of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycænæ*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brasen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie *Horace* hath this wittie obseruation.

Inclusam DANAEN, *turris ahenea,*
Robustæq; fores, & vigilum Canum
Tristes excubiæ, munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:
Si non ACRISIVM *Virginis abditæ*
Custodem pauidum, IVPITER *&* VENVS
Risissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,
Conuerso in pretium Deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The brasen Tower with dores close bar'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the Maidenhead
Of DANAE from secret loue:
Till smiling VENVS, and wise IOVE
Beguild her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The God into her lap did powre
Himselfe, and tooke his pleasure.
Through gardes, and stonie walls to breake,
The thunder-bolt is farre more weake,
Then is a golden treasure.

The

The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

Inachus the first King, who beganne to raigne in the first yeare of *Iacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac*: from which time to the end of *Sthenelus*; *Cadrus* misreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to haue stood 544. yeares, others but at 417. *Io* was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the *Aegyptians* called *Isis*.

Pheroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piras,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acrisius,
Pelops.

After the translation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* findes these Kings.

Perseus,
Sthenelus,
Eurystheus,
Atreus and *Thyestes* } The sonnes of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.
Agamemnon,
Aegysthus,
Orestes,
Tisamenus,
Penthilus and
Cometes.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leaue out the two first, and the last: beginning with *Eurystheus*: and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas* who raigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus* who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronologicall* table, as contemporaries with *Debora*.

§. V.

Of GIDEON, *and of* DAEDALVS, SPHINX, MINOS, *and others that liued in this Age.*

DEBORA and *Barac* being dead: the *Midianites* assisted by the *Amalekites* infested *Israel*. For when vnder a *Iudge* who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had inioyed any quiet or prosperitie: the *Iudge* was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to saue themselues, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest accesse: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in harvest time by themselues, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying al that grew vp: couering the fields as thick as grasse-hoppers: which seruitude lasted seuen yeares. *Iud. 6.*

Iud 6.v.5. Then the Lord by his Angell ſtirred vp *Gideon* the ſonne of *Ioaſh*, afterward called *Ierubbaal*: whoſe feare and vnwillingneſſe, and how it pleaſed God to hearten
Iud.c.6.& 7. him in his enterprize, it is both largely and preciſely ſet down in the holy Scriptures: as alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect perſons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hoſts; Each of theſe 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, inſtraments of more terrour than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing ſo loud a noiſe, and ſeeing (at the crack of ſo many pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteemed the Armie of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtrucken with a ſodaine feare, they all fled without a ſtroke ſtricken: and were ſlaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made priſoners and ſlaine. In his returne the *Ephramites* began to quarrell with *Gideon*, becauſe he made warre without their aſſiſtance, being then greedie of glorie, the victorie being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterpriſe) would no doubt haue held themſelues happie by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeaſing them with a mild anſwere, followed after the enemie, in which purſuit being tired with trauaile, and wearie euen with the ſlaughtering of his enemies, he deſired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreſhed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had ſaued themſelues by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had inuaded and waſted *Iſrael*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, ſought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like ſort refuſed to ſuccour him. To both of theſe places he threatned therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the proſequution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that hee would teare the fleſh of thoſe of *Succoth* with Thornes and Briars, and deſtroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of theſe two Cities ſhould refuſe reliefe to their bretheren the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially after ſo great a victorie: if I may preſume to make coniecture; it ſeemes likely, firſt that thoſe Cities ſet ouer *Iordan*, and in the way of all inuaſions, to be made by the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, and *Midianites*, into *Iſrael*, had either made their owne peace with thoſe Nations, and were not ſpoiled by them: or elſe they knowing that *Zeba* and *Salmunna* were eſcaped with a great part of their armie, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and diſpoſitions of theſe men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, eſpecially of thoſe which follow the warre, that both enuie and maligne others, if they performe any praiſe-worthy actions, for the honour and ſafetie of their owne Countrie, though themſelues may bee aſſured to beare a part of the ſmart of contrarie ſucceſſe. And ſuch malitious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrie ſhould ſuffer hazzard, and want, than that ſuch men as they miſlike, ſhould be the authors or actors of any glorie or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or whereſoeuer it were that hee refreſhed himſelfe and his wearie and hungrie Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunitie, and purſued his former victorie to the vttermoſt: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (ſuſpecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe ſurpriſed them, & ſlaughtered thoſe 15000. remaining: hauing put to the ſword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* priſoners: whom becauſe themſelues had exequuted *Gideons* bretheren before at *Tabor*, he cauſed them both to be ſlaine: or (as it is written) at their owne requeſt ſlew them with his owne hands: his Son whom he firſt commanded to doe it, refuſing it; and in his returne from the conſummation of this meruailous victorie, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed againſt him: either by ſtrangers or by his bretheren the *Iſraelites*. But ſuch mercy as he ſhewed to others, his owne children found ſoon after his death, according to that which hath been ſaid before. The

A place in *Baſan*, as it is thought.
Iud.8.10.

debts

debts of crueltie and mercie are neuer left vnsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and vnusuall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes al, but one, murthered by his owne bastard *Abimilec*. The like *Analogie* is obserued by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the *Ægyptians*, who hauing caused the male children of the *Hebrewes* to bee slaine, others of them to bee cast into the riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his *Angell*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his armie in the red sea. And hereof a world of examples might bee giuen, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraignetie ouer them, and to establish him in the Gouernment; which hee refused, answering; *I will not reigne ouer you, neither shall my childe reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden eare-rings, which euery man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, vsed to weare them: the waight of all which was a thousand and seuen hundred Shekels of gold, which makes of ours 2380. l. if we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And because he conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blue silke, purple, scarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest only, and set vp the same in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house. *Iud.8.24.* *Exod.28.* *Iudg.8.28.*

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the *Leuites* vsed, and so did *Dauid* when he daunced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel*, while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demaund how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, wee may remember that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite, for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtalie, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in tents behinde him, when hee went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution. *Iud.7.vers.23.*

There liued with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Euristhens* King of *Mycenæ*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristhens*, the Kingdome of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in iealousie, as an attempter, both of his wife and crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their father. But this crueltie was not vnreuenged. For both *Atreus* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine by a base sonne of *Thyestes*, yea the grand-children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideons* time also those things were supposed to haue beene done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they say, hauing slaine his *Nephew Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for succour, where for his excellent workemanship he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like vnto that of *Ægypt*. Afterward he was said to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the *Queene*, that she, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cow, satisfie her lust, a thing no lesse vnnaturall than incredible, had not that shamelesse *Emperour Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appeares by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vitious times.

Iunctam

Iunctam Pasiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Caesar longeua vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Seruius* makes a lesse vnhoneſt construction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counsell, and her Pandar for the enticing of a *Secretarie* of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with child, and that she being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that she was deliuered of the *Monstrum Minotaur*, halfe a Man and halfe a Bull. But this practise being discouered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be slaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats which had oares onely, *Dædalus* framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention, *Icarus* bearing himselfe ouerbold, was ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made *Images* that could moue themselues, and goe, because he carued them with legs, armes and hands, whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the bodie and head of those men, whom they cared to counterfait, and yet the workemanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarke*, who had seene some of those that were called the *Images* of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

Herind. Plat. Paus. lib. 9. With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the sonne of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamyris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. Hee wrote of the Creation, of the *Sunne* and *Moones* course, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules* his scholler with his owne harpe.

Strab. lib. Againe, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to haue beene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corinthian* Armie, led by *Oedipus*, ouercome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere *Thebes*, which she defended, and by *Oedipus* dissoluing her probleme his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon for her crueltie. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disproue it, for he calls her an *Amaconite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightfull part, with her owne troope shee held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* ouerthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his sonne *Androgeus* was slaine by them. He possest himselfe of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeere seuen of their sonnes: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall bee shewed, when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Thala*. In the end hee was slaine at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dædalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those Ilands. *Arist. pol. l. 1.*

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the gyant, who was said to haue 80. and odde cubites of length, which though *Plutarke* doth confirme, reporting that there was such a bodie found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*: yet for my selfe, I thinke it but a lowd lie. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because hee cast so many men to the ground, hee was fained to bee the sonne of the Earth. *Eusebius in Chr.* *Plinie* saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. S. *Augustine*

Auguſtine affirmes that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* alſo which he ouercame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a ſubtle Sophiſter.

Aug. de ci. dei, l. 18. c. 12.
Euſeb. in Chron.

§. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the eleuenth yeere of *Gideon*, was that famous expedition of the *Argonauts*: of which many fabulous diſcourſes haue beene written, the ſumme of which is this.

Pelias the ſonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers ſide to *Æſon*, who was *Iaſons* father, reigning in *Iolcus* a towne of *Theſſalie*, was warned by the *Oracle of Apollo* to take heede of him that ware but one ſhoe. This *Pelias* afterward ſacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Iaſon* to him, who comming haſtily, loſt one ſhoe in paſſing ouer a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demaunded of him what courſe he would take (ſuppoſing he were able) againſt one of whom an *Oracle* ſhould aduiſe him to take heede: to which queſtion when *Iaſon* had briefly anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchos*, to fetch the golden fleece, *Pelias* immediatly commaunded him to vndertake that ſeruice. Therefore *Iaſon* prepared for the voyage, hauing a ſhippe built by *Argus*, the ſonne of *Phryxus*, by the Counſell of *Pallas*: wherein hee procured all the braueſt men of *Greece* to ſaile with him: as *Typhis* the Maſter of the ſhippe, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, ſonnes of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Aiax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged ſonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Southſayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that ſlew the great wilde boare: *Aſcalaphus* and *Ialmenus* or *Almenus* the ſonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the laſt warre of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Vlyſſes*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgine, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the ſonnes of *Apharetis*, who afterwards in fight with *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſlew *Caſtor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were ſlaine themſelues: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

Theſe and many other went with *Iaſon* in the ſhip *Argo*: in whoſe prowe was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could ſpeake. They arriued firſt at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Iland*, hauing ſlaine all the males, purpoſing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were neuertheleſſe contented to take their pleaſure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it ſo fell out, that looſing thence by night they were driuen by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the ſame Hauen, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to be the ſame men: but rather taken for ſome of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, inſomuch that the *Argonautes* ſlew the moſt part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day light they perceiued, with many teares they ſolemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arriued ſhortly in *Myſia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the ſonne of *Elates*, who went to ſeeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauiſhed by the *Nymphes*.

Poliphemus built a towne in *Myſia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Myſia* the *Argonautes* ſailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryces*, the auncient inhabitants of the Country, ouer whom *Amycus* the ſonne of *Neptune* was then King. He beeing a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight with him, at whorlebattes, in which kinde of fight hee had ſlaine many, and was now himſelfe ſlaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in reuenge of his death flew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, with great ſlaughter of the people. They ſailed from hence to *Salmydeſſus*, a towne in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothſayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the

the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were ſaid to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonautes* craued his aduiſe, and direction for their voyage: you ſhall doe well (quoth he) firſt of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my Counſaile. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be couered, and meat ſet on; which was no ſooner ſet downe, then that preſently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accuſtomed prancks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords, and purſued them through the ayre; ſome ſay that both the *Harpyes* and the young men died of wearineſſe in the flight, and purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith that the *Harpyes* did couenant with the youthes, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turne *Phineus* gaue them informations of the way, and aduertiſed them withal of the daungerous rockes, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did ſhut vp the paſſage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them into the paſſage: and if that paſſed ſafe, then to aduenture after her: if not, then by no meanes to hazard themſelues in vaine. They did ſo, and perceiuing that the pigeon had only loſt a piece of her taile, they obſerued the next opening of the rockes, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, onely the end of the poope was bruiſed.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue ſtood ſtill: for the Gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a ſhippe, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the riuer *Parthenius*; where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteouſly. Here *Idmon* a Soothſayer of their company was ſlaine by a wild boare; alſo heere *Typhis* died: and *Aneaus* vndertooke to ſteare the ſhip. So they paſſed by the riuer *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the riuer *Phaſis*, which runnes through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the hauen, *Iaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commaundement of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his comming, deſiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to doe, if he alone would yoake together two brazen hooft bulls, and plowing the ground with them, ſowe dragons teeth, which *Minerua* had giuen to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſowe at *Thebes*. Theſe bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Iaſon* was in a great perplexitie about this taske, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes*, fell into a moſt vehement loue of him, ſo farre foorth, that being excellent in *Magique*, ſhe came priuily to him, promiſing her helpe, if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Iaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gaue ſhe to him a medicine wherewith ſhe bad him to anoint both his bodie and his armour, which would preſerue him from their violence: further ſhe told him, that armed men would ariſe out from the ground, from the teeth which hee ſhould ſowe, and ſet vpon him. To remedie which inconuenience, ſhee bad him throw ſtones amongſt them as ſoone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Iaſon* followed her counſaile; whereto when the euent had anſwered, hee againe demaunded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo farre from approuing ſuch his deſire, that hee deuiſed how to deſtroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their ſhip, which *Medæa* perceiuing, went to *Iaſon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung vpon an Oke in the groue of *Mars*, where they ſay it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer ſlept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleepe: ſo taking away the golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Iaſon* into the ſhip *Argo*, hauing with her, her brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes vnderſtanding the practiſes of *Medæa*, prouided to purſue the ſhip, whom when

when *Medea* perceiued to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her brother, & cutting him in pieces, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in diuers places, of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was faine to ſeeke out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſſe: the parts of his ſonne hee buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greeke* word ſignifieth *Diuiſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubiects to ſeeke the ſhip *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not backe *Medea*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the meane while the *Argonauts* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

Iupiter, offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the *Ilands Abſyrtides*, there the ſhip *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them, and ſaid, that the anger of *Iupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were cleanſed by *Circe*, from the murther of *Abſyrtus*. Now, they thereupon ſayling betweene the coaſts of *Lybia*, and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the ſea of *Sardinia* and along the coaſt of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleanſed them. Thence they ſayled by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſang ſo well that he ſtayed them. Only *Butes* ſwamme out vnto them, whom *Venus* rauiſhed, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Hauing paſt the *Syrens*, they came betweene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the ſtragling rocks which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoke. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conueyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coaſted *Sicilie* where the beeues of the Sunne were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Meane while, the men of *Colchos*, that had beene ſent by *Æetes* in queſt of the ſhip *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themſelues to new habitations: ſome of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Corcyra*, others in the Ilands *Abſyrtides*, and ſome comming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhip *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwere, that if ſhee were not *Iaſons* wife, they ſhould haue her, but if ſhee were alreadie married, he would not take her from her huſband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to returne home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*; ſo the *Argonautes* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland, *Minos* reigned, who had a man of braſſe giuen to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his bodie reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was cloſed vp with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his cuſtome was to runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee ſaw the ſhip *Argo* paſſe by, hee threw ſtones at it, but *Medea* with her *Magique* deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhee ſlew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortall, ſhee drew out the naile that ſtopt his veine, by which meanes all his bloud ranne out, and he died; others there are that ſay he was ſlaine by *Paan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonautes* ſayled to *Ægina*, where they were faine to fight for freſh water. And laſtly, from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubœa* and *Locris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arriued, hauing ſpent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are, that by this iourney of *Iaſon* vnderſtand the myſterie of the Philoſophers ſtone, called the golden Fleece, to which alſo, other ſuper-fine *Chymiſts* draw the twelue labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinkes that by the golden Fleece, was meant a booke of Parchment, which is of ſheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other metalls might bee tranſmuted. Others would ſignifie by *Iaſon*, wiſdome, and moderation, which ouer-commeth all perils: but that which is moſt probable is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtorie of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Iaſon* with the reſt went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucaſus* there are certaine ſteepe falling

falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vse to set many fleeces of woll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth through, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and Currents, in the passage betweene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pontus*, are Poetically conuerted into those fierie bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and aduentures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder poeticall morralls: all which *Homer* afterward vsed (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of *Vlysses* his trauailes, on the same Inland-seas.

§. VII.

Of ABIMELECH, THOLAH, *and* IAIR, *and of the Lapythæ, and of* THESEVS, HYPPOLYTVS, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes, and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modestie) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraignrie, practised with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was natiue) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moued with the glorie, to haue a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of siluer of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but *Iotham* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which hee executed on one stone, a crueltie exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euerlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preseruation of euery being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth euery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane soeuer) which may serue it: remembring nothing, whatsoeuer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the errour or weakenesse of the vndertakers, and rather praiseth the aduenture than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more auncient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceeded his creation, yet hath the Deuill which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting euery age, and mans condition.

Iudg.9.4.

Vers.5.

Iotham, the youngest of *Gideons* sonnes, hauing escaped the present perill, sought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happie estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had not power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had

had appointed them by whom and how to bee gouerned. This hee taught them by the Olive, which contented it selfe with it's fatnesse, the Figge tree with sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraigntie. He also foretold them by a Prophetical spirit; what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the *Cedars* of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the sonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the seruice of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalbersith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Teber*, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himselfe mortally brused, hee commaunded his owne page to pierce his bodie, thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vsurped the Gouernment, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaures* made warre against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that deuised to mannage horses, to bridle and to sit them: in somuch as when they first came downe from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, those which had neuer seene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* first inuaded that Empire. *Palephatus l. 1. de incredib.*

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Issachar* gouerned *Israel* 23. yeeres, and after him *Iair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeeres, who seemeth to bee descended of *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his owne name, *Haboth Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his ancester had recouered from the *Amorites*. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Israel* liued without disturbance and in peace. *Deut. 3. 14. Num. 32. 41. Iudg. 10.*

When *Iair* iudged *Israel*, *Priamus* beganne to reigne in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captiue with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, hee rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*; and so farre inlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fiftie sonnes, whereof seuenteene by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt *Hesione*, tooke *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus* the cause of the warre which followed. 2901. *In Tusc.*

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens* began likewise to reigne in the beginning of *Iair*: some writers call him the sonne of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutark* in the Storie of his life findes him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* sea betweene it and *Asia* the lesse tooke name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so farre as he forst them to pay him seuen of their sonnes euery yeere for tribute, whom hee inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to bee deuoured by the monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sonnes of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queene, had the charge of them. Among these seuen *Theseus* thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free his Countrie of that slauerie occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his sonne.

And hauing possest himselfe of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, hee receiued from her a bottome of thred, by which hee conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Ægypt*; by meane whereof hauing slaine *Minotaur*, hee found a readie way to returne. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, hee should vse a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournefull blacke saile, vnder-

which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction beeing either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* descrying the shippe of *Theseus* with a blacke saile, cast himselfe ouer the rockes into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the first famous actes of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage betweene *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom hee mastered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward hee did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who vsed by that Arte to kill others. Hee also ridde the Country of *Procrustes*, who vsed to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastened by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by their springing backe tare them asunder. So did hee roote out *Periphetes* and other mischieuous theeues and murtherers. Hee ouerthrew the armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theseus* hauing taken their Queene *Hyppolita* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*, with whom afterward his mother in law *Phædra*, falling in loue, and hee refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus* that his sonne offered to force her: after which it is fained, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his sonnes, by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage, sent out his Sea-Calues, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miserable and vndeserued destinie, when *Phædra* had heard of, shee strangled herselfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Æsculapius* to set *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because hee was chaste, shee led him with her into *Italie*, to accompanie her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and receiued many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Æsculapius*, to wit, some skilfull Phisician, or Chirurgion healed againe, after which hee past into *Italy*, where he liued with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of these ancient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange beastes, birdes, and fishes, and with *Mathematicall* lines, so doe the *Grecian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being disperst in thinne and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for deuising them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say *per Ostracismum*, by the Lawe of Lottes, or names written on shelles, which was a deuice of his owne.

Hee stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was 50. yeeres olde, from *Aphidna*, which Citie *Castor* and *Pollux* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recouer their sister. *Eratistratus* and *Pausanias* write that *Theseus* begat her with child at *Argos*, where shee erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and so doth *Ouid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c.* The rape *Eusebius* findes in the first of *Iair*, who gouerned *Israel* 22. yeeres, to whom succeeded *Iephta* or *Iepte* sixe yeeres, to whom *Ibzan* who ruled seuen yeeres, and then *Habdon* eight yeere: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theseus* had a childe by her in the first of *Iair*, (at which time we must count her no lesse than fifteene yeere olde, for the women did not commonly beginne so young as they doe now) shee was then at least two and fiftie yeere olde at the destruction of *Troy*: and when shee was stollen by *Paris* eight and thirtie: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnasseus*

Strab. lib. 9. Paus. in Con. In Epist. Helen.

Iud. 10. 3.

doe

doe in effect consent, that the Citie was entred, and burnt in the first yeere of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the successour of *Mnestheus*, the successour of *Theseus*, seuenteene dayes before the *Summer Tropique*, and that about the eleuenth of *September* following, the *Troians* croft the *Hellespont* into *Thrace*, & wintred there, and in the next spring that they nauigated into *Sicilia*, where wintring the second yeere, the next summer they arriued at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lauinium*. But S. *Augustine* hath otherwise, that when *Polyphides* gouerned *Sicyon*, *Mnestheus Athens*, *Tautanes Assyria*, *Habdon Israel*, then *Æneas* arriued in *Italie*, transporting with him in twentie shippes the remainder of the *Troians*: but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the storie of *Troy* at hand.

Bunt. Chron. *Euseb. Chron.* *Hal. l. 1.* *Aug. de Ciu. Dei li. 18. c. 19.*

In *Sicyonia Phæstus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successours, *Adrastus*, who reigned foure yeeres, and *Polyphides* who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iair*, so is also *Mnestheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the gouernment of these two peaceable Iudges, *Mitreus* and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Ægypt Amenophis*, the sonne of *Ramses*, and afterwards *Annemenes*.

§. VII.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

IN this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the most ancient that euer *Greeke* Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the *Roman* Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truely against the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this obiection.

——— Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumq́, & mundi, semperque æterna fuère,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troiæ,
Nòn alias alij quoque res cecinere poetæ?

If all this world had no originall,
But things haue euer beene as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times *Greece* was very saluage, the inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or sow more corne than was necessarie for their sustenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100. beeues, and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the vsuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principall Citie in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, the inhabitants might haue enioyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the

Athenians becauſe their Country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will eaſily appeare to ſuch as conſider, what *Thucydides* the greateſt of their Hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the præface to his Hiſtorie. Wherefore, as in theſe latter times, idle *Chroniclers* vſe when they want good matter, to fill whole bookes with reports of great froſts, or dry ſummers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to reade, ſo did they who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great flouds which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or elſe rehearſe fables of men changed into birds, of ſtrange monſters, of adulterie committed by their Gods, and the mightie men which they begat, without writing ought that ſauoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the briefe whereof is this.

OEdipus the ſonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing beene caſt foorth when hee was an infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretolde what euill ſhould come to paſſe by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage contending for the way, ſlay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocaſta*, called by *Homer Epicaſte*: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two ſonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſſe of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his parents, hee vnderſtood the grieuous murther and inceſt hee had committed, he tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her ſelfe. Some ſay, that *OEdipus* hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſonnes, becauſe they ſuffered their father to bee caſt out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howſoeuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reigne one yeere, and the other another yeere; and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeeres Gouernment reſigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt yeere, hee refuſed to giue ouer the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled vnto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſonne of *Talaus* then reigned, vnto whoſe palace comming by night, hee was driuen to ſeeke lodging in an out-houſe, on the backeſide.

Hom. Odyſſ. 11.

There hee met with *Tydeus* the ſonne of *OEneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom ſtriuing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adraſtus* hearing the noyſe, came foorth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiuing in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembred an olde *Oracle*, by which hee was aduiſed to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did beſtow his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* vpon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe leuying an armie, and aſſembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw to follow him, hee was deſirous among others to carrie *Amphiaraus* the ſonne of *Oicleus* a great Soothſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaid to haue foreſeene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines ſhould eſcape, ſaue onely *Adraſtus*, did both vtterly refuſe to bee one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that ſhee ſhould cauſe her husband to aſſiſt him. The Soothſayer knowing what ſhould worke his deſtinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a iewell, that ſhee could not refuſe it. Therefore whereas a great controuerſie, betweene *Amphiaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put vnto the deciſion of *Eryphile*, either of them being bound by ſolemne oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhee ordered the matter ſo, as a woman ſhould, that loued a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was more eaſie to foreſee than auoide deſtinie, ſought ſuch comfort

fort as reuenge might affoord, giuing in charge to his ſonnes, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their mother and make ſtrong warre vpon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which, the ſeuen chiefe leaders were, himſelfe, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſteade of whom ſome name *Mecisteus*) all *Argiues*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopæus* the *Arcadian* ſonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the armie came to the *Nemæan* wood, they met a woman whom they deſired to helpe them to ſome water, ſhe hauing a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the *Argiues* to a ſpring: but ere ſhee returned, a Serpent had ſlaine the childe. This woman was *Hypſipyle* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom ſhee would haue ſaued when the women of the Ile ſlew all the males by conſpiracie, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her pietie, the *Lemnian* wiues did ſell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemæa*, whoſe yong ſonnes *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, ſhe did nurſe, and loſt as is ſhewed before. When vpon the childs death ſhee hid herſelfe for feare of her maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her ſonnes where they ſhould finde her: and the *Argiues* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlaine the childe, and in memorie of the chaunce, did inſtitute ſolemne funerall games called *Nemæa*, wherein *Adraſtus* wanne the prize with his ſwift horſe *Arion*, *Tydeus* with whorlebats, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus*, a *Lacedemonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when hee had ſlaine the *Nemæan* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet downe.

From *Nemæa* the *Argiues* marching onwards, arriued at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Couenants betweene him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly reſolued to holde what he had, as long as hee could: which *Tydeus* perceiuing and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the *Thebans*, hee made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laide fiftie men in ambuſh to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fiftie hee ſlewe all but one, whom hee ſent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witneſſe of his valour. When the *Argiues* vnderſtood how reſolued *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelues before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to haue had at that time ſeuen gates, which belike ſtoode not farre aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argiues* (who afterward when they were very farre ſtronger, could ſcarce muſter vp more thouſands then *Thebes* had gates) did compaſſe the towne. *Adraſtus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electra*, and *Polynices* at *Hypſiſta*. In the meane ſeaſon, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men, and appointed Commaunders vnto them, tooke aduice of *Tireſias* the Soothſayer, who promiſed victorie to the *Thebans*, if *Menœcius* the ſonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vowe himſelfe to bee ſlaine in honour of *Mars* the God of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and ſo enuious at his Creators glorie, that hee not onely challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifice with all Diuine worſhip, but commaundeth vs to offer our ſelues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath ſufficiently clowded mens vnderſtanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maides, and children hath hee exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Galles*, *Germanes*, *Cyprians*, *Ægyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grewe more wiſe, ſo did hee waxe leſſe impudent in cunning, though not

lesse malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cypres* without aduice of any *Oracle*, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbad humane sacrifices in *Africk*, and crucified the Priests in the groues where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drowne men of hay in stead of the liuing: yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings haue been practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menœcius*, as soone as he vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as he thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battaile fought, wherein the *Argiues* preuailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walls, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast downe, or (as writers haue it) was stricken downe by *Iupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argiues* fled. Many on each part were slaine in this battell, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, slew each other.

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Astacus* behaued themselues very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the sonnes slewe *Hippomedon* which was one of the seuen Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the seuen (who was saide to haue beene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidicus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiaraus*, which hee cruely tore open and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wound, as should haue made him immortall, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall, did perish through the beastly rage that hee shewed at his death.

The hoast of the *Argiues* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiaraus* fledde: of whom *Amphiaraus* is said to haue been swallowed quicke into the earth, neere to the riuer *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carkasses or drowned in the riuer: and his bodie neuer found nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For *Creon* hauing obtained the Gouernment of *Thebes*, after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argiues* to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the only daughter then liuing of *OEdipus*, to bee buried quicke, because shee had sought out and buried the bodie of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send foorth an armie vnder the Conduct of *Theseus*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argiues* to Sepulture: at which time *Euadne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herselfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Captaines which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse reuenge should bee taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeeres after hauing leuied forces, *Ægialeus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Mecisteus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmæon* the sonne of *Amphiaraus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alcmæon* were their Captaine, whom afterward by another *Oracle* he commaunded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the citie, they were inconntred by *Laodamus* the son of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebanes*, (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though hee did

did valiantly in the battaile, and ſlue *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driuen to flie, or (according to *Apollodorus*) ſlain by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter the citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the meane time they conuayed themſelues with their wiues and children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Towne called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argiues*, when they perceiued that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entring into it, ſacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome that the Towne was ſaued by *Thirſander*, the ſonne of *Polynices*, who cauſing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne ouer them. That hee ſaued the Citie from vtter deſtruction, it is very likely, for hee reigned there, and led the *Thebanes* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

§. VIII.

Of IEPHTA, *and how the three hundred yeeres which hee ſpeaketh of*, IVD. 11. v. 28. *are to bee reconciled with the places*, ACT. 13. 20. 1. REG. 6. 1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronologie about theſe times.*

AFter the death of *Iair* (neere about whoſe times theſe things happened in *Greece*, and during whoſe gouernment, and that of *Thola*, *Iſrael* liued in peace and in order) they reuolted againe from the law, and ſeruice of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worſhipped *Baal* and *Aſteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adioyning, and imbraced the Idolls of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: with thoſe of the *Philiſtims*. And as before it pleaſed God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: ſo now he ſcourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philiſtims*. *Iud.* 10.

The perſecution of the *Ammonites* laſted 18. yeeres, and ended in the yeere of the World 2820. in which yeere *Iephta* began. *Iud.* 11.

Now among the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Gilead* being moſt oppreſt, becauſe they bordered vpon the *Ammonites*, they were inforſt to ſeeke *Iephta*, whom they had formerly deſpiſed and caſt from them, becauſe he was baſe borne; but hee (notwithſtanding thoſe former iniuries) participating more of godly compaſſion, than of deuiliſh hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the *Gileadites* to the Warre, vpon condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh him their Gouernour after victorie. And when he had diſputed with *Ammon* for the Land, diſprooued *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Iſrael* by many arguments, the ſame preuailing nothing, he beganne the warre; and being ſtrengthened by God, ouerthrew them: and did not onely beate them out of the plaines, but forſt them ouer the mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the deſcription of the holy Land. After which victory it is ſaid, that he performed the vaine vow, which hee made, to ſacrifice the firſt liuing creature hee incountred, comming out of his houſe to meete him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and only child, who with all patience ſubmitted her ſelfe, and onely deſired two Moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; becauſe in her the iſſues of her Father ended: but the other opinion that ſhee was not offered, is more probable, which *Borrhaus* and others proue ſufficiently. *Iud.* 11. 33. *Bor. in Iud.*

After theſe things the children of *Iſrael*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephta's* victorie, or otherwiſe making way to their future calamitie, and to the moſt grieuous ſlauery that euer *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Iephta*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Iephta* hereupon enforſt to defend himſelfe againſt their fury, in the incounter ſlew of them two and fortie thouſand, which ſo weakened the bodie of the Land, as the *Philiſtims* had *Iud.* 12.

had an easie conquest of them all not long after: *Iephta*, after he had iudged *Israel* six
2925. yeeres, died: to whom succeeded *Ibzan*, who ruled seuen yeeres: after him *Elon* was
2942. their Iudge ten yeeres: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approued in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall bee necessary vpon the occasion of *Iephta's* account of the times *Iud.* 11. 28. (where he sayes that *Israel* had then possest the East side of *Iordan* 300. yeeres) to speake somewhat of the times of the Iudges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute betweene *Iephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of S. *Paul*, *Act.* 13. the third that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephta* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeeres: Saint *Paul* giueth to the *Iudges*, as it seemes, from the end of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeeres. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeeres. To the first *Beroaldus* findeth *Iephta's* 300. yeeres to bee but 266. yeeres, to wit, 18. of *Iosua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephta* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: *Sic vt dicat annum agi propè trecentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re mouerit Israeli*; *So hee speaketh* (saith he) *as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundreth yeere, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary findes more yeeres than *Iephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israels* captiuity, at seuerall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephta* forbare to repeate the whole summe or any great part, lest the *Ammonite* should haue iustly obiected, that 71. of those yeeres, the *Israelites* were in captiuitie and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300. yeeres it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest.

Iud. 11. 28.
Act. 13. 20.
1. *King.* 6. 1.
Id facit numero certo pro incerto, proposito.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeeres, besides the 71. yeeres of captiuity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth also 28. yeeres more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeeres hee findeth out thus: 20. yeeres hee giues to the *Seniors* betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth but 18. yeeres to *Iosua* his gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas S. *Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *Melanchton* 32. The trueth is, that this addition of 28. yeeres is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeeres of affliction (to wit, 34. yeeres of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeeres of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we haue the iust number of 300. yeeres. Neither is it strange that *Iephta* should leaue out more than halfe of these yeeres of affliction: seeing as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against these 71. yeeres, and say, that during these yeeres, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the Authour of a third opinion, making those 300. yeeres remembred by *Iephta*, to be 306. which odde yeeres, saith hee, *Iephta* omitteth. But because the yeeres of euery Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp this number of 306. but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the *Deserts* of *Arabia Petræa*; which fortie yeeres of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeede 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the dispute betweene *Iephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon* in these words: *Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came vp from Ægypt from Arnon vnto Iaboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly* or in peace. So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from *Moses* departure

Iud. 11. 28.

out

out of *Ægypt*: but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam*; *Because Israel tooke my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to bee referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephtas* answere also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon* 300. *yeeres: why did yee not then recouer them in that space?* so as this place speakes it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. yeeres: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to possesse it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we doe not vse to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Iunius neuertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. yeeres hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephtas* narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of *Moses* whole iourney: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleuenth Chapter of *Iudges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came vp from Ægypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his forty yeeres (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeeres: and not only the time in which *Israel* possest *Gilead*, according to the Text and *Iephtas* owne words: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom also I leaue to iudge, whether we may not beginne the 480. yeeres, from the deliuerance out of *Ægypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Ægypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of S. *Pauls* and *Iephtas* account with this reckoning: than any of those that as yet haue been signified. For first, touching *Iephtas* 300. yeeres of possession of the East side of *Iordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Iephta* might say that they had possessed those Countries 300. yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their owne possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

Iunius in the 11 of *Iud. not.*

The second place disputed is this of S. *Paul*, *Act.* 13. that from the end of *Iosua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeeres. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the letter (as I finde his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeere of *Heli*, but 357. yeeres: and this hee doth the better to approue the times from the egression out of *Ægypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first *King.* 6. is said to be 480. yeeres.

Reade the 24. of *Iosua*, and the 2. *Iud.* 7. *Funct. Chron. fol.* 4. *Beza* in his Annotations vpon the 13. of the *Act. v.* 20

Now forasmuch as S. *Paul* (as it seemes) findes 450. yeeres from the death of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaues but 30. yeeres for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *Dauid* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who ware the Crowne three whole yeeres ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about* 450. *yeeres, vnto the time of* SAMVEL *the Prophet*: the words *than afterward*, being cleerely referred to the death or after the death of *Iosua*, as shall be hereafter proued. But where S. *Luke* rehearsing the words of S. *Paul*, wrote 350. yeeres (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceiued by the affinitie of those two *Greeke* wordes, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosiois*, for *Triacosiois*; 400. yeeres, for 300. yeeres; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*; where *Luther* and *Beza* beginne at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Iosua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeeres: to wit, of the *Iudges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* yeeres) 319. and of yeeres of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon

Act. 13. 20.

Sampsons

Sampsons 20. yeeres, is because hee thinkes that they were part of the 40. yeeres, in
Iud. 13. which the *Philistims* are said to haue oppressed *Israel*. For it is plaine that during all
Iud. 15. 11. *Samsons* time they were Lords ouer *Israel*. So then of the *Iudges*, besides thee 111. yeeres of seruitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I haue said) 319. yeeres, which two summes put together make 430. yeeres, and whereas S. *Paul* nameth 450. yeeres, he finds 20. yeeres to make vp S. *Pauls* number, to haue been spent after the death of *Iosua* by the *Seniors*, before the captiuitie of *Cushan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. yeeres added to 430. make 550. according to S. *Paul*. To approoue this time of the Elders, hee citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Iosua*, and the second of *Iudges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel serued the Lord all the dayes of* IOSVA, *and all the dayes of the Elders that ouer-liued* IOSVA: so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giueth 20. yeeres, which make as before 450. according to S. *Paul*. Neither would it breede any great difficulty in this opinion, if here also the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*, should be denied. For they which denie these yeeres, and make *Othoniels* 40. to beginne presently vpon the death of *Iosua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they haue 20. yeeres lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeeres of affliction a-part from the yeeres of the *Iudges*) in the number of *Sampsons* yeeres, and of the 40. yeeres of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they haue 20. yeeres more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. yeeres of oppression all of them a-part from *Sampsons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Sampsons* 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to inforce) that the *Philistims* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* iudged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. yeeres, besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their *Iudge*, and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeeres betweene the end of *Iosua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though wee admit not of any *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors*, betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*: For if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeeres, to which if wee adde the yeeres of the *Iudges*, which are 339. we haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to bee much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and reade with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. yeeres, is to beginne immediatly, or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainely the place of S. *Paul* doth euidently teach the contrarie, though it bee receiued for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be S. *Pauls* words: *And about the time of 40. yeeres, God suffered their manners in the wildernesse: And he destroyed seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about* 450. *yeeres, vnto the time of* SAMVEL *the Prophet*. So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses* and of his yeeres spent in the wildernesse, then in the nineteenth verse hee commeth to the acts of *Iosua*; which
Ios. 14. 1. were that he destroyed seuen Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth: *Then afterward hee gaue them Iudges about* 450. *yeeres, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of S. *Pauls* meaning, so farre as my weake vnderstanding can pierce it. The only inconuenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place, in the *Acts* is that it seems irreconciliable with the account, 1. *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeede there were spent 450. yeeres betweene the end of *Iosua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needes be much more than 480. yeeres betweene the beginning of the *Israelites* iourneying from *Ægypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie *Codoman* answereth, that these 480. yeeres, 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. must beginne to bee reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourneying from *Ægypt*, which hee makes to be 25. yeeres after the beginning of *Othoniels* gouernment; from whence if wee cast the yeeres of the *Iudges*, with the yeeres of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken,

make

make 397. yeeres) and so to these yeeres adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *Dauid*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee shall haue the iust summe of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the *annus egressionis*, 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. should be vnderstood *egressionis non incipientis sed finita*, the yeere of their comming out of *Ægypt* (for so it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of *Ægypt*, may well be vnderstood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeeres after they had set foote out of *Ægypt*, are said to haue been done in their going out of *Ægypt*, as *Psal.* 114. *When Israel came out of Ægypt, Iordan was driuen backe,* and *Deut.* 4. 45. *These are the testimonies which* MOSES *spake when they came out of Ægypt.* And thus farre it seemes we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the word *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quùm exiuissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Iunius Deut.* 4. 45. doe well reade *quum exiuissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to auoide contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquàm exiuissent?*

The next point to be cleered, is how their iourneying should be said not to haue had end vntill the 25. yeere after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselues, as it is declared *Iud.* 18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephta*, and S. *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, *c.* 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othoniel* liued all those 40. yeeres of rest, of which *Iud.* 3. 11. so that by the 25. yeere after his victory, either he might haue been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might haue refused all soueraigntie, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeere after *Othoniels* victorie) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other *Chronologers* grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps bee receiued as good: especially considering, that the speeches of S. *Paul* haue not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they sound, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may iustly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the fiue and twentieth yeere of *Othoniel?* Or what other probability hath he than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a Iudge after fiue and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truly sayd there was no King in *Israel*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Iud. 18. 1.

Now concerning the rehearsall of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Iordan*, they might indeed be properly sayd to haue been, when *Israel* came out of *Ægypt*; like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke hee can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or saith by conuerting the proposition, when *Iordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Ægypt*. Indeed most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely to say, that King *Edward* at his arriuall out of *Palestina*, did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may wee then beleeue that enterprize performed so many yeeres after the diuision of the Land (which followed the conquest at the iourneys end) should be said to haue been at the time of the departure out of *Ægypt*? Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable

account

account of time, ſeruing as the onely guide for certaine ages in ſacred *Chronologie*, ſhould not take name and beginning, from that illuſtrious deliuerance out of *Ægypt*, rehearſed often by God himſelfe among the principall of his benefits to *Iſrael*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewiſe are the yeere and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the yeere vpon that occaſion changed; but ſhould haue reference to the ſurprizing of a Towne by 600. men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and ſtole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time giuen to it, or a time farre different from that which he ſuppoſeth, and is indeede rather by him placed in ſuch a yeere, becauſe it beſt ſtood with his interpretation ſo to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it ſelfe.

Wherefore we may beſt agree with ſuch as affirme that the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* did not herein labour to ſet downe the courſe of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpoſe) but only to ſhew that God, who had choſen *Iſrael* to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Iudges*, and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*, did raiſe vp our *Lord Ieſus Chriſt* out of the ſeede of *Dauid* the King, in whoſe ſucceſſion the Crowne was eſtabliſhed, and promiſe made of a Kingdome that ſhould haue no end. Now in rehearſing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he ſheweth Chriſt to haue been the true *Meſſias*) the Apoſtle was ſo farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Hiſtorie being ſo well knowne and beleeued of the *Iewes* to whom hee preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40. yeeres conſumed in the wilderneſſe, whereof no man doubted, ſaying that God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſſe about 40. yeeres. In like maner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diuiſion of the Land vnto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whoſe time they required to haue a King, there paſſed about 450. yeeres. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that an hundred and eleuen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeeres of the *Iudges*: for this had beene an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is a worke not ſo needfull as laborious, to ſearch out of this place that which the Apoſtle did not here intend to teach, when the ſumme of 480. yeeres is ſo expreſly and purpoſely ſet downe.

Now that the words of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copie through errour of ſome Scribe) are not ſo curiouſly to bee examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but muſt be taken, as hauing reference to the memorie and apprehenſion of the vulgar, it is euident by his aſcribing in the ſame place 40. yeeres to the reigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifeſt that thoſe yeeres were diuided betweene *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that farre the greater part of them were ſpent vnder the gouernment of the Prophet, how ſoeuer they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for thoſe that with ſo much cunning forſake the generall opinion, when it fauoureth not ſuch expoſition as they bring out of a good minde, to helpe where the neede is not ouer-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of S. *Paul* were ſufficiently iuſtified by *Beroaldus*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in thoſe dayes, that the 111. yeeres of ſeruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 yeeres aſcribed to the *Iudges*; which account the Apoſtle would not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quaſi*, where he ſaith, *quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were foure hundred and fifty yeeres*. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needes haue it to be ſo indeede, and therefore diſioynes the members to make the account euen. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelfe againſt a notable Text, whereupon all Authours haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt vp the yeeres from the departure out of *Ægypt*, vnto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it ſelfe.

Act. 13.

1. King. 6.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) hauing already giuen faith

ſaith to his owne interpretation of S. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to find ſome new expoſition for that which is of it ſelfe moſt plaine, than to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuerſie. Thus by expounding, after a ſtrange methode, that which is manifeſt by that which is obſcure, he loſeth himſelfe in thoſe waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one ſhould vrge him to giue reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwere, That *Othoniel* could not gouerne aboue 25. yeeres, becauſe then was the taking of *Laiſh*, *at which time there was no King in Iſrael*; That the *Danites* muſt needs haue taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe wee could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the comming of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, without excluding the yeeres of ſeruitude; And that the yeeres of ſeruitude muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe he himſelfe ſhould haue ſpent his time vainely, in ſeeking to pleaſure S. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the deciſion of any iudicious Reader.

And now to proceede in our ſtorie. To the time of *Iephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the prouiſions which her husband *Menelaus*, raigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycena*, made for her recouerie. Others referre this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Ibzan*: from which time, if the Warre of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greekes* had ſixe yeeres to prepare themſelues: the rule holding not true in this Warre, *longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a ſpeedie victorie*: for the *Greekes* conſumed ten yeeres in the attempt: and *Troy* as it ſeemes was entred, ſackt and burnt in the third yeere of *Habdon*.

Three yeeres after *Troy* taken, which was in the ſixt yeere of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arriued in *Italie*. *Habdon* in the eighth yeere of his rule died, after he had beene the Father of 40. ſonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40. yeeres of *Iſraels* oppreſſion by the *Philiſtims* (of which *Iud.*13.*v.*1.) tooke beginning from the ninth yeere of *Iair*, and ended with the laſt of *Habdon*: I ſee no great reaſon for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cauſe of quarrell againſt *Iephta*, for not calling them to Warre ouer *Iordan*, if the *Philiſtims* had held them in ſeruitude in their owne Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it beene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought againſt the *Philiſtims* with ſo powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than againſt their owne brethren the *Iſraelites*? But *Ammon* being ouerthrowne, it ſeemed at that time, that they feared no other enemie. And therefore theſe 40. yeeres muſt either be ſupplied elſewhere, as in the time of *Sampſon* and afterward: or elſe they muſt be referred to the *inter-regnum* betweene the death of *Habdon*, and the deliuerance of *Iſrael* by *Sampſon*, ſuch as it was. *Iud.*12.14.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue obserued Historicall truth.

THE Warre at *Troy* with other Stories hereupon depending (becauſe the ruine of this Citie, by moſt *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon, Iudge* of *Iſrael*, whom in the laſt place I haue mentioned) I rather chooſe here to intreate of in one intire narration, beginning with the lineall deſcent of their Princes, than to breake the Storie into pieces by rehearſing a-part in diuers yeeres the diuerſitie of occurrents.

The Hiſtorie of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineccius* thinkes) tooke from *Beroſus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it from him, then it reſts vpon the authoritie of *Virgil*, who ſaith thus:

AEneid. 3.

Creta IOVIS *magni medio iacet inſula Ponto:*
Mons Idæus vbi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.
Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, vberrima regna:
Maximus vnde Pater (ſi rite audita recordor)
TEVCRVS *Rhœteas primum eſt aduectus ad oras:*
Optauitq; locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces
Pergamea ſteterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater Cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaq; æra,
Idæumq; nemus.

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:
Where IOVE was borne, thence is our progenie.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundreth great and goodly Cities ſtand.
Thence (if I follow not miſtaken fame)
TEVCER the eldeſt of our grand-ſires came
To the Rhœtean ſhores: and raigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they ſought
In loweſt vales. Hence CYBELS rites were brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbales* did remoue:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* groue.

Thus

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authoritie, that *Teucer* first gaue name to that Countrie, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speakes thus:

Est locus Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque vbere glebæ.
OEnotrij coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes: hinc DARDANVS *ortus:*
Iasiusq; Pater, genus à quo Principe nostrum.

Hesperia the *Grecians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race.
OEnotrians held it, now the later progenie
Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italie*;
This seate belongs to vs, hence DARDANVS,
Hence came the Author of our stocke, *Iasius*.

Also *Aeneid. l. 7.*

Atq; equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Aurunces ita ferre senes, hic ortus vt agris
DARDANVS *Idæas Phrygiæ penetrauit ad vrbes,*
Threiciamq; Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time haue made the fame obscure) would tell
Of DARDANVS, how borne in *Italie*:
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leauing *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did saile to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to so many Authors, approuing and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinkes that these names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thraces*, are deriued from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the sonne of *Iaphet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Ashkenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and Riuer of *Ascanius* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Ashkenaz* gaue name to those places and people, it is not vnlikely: neither is it vnlikely, that the *Ascanij*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times passe into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnassæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to bee of *Crete*, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow: seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles hee did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others, that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrie, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further

thinkes that *Atlas* raigned in *Samothracia*, and gaue his Daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were Parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the sonne of *Electra* by *Iupiter*, which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom shee bare *Iasius*. *Annius* out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he giues the addition of *Coritus*, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Iasius*; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscuritie of the historie giues leaue to *Annius* of saying what he list. I that loue not to vse such liber- 10
tie, will forbeare to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Iupiter*, it must haue beene of some elder *Iupiter* than the Father of those that liued about the Warre of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often beene said) there were many *Iupiters*, and many of almost euery name of the Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my selfe with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set downe the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Teucer* such Parents as *Diodorus* giues, because others giue him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Boccace, de gen. Deor. l. 4. c. 31.

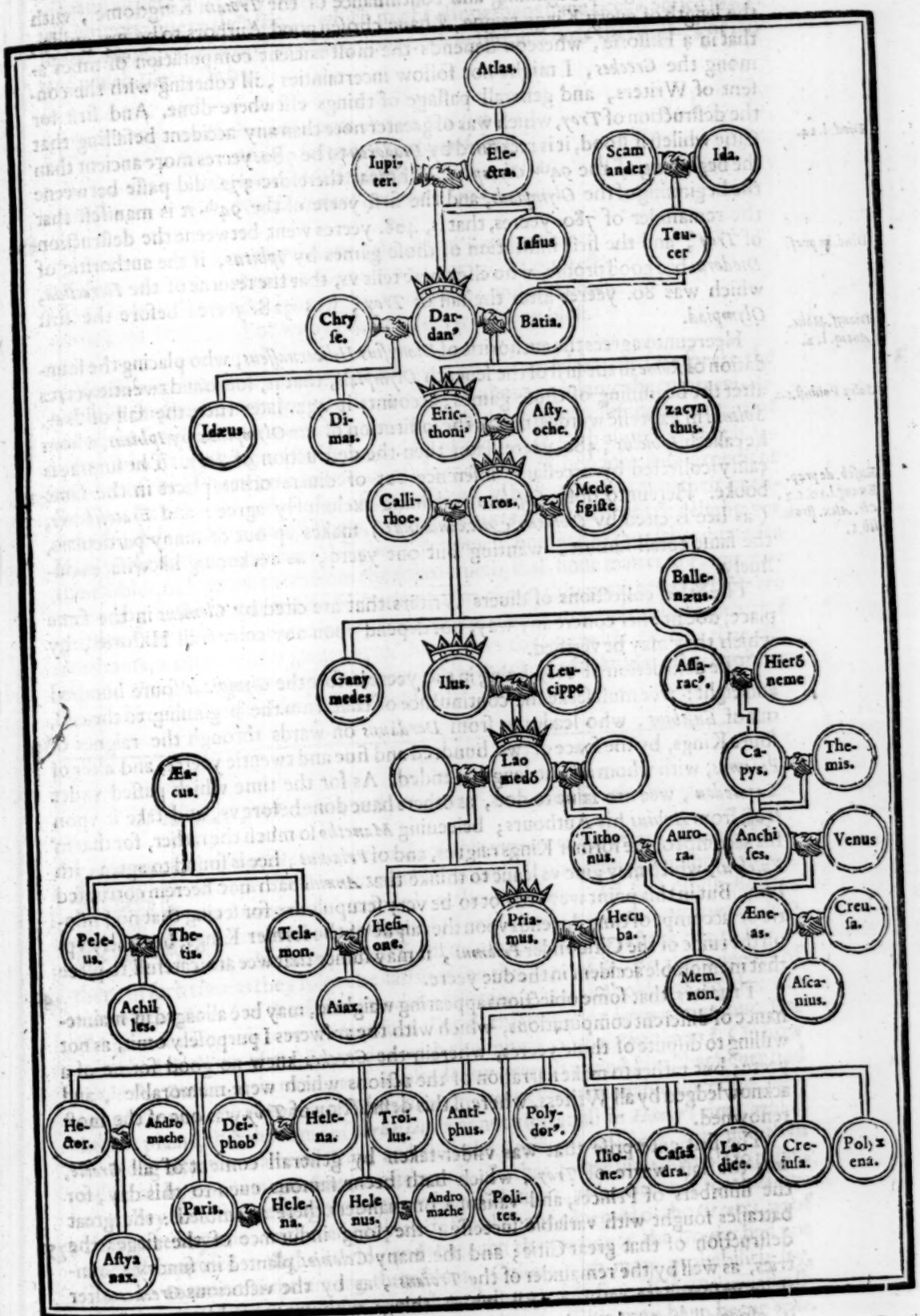
20

30

40

50

Atlas


Atlas.
Iupiter.
Electra.
Scamander
Ida.
Iaſius
Teucer
Chryſe.
Dardan⁹
Batia.
Idæus
Dimas.
Erichthoni⁹
Aſtyoche.
zacynthus.
Callirhoe.
Tros.
Medeſigiſte
Ballenæus.
Ganymedes
Ilus.
Leucippe
Aſſarac⁹.
Hierōneme
Æacus.
Laomedō
Capys.
Themis.
Tithonus.
Aurora.
Anchiſes.
Venus
Peleus.
Thetis.
Telamon.
Heſione.
Priamus.
Hecuba.
Æneas.
Creuſa.
Achilles.
Aiax.
Memnon.
Aſcanius.
Hector.
Andromache
Deiphob⁹
Helena.
Troilus.
Antiphus.
Polydor⁹.
Ilioneus.
Caſſandra.
Laodice.
Creuſa.
Polyxena.
Paris.
Helena.
Helenus.
Andromache
Poliites.
Aſtyanax.

Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Troian* Kingdome, with the length of euery Kings raigne, I haue chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Historie, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greekes*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. yeeres more ancient than the beginning of the 94th. *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did passe betweene the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first yeere of the 94th. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeeres, that is, 408. yeeres went betweene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authoritie of *Diodorus* bee good proofe, who elsewhere tells vs, that the returne of the *Heraclidæ*, which was 80. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*.

Diod. l. 14.

Diod. in præf.

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. 2.

Heereunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seuenth *Olympiad*, that is, foure and twentie yeeres after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later then the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expresse wordes, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. yeeres later then the destruction of *Troy*. The summe is easily collected by necessarie inference out of diuers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth *Eusebius* reckoning exclusiuely agree: and *Eratosthenes*, (as hee is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeere, as reckoning likewise exclusiuely.

Solin. Polihist. c. 2.

Euseb. de præp. Euang. l. 10. c. 3. Cle. Alex. strom. lib. 1.

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend vpon any collaterall Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the yeere before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: wee must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leades vs from *Dardanus* on-wards through the raignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fiue and twentie yeeres, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder *Laomedon*, wee are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon trust from *Annius* his Authours; beleeuing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his accompt of the former Kings raignes, and of *Priamus*, hee is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Annius* hath not heerein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no Historie or accompt of time depends vpon the raigne of the former Kings, but onely vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may suffice that wee are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeere.

True it is, that some obiections appearing waightie, may bee alleaged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answeres I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeeres, wherein the *Greekes* knew no good forme of a yeere; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was vnder-taken by generall consent of all *Greece*, was the last warre of *Troy*, which hath beene famous euen to this day, for the numbers of Princes, and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great battailes fought with variable successe: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great Citie; and the many *Colonies* planted in sundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the *Troians*, as by the victorious *Greekes* after their vnfortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, haue beene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits

of

of many writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose verses haue giuen immortalitie to the action, which might else perhaps haue beene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

Vixère fortes ante AGAMEMNONA
Multi, sed omnes illachrimabiles
Vrgentur, ignotiq; longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many by valour haue deseru'd renowne
Ere AGAMEMNON: yet lye all oppreſt
Vnder long night, vnwept for, and vnknowne:
For with no sacred Poet were they bleſt.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writers haue with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with *Allegories* farre strained, gone about to inlarge the commendations of those noble vndertakers: they haue both drawne into suspition that great vertue which they sought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did menage them, of Poets, in whose workes are both profit & delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted ouermuch; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked trueth, shall finde matter in *Poems*, not vnworthy to bee regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authours, written of this great warre. All writers consent with *Homer*; that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the sonne of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking armes: but how he was heereunto emboldened it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the Rape of HELEN: *and strength of both sides for the warre.*

Herodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the *Phœnicians* had rauished *Io*, and carried her into *Ægypt*, the *Greekes* to be reuenged on the *Barbarians*, did first rauish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deedes of the *Greekes*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirmes) was imboldened to doe the like; not fearing such reuenge as ensued. But all this narration seemes friuolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the iniurie of the *Phœnicians*? Or how could the *Greekes*, as in reuenge of *Io*, pleade any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides* a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie, maketh it plaine, that the name of *Barbarians* was not vsed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of *Troy*; and that the *Greekes* themselues were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were vnreasonable to think, that they should haue sought reuenge vpon all Nations, as barbarous, for the iniurie receiued by one: or that all people else should haue esteemed of the *Greekes*, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that euen then when as the *Greekes* had not yet one common name among themselues. Others with more probabilitie say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue beene true.

For

for *Telamon* (as it seemes) was a cruell man, seeing his owne sonne *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into *Cypres*, onely because his brother *Aiax* (which *Teucer* could not remedie) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so, that *Hesione* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom she had borne children which were to succeede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard, either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Hesione*: but was meerely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely *Greekes* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greekes*, as *Herodotus* discourseth, but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and hauing stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Countrie, or keepe them to their owne vse. So did *Theseus*, and *Pirythous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) rauish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appeares in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabite neere vnto the Sea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull then merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beautie of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principall men in *Greece*, to binde themselues by solemne oath, that if shee were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, hee gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greekes* vnto *Troy* in reuenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Ilands: hee was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom hee imbarked for *Troy* in his owne ships, which were more then any other of the *Greeke* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or ledde by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take armes against the *Troians*. The *Greekes* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. sayle, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build shippes with deckes; onely they vsed (as *Thucydides* saith) small shippes, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the *Grecian* armie consisted of 100000. men, or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that euer was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatnesse of this armie doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which tenne whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Troians* which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers Iliades*; but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mœsia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the lesse, tooke part with the *Troians*. The *Amazones* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (though some thinke out of *Æthiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

§. III.

Of the Gracians iourney, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helenaes being detained in Ægypt; and of the Sacrificing of Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greekes* vnwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might bee compounded by treatie, sent *Menelaus* and *Vlisses* Embassadours to *Troy*; who demaunded *Helen* and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answere the *Troians* made hereunto it is vncertaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Ægyptian* Priests makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to *Troy*. The summe of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with *Helena*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuarie. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because hee was a stranger. When therefore the *Greekes* demaunding *Helen* had answere, that she was in *Egypt*, they thought themselues deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the Citie taken, they perceiued indeed she had not beene there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Eurypides*) vary from this Historie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their *Poems*, for the retaining of a faire Ladie, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homer* speakes of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily beleeued, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue beene driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediatly vpon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such windes as hee could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Hauen in the *Greeke* seas; whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any port in *Greece*, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and serued for his Nauigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the saying of the *Ægyptian* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had beene at *Troy*, it had beene vtter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truely, when he said that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queene *Hecuba*, considering that she had beene rauished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to haue beene twinnes) who sailed with the *Argonautes*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *Aiax* in their companie before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Aiax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were so, that the *Troians* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The *Greekes* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to haue beene a runnagate *Troian*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines and all the Hoste with many troublesome answeres and diuinations. For hee would haue *Agamemnons* daughter sacrificed to appease

Diana,

Diana, whoſe anger he ſaid withſtood their paſſage. Whether the young Lady were ſacrificed, or whether (as ſome write) the *Goddeſſe* was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull heere to be diſputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the deuill, which awaits for all oportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is moſt. *Calchas* alſo told the *Greekes*, that the taking of *Troy* was impoſſible, till ſome fatall impediments were remooued: and that till tenne yeeres were paſt, the towne ſhould hold out againſt them. All which notwithſtanding the *Greekes* proceeded in their enterpriſe, vnder the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the moſt valiant of all the *Greekes*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*; *Aiax* and *Teucer*, the ſonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Neſtor*, and his ſonnes *Antilochus*, and *Thraſymedes*; *Vliſſes*; *Mneſtheus* the ſonne of *Petreus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*: *Diomedes* the ſonne of *Tydeus*, a man of ſingular courage; the wiſe and learned *Palamedes*, *Aſcalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the ſonnes of *Mars*, who had ſailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* alſo the ſonne of *Pœan*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* ſaid, that the Citie could not be taken; *Aiax* the ſonne of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tyſandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the ſonne of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machaon*, the ſonnes of *Æſculapius*: *Epeus*, who is ſaide to haue made the wooden horſe, by which the towne was taken, and *Proteſilaus*, who firſt leapt on ſhore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed firſt.

§. IIII.

Of the Actes of the Gracians at the ſiege.

THeſe, and many other of leſſe note, arriuing at *Troy*, found ſuch ſharpe entertainment, as might eaſily perſwade them to think that the warre would bee more than one yeeres worke. For in the firſt encounter, they loſt *Proteſilaus*, whom *Hector* ſlew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: ſaue onely that by their numbers of men, they wonne ground enough to incampe themſelues in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the *Greekes* found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reaſon of their multitude, and the ſmallneſſe of their veſſels, wherein they could not carry neceſſaries for ſuch an armie. Heereupon they were compelled to ſend ſome part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherſoneſſe*: others to robbe vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmiſhes were, yet could the towne receiue little loſſe by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field againſt ſuch *Greekes* as continued the ſiege, and a more ſafe retrait if the enemie got the better.

Wherefore *Ouid* ſaith, that from the firſt yeere, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*; That the *Greekes* did not lye before *Troy* the firſt nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the ſeas, exerciſing their men, and inriching themſelues, and ſo by waſting the enemies Country, did blocke vp the towne, vnto which they returned not, vntill the fatall time drew neere when it ſhould be ſubuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which *Priamus* made, when the *Greeke* Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere, for he knew none of them; and therefore ſitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue beene ſuppoſed that hee ſhould bee ignorant of them, if they had ſhewed themſelues before the towne ſo many yeeres together. Betweene theſe relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much, the one ſaying that a few of the *Greekes* remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whileſt the reſt made purueyance by land and ſea: the other, that the whole

Hom. Iliad. 3.

whole armie did ſpend the time in waſting the ſea-coaſtes. Neither doe the Poets greatly diſagree from theſe authours: for they make report of many townes and Ilands waſted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was imployed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue ſpared, if any ſeruice of importance had beene to be performed before the Citie. Howſoeuer it was, this is agreed by generall conſent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great peſtilence aroſe among the *Greekes*: which *Homer* ſaith that *Apollo* ſent in reuenge of his Prieſts daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refuſed to let goe, for any ranſome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, ſaith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne: who raiſed peſtilent fogges, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-peſtered with thoſe, who had beene abroad, and now were lodged all cloſe together: hauing alſo grounded their ſhips within the fortifications.

About the ſame time aroſe much contention betweene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as *Generall*, hauing firſt choſen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the ſecond place choſen for himſelfe another, then *Aiax*, *Vlyſſes*, and ſo the reſt of the Chieftaines in order: When the Soothſayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman ſhould be reſtored to her father, *Apollo's* Prieſt, that ſo the Peſtilence might ceaſe, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and ſay, that hee alone would not loſe his part of the ſpoile, but would either take that which had beene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Aiax*, or to *Vlyſſes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to ſuffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by ſtrong hand, nor to reuenge her loſſe, otherwiſe than by refuſing to fight, or to ſend forth his Companies. But the *Greekes* incouraged by their Captaines, preſented themſelues before the Citie without him and his troupes.

The *Troians* were now relieued with great ſuccours, all the neighbour Countries hauing ſent them ayd: partly drawne to that warre by their Commaunders, who aſſiſted *Priamus* for money, wherewith hee abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*) or for loue of himſelfe and his ſonnes, or hope of marriage with ſome of his many and faire daughters; partly alſo (as we may well gueſſe) incited by the wrongs receiued of the *Greekes*, when they waſted the Countryes adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* iſſued out of the towne, hee was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus* and the other ſonnes of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his ſonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Aſius*, and the ſonnes of *Panthus*, beſides *Rheſus*, who was ſlaine the firſt night of his arriuall, *Memnon*, Queene *Pentheſilea*, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Betweene theſe and the *Greekes* were many battels fought: the greateſt of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* vpon the plaine; and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greekes*, and began to fire their ſhips; at which time *Aiax*, the ſonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head againſt *Hector*, when the ſtate of the *Greekes* was almoſt deſperate.

Another battell (for ſo antiquitie calls it) or rather the ſame renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troopes, relieuing the wearie *Greekes* with a freſh ſupply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Vlyſſes*, and the reſt of the Princes, though ſore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Troians* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his body, with much contention recouered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe warres, hauing ſlaine a man, to ſtrip him and

and hale away his bodie, not reſtoring it without ranſome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foote, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſſe of their Captaines; who rode not vpon horſes, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſtie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes preſenting themſelues where neede required, threw firſt their Iauelins, and then alighting fought on foote, with ſwords and battel-axes, retiring into the rankes of the footmen, or elſe returning to their Chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt, or broken. Their armes defenſiue were helmets, breſt-plates, bootes of braſſe or other metall, and ſhields commonly of leather, plated ouer. The offenſiue were ſwords and battel-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrowes or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The vſe of their Chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſſe) was to keepe them from wearineſſe, whereto the leaders were much ſubiect, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt ware heauieſt: alſo that from them they might throw their Iauelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their Tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; euery man (ſpeaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from ſome Captaine whom hee had ſlaine, and ſtripped: or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch meanes gotten ſome to ſpare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very deſirous, that he might reuenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelfe vnto *Achilles*, not onely reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giuing him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did ſo behaue himſelfe, that he did not onely put the *Troians* to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be beleeued) hee chaced three times about the walles of *Troy*. But great queſtion may bee made of *Homers* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Troians* were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he muſt haue done in that flight: nor that the *Troians* perceiuing *Hector* in ſuch an extremitie, would haue forborne to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who hauing (by what meanes ſoeuer) ſlaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the cuſtome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragged him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead bodie to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſome. But his crueltie and couetouſneſſe were not long vnreuenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſayes, in the *Scean* gate, or as others in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to haue married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing ſlaine ſo many of her brethren, and his body was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelfe-ſame rate that *Hectors* was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queene of the *Amazons* arriued at *Troy*; who after ſome proofe giuen of her valour, was ſlaine by *Pyrrhus* the ſonne of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the woodden Horſe, the Booke of DARES *and* DYCTIS, *the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.*

FInally after the death of many worthy perſons, on each ſide, the Citie was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a woodden Horſe, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of *Troy* called *Scæa*, was the image of a horſe, and that the *Greekes* entring by that gate, gaue occaſion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horſe. It may well bee that with ſome woodden engine, which they called an Horſe, they either did batter the walls, as the *Romans* in after-times vſed to doe with the Ramme: or ſcaled the walls vpon the ſudden, and ſo tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a woodden horſe, it had beene a deſperate aduenture, and ſeruing to no purpoſe. For either the *Troians* might haue perceiued the deceit, and ſlaine all thoſe Princes of *Greece*, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch as maintaine this report they are ſaid to haue thought vpon) or they might haue left it a fewe dayes without the Citie (for it was vnlikely, that they ſhould the very firſt day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their walles vpon the ſuddaine to doe it) by which meanes they who were ſhut into it, muſt haue periſhed for hunger, if they had not by iſſuing foorth vnſeaſonably diſcouered the inuention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this horſe was built ſo high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Troians* were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greekes* did afterwards enter: it is heereby manifeſt that the incloſing of ſo many principall men was altogether needeleſſe, conſidering that without their helpe there was way ſufficient for the armie, ſo that the ſurpriſing of any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

Iohn Baptiſta Gramay in his Hiſtorie of *Aſia*, diſcourſing of this warre, ſaith that the *Greekes* did both batter the wall with a woodden engine, and were alſo let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the townesmen ſleeping and drinking without feare or care, becauſe the fleete of the *Gracians* had hoiſted ſaile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Troians* into ſecuritie. That the Citie was betrayed, the bookes of *Dares* and *Dictys* muſt proue, which whether we now haue the ſame that were by them written, it may bee ſuſpected; for ſurely they who haue made mention of theſe writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in moſt points to theſe two authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which they hauing ſerued in that warre made againſt the Common report: had it not been that either thoſe bookes were euen in thoſe times thought friuolous; or elſe contained no ſuch repugnancie to the other authours as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dictis* ſay to haue beene aboue 600000. on the *Troian* ſide, and more than 800000. of the *Greekes*, it is a report meerely fabulous; foraſmuch as the whole fleete of the *Greekes* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as hee could, to bee ſomewhat leſſe than 1200. ſaile, and the armie therein tranſported ouer the *Greeke* ſeas, not much aboue 100000. men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extoll the deeds of their Auncients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the Captaines of the *Greekes*, that ſerued in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending & extolling the *Troians* and their Citie, from which the *Romans* deſcended. Yea the *Athenians*

long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*, did not forbeare to vaunt of the great cunning which *Menestheus* the son of *Peteus* had shewed, in marshalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had beene a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the *Admiraltie* of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which haue striuen to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probabilitie came of the *Troians*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Countrey by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Countrie adioyning by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the sonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth that the posteritie of *Hector* did resemble such of the Troians as were left, and raigned ouer them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

COncerning the *Greekes*, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought vpon the *Troians*. For *Thucidides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driuen by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slaine anon after their arriuall: others were debarred from the Soueraignetie among their people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to haue beene the dispersion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into so many pieces vnder seuerall Commaunders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising vpon the diuision of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should haue set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediatly, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to *Minerua*. Hereupon they fell to hot wordes, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailing to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arriued, they could not agree among themselues, but some returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole Fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not bee perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterward slew: also *Idomeneus*, and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheless, as *Virgill* tels, were driuen soone after to seeke new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italie*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was foorthwith slaine by his wife and by the adulterer *Ægysthus*, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long vpon the Seas, came into *Ægypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. *Vlisses*, after ten yeeres, hauing lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recouering the mastership of his owne house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driuen into exile, and faine to seeke out new habitations.

Aiax the sonne *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driuen into *Africke*, others into *Italie*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Graecia*, by reason of so many townes which the *Greekes* were driuen to erect

vpon

vpon that coast. Finally, it appeares in *Homer*, that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose husbands had beene at the warre of *Troy*, were wont to call it; The place where the *Greekes* suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy* and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath beene said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Iudge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a variance or *Interregnum* for certaine yeeres succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of SAMSON, ELI, *and* SAMVEL.

§. I.

Of SAMSON.

THE birth and actes of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Iudges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Storie. First, that the *Angell of God* forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke wine or strong drinke, or to eate any vncleane meate, after she was conceiued with childe, because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were euen the counsell of God himselfe, and deliuered by his Angell, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue not read, or at least will not beleeue this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinkes, nor meats, how strong or vncleane soeuer, filling themselues with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinkes farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed. 2970.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angell of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commaunding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of *Angels*, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are Deuils who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receiue no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wiues, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas euertit*; *Whom no force could ouermaster, Voluptuousnesse ouerturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort hee reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in haruest time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did *Israel* feare the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *Iuda*, to besiege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of *Etam*, vsing these wordes: *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers ouer vs? &c.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the *Philistims*, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but hee gaue them another ouerthrow, and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an *Asse*.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the

pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truely said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem*, *Patience often wounded, is converted into furie*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

§. II.

Of ELI *and of the Arke taken, and of* DAGONS *fall, and the sending backe of the Arke.*

THe Storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretolde him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which hee suppressed not, neither did hee punish them according to their deserts: whose sinnes were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthie offence of forcing the women by the sonnes of *Eli*, hath a contrarie opinion. In this time therfore it pleased God to cast the *Israelites* vnder the swords of the *Philistims*; of whom there perished in the first incounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of *Eli* being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stocke of *Ithamar* the sonne of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successiuely in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazar* the second, *Phinees* the sonne of *Eleazar* the third, *Abisue* the sonne of *Phinees* the fourth, his sonne *Bocci* the fift, *Ozi* the sonne of *Bocci* the sixt, and then *Eli*, as *Iosephus* and *Lyranus* out of diuers *Hebrew* authours haue conceiued. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their successors. The *Arke of God* which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philistims*. For as *Dauid* witnesseth, *God greatly abhorred Israel, so that hee forsooke the habitation of Shilo: euen the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie, &c.*

1. Sam. 2. 22.

1. King. 2. 27. and 1. Chron. 6.

Psal. 78.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the *Arke* whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did hee permit the *Chaldæans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to ouerthrow the second Temple; and the *Turkes* to ouerthrow the *Christian Churches* in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation which was the *Arke*, then in God himselfe, they would haue obserued his Lawes, and serued him onely: which whensoeuer they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no *Arke* at all, nor in the times of the *Macchabees*: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious, as any that garded themselues by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the *Arke* was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne; *Dauid* witnessed when he fled from *Absalon*. For when the Priests would haue carried the *Arke* with him; he forbad it, and caused it to be returned into the Citie, vsing these words: *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

1. Sam. 5. v. 6.

2. Sam. 15.

The *Troians* beleeued that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerua* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie should neuer bee ouerturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatall battell against *Saladine* carrie into the field, as they were made beleeue, the very Crosse whereon Christ died, and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Chrysostome* vpon Saint *Matthew* (if that bee his worke) giueth a good iudgement, speaking of those that ware a part of Saint *Iohns* Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preseruatiue: *Si tibi ea non prosunt in auribus,*

auribus quemodò proderunt in Cœlo? If thoſe words doe not profit men in their eares, (to wit, the hearing of the Goſpell preached) *how ſhould it profit them by hanging it about their neckes?* For it was neither the wood of the *Arke*, nor the wood of the Croſſe, but the reuerence of the Father that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant: and the Faith in his Sonne, which ſhed his bloud on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The *Philiſtims* returning with the greateſt victorie and glorie which euer they obtained, carried the *Arke of God* with them to *Azotus*, and ſet it vp in the houſe of *Dagon* their *Idoll*: but that night the *Idoll* fell out of his place, from aboue to the ground, and lay vnder the *Arke*. The morning following they tooke it vp, and ſet it vp, and ſet it againe in his place. And it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, ſhewing that it had nor power, nor vnderſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeat of reaſon, and knowledge, and the hands (by which wee execute ſtrength) were ſundred from the armes. For God and the Deuill inhabit not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not indure the repreſentation of the true God, it is not to bee marualled, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed him to couer his onely begotten with fleſh, and ſent him into the world, that all the *Oracles*, wherein the Deuill derided and betrayed mortall men, loſt power, ſpeech, and operation at the inſtant. For when that true light which had neuer beginning of brightneſſe, brake through the clouds of a virgins bodie, ſhining vpon the earth which had beene long obſcured by Idolatrie, all thoſe foule and ſtinking vapours vaniſhed. *Plutarch* rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as hee ſtileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe) hee ſearcheth his braines for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but friuolous. For not onely this olde Deuill did then die as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſſe.

Now while the *Philiſtims* triumphed after this victorie, God ſtrooke them with the grieuous diſeaſe of the *Hæmorrhoides* of which they periſhed in great numbers. For it is written that *the Lord deſtroyed them*. It was therefore by generall conſent ordered, that the *Arke* ſhould be remoued from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth* another of the fiue great Cities of the *Philiſtims*; to proone, as it ſeemeth, whether this diſeaſe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to *Gath* and receiued by them, the plague was yet more grieuous and mortall. *For the hand of the Lord was againſt this Citie with a very great deſtruction, and hee ſmote the men of the Citie both ſmall and great, &c.* And being not yet ſatisfied, they of *Gath* ſent the *Arke* to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the *Philiſtims*: but they alſo felt the ſame ſmart, and cryed out that themſelues and their people ſhould be ſlaine thereby; *For there was a deſtruction and death throughout all the Citie.* In the end, by the aduice of their Prieſts, the Prince of the *Philiſtims* did not onely reſolue to returne the *Arke*, but to offer gifts vnto the *God of Iſrael*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Ægyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people *of God* from their inheritance, and from his ſeruice by ſtrong hand. Wherefore confeſſing the power of the *God of Iſrael* to bee almightie, and that their owne Idols were ſubiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a ſinne offering, vſing theſe words; *So yee ſhall giue glorie to the God of Iſrael, that hee may take his hand from you, and from your gods and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witneſſing, than where an enemie doth approue our cauſe? according to *Ariſtotle*; *Pulchrum eſt teſtimonium, quo noſtra probantur ab hoſtibus.* So did *Pharao* confeſſe the liuing God, when he was plagued in *Ægypt*: and *Nabuchodonoſor*, and *Darius*, when they had ſeene his miracles by *Daniel*.

1. Sam. 4. v. 9.

c. 6. v. 5.

This counſell therefore of the Prieſts being imbraced, and the golden *Hæmorhoides*, and the golden Mice prepared, they cauſed two milch kine to bee choſen, ſuch as had not beene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to bee framed: but they

durst not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the *Arke* of *God* were carryed towards *Bethshemesh* and into the territorie of *Israel*: then they should resolue that from *God* onely came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the *Arke*, could not bee forced from their Calues, but that they would haue followed them whersoeuer; much lesse when they were left to themselues would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world if calues be remoued from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauailed directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Iosua* of the same Citie, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceiued, they returned to *Ekron*: After which, God spared not his owne people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to looke into the *Arke*. And because they knew God and his commandements and had beene taught accordingly: hee strooke them more grieuously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seuentie. From hence the *Arke* was carried to *Kirriath-iearim* and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeere in the charge of *Eleazar* his sonne, vntill *Dauid* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

2. *Sam.c.6.and* 1. *Chron.c.13.* a See in this booke *ch.12.* §.1. in the margent.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the *Arke* was in *Nob*, *Mispah*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time seuered from the *Arke*: or at least, it was for the [a] present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-iearim*.

§. III.

Of SAMVEL, *and of his Gouernment.*

THese Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouernour of *Israel*. Hee was descended of the familie of [b] *Chore* or *Korath*. For *Leui* had three sonnes; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*: and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Eleana* a *Leuite*, was called an *Ephrataan*, not that the *Leuites* had any proper inheritance, but because hee was of [c] Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Iesse*, *Dauids* father was called an *Ephrataan*, because borne at *Ephrata*, or *Bethelem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Iewish women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his seede should multiply, as the Starres of Heauen, and the sands of the Sea, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomie* the seuenth; *There shall bee neither male nor female barren among you.*

b 1. *Chro.6.22.*

c Which region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth, *Ruth.*1.2. *Ephratei* ô *Bethlehemo Iehuda*, the towne *Ephratha* which is *Bethlem* in *Iuda*, *Gen.* 35.19. from the region of *Ephratha*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence *Psal.*132.*v.*6. *Ephratha* is put for *Silo*, which was in the tribe of *Ephraim*.

Samuel was no sooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his seruice, to which shee deliuered him euen from the dugge. For as the first borne of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were fiue yeeres old for fiue sheckles, and betweene fiue yeeres and twentie for twentie sheckles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the *Leuites* should be called to serue about the Tabernacle, till they were fiue and twentie yeeres old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Actes* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom vsually this name of a Prophet was giuen, and yet did *Moses* account himselfe such a one, as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*. *The Lord thy God will raise vp vnto thee a Prophet like vnto mee, &c.* But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as, *Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to seeke an answere of God, thus hee spake; Come and let vs goe to the Seer*: for

*Vers.*15. 1. *Sam.*9.

for hee that is now called a *Prophet*, was in old time called a *Seer*. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath it, those reuelations before *Samuels* time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* iudged were *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, seated on a hill in *Beniamin* neere *Iuda*: also *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which we haue spoken elsewhere. *Sam.13.* See in this book, c.12.§.1.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for Warre at *Mispa* in the beginning of *Samuels* gouernment, gathered their Armie and marched towards the Citie: at whose approch the *Israelites* strucken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and seruitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moued with *Samuels* prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*) It pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the *Philistims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuels* Mother. *The Lords aduersaries shall be destroyed, and out of heauen shall be thunder vpon them, &c.* *Iosephus* affirmes, that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himselfe led the *Israelites* in the prosequution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happie successe, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Iosephus* called, *Lapidem fortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and aduantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recouered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any inuasion or reuenge. And the better to attend ther purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts: the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from diuers parts at once; hauing the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanite* toward the North and East, and the *Idumite* on the South. The estate beeing thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgement in diuers places by turnes, as hath been elsewhere said.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the secõd King of *Rome*, that when as hee was sacrificing it was told him that the enemies approched, he nothing dismaied, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico.* 1.*Sam.*2.10.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAVL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the gouernment into a Kingdome.

BVT when age now beganne to ouer-take *Samuel*, and that hee was not able to vnder-goe the burthen of so carefull a gouernement, hee put off from himselfe the waight of the affaires on his Sonnes, *Ioel* and *Abiiah*, who iudged the people at *Beersheba*, a Citie, the very vtmost towards the South of *Iudea*. And as the place was inconuenient and farre away, so were themselues no lesse remoued from the iustice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of couetousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gaine; to recouer which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and iudgement to the best Chapmen. Which when

when the Elders of *Israel* obserued, and saw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discerne the errours of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of gouernment, and to make them a King, by whom they might be iudged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of *Eli* his sonnes, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossomes promised to yeeld fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the gouernement from out his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsaile from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not haue approoued his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this speach or motion displeasing him, hee vsed his best arguments to dehort them: which when hee perceiued to bee ouer-feeble, hee deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which hee fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is so still by free consent of the Subiects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grieuous, but by the Vassals of all Kings according to their birth and condition desired: it being very agreeable to subiects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-seruants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediatly it is threatned; *Hee will take vp your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and giue them to his seruants*; with other oppressions; this hath giuen, and giues dayly occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that *Samuel* describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text farre otherwise, as teaching vs what Subiects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraignes hand. The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God fore-sheweth this change of gouernment from Iudges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to reigne ouer *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall reade therein all the dayes of his life: that hee may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them: that hee may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrarie to the lawes of God: in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which is iust and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayest liue.* Now if it bee not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canst eate out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and giue it to another. Neither are the wordes of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassalls. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sonnes: and againe, This shall bee the manner of the King that shall reigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power seuered from pietie, (because it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in *Achab*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should bee iudged with righteous iudgement.* Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money

Deut.17.

Deut.6.

Deut.23.v.24. Lesse.

Deut.16.

money which he refused: yet because hee was falsly accused, and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law) how grieuously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as *Dauid* testifieth of himselfe: *Posuisti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata æquitas non est æquitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio*; *Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*, which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practice doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, euen the best Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoeuer they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne brethren to be slaine without any triall of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *Dauid* confessed his offence for the death of *Vriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receiue this change of gouernment, it was not only fore-told by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but propheeied of by *Iacob* in this Scripture: *The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For it was not onely assured that his issues should in number equall the Starres in heauen, but that Kings should proceede of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the patterne of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall; and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other gouernments, hath been by many iudicious men handled and proued, I shall not neede to ouer-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, that I can lay on.

Gen.49. *Gen.15.* *Gen.17.*

In the time of the Iudges euery man hath obserued what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outragious slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they liued for many yeeres: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recouer some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrie. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* ouer *Iordan*; the *Philistims* the Sea-coasts; and the *Iebusites Hierusalem* it selfe, till *Dauids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue vnder a *Monarch*, or whether by this meanes they sought to bee cleered from the sonnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* vsed, insisting vpon this point that they would haue a King, both to iudge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent euery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

1.Sam.8.

§. II.

Of the election of SAVL.

AFter that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, hee forbare the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that hee would present vnto him a man of the Land of *Beniamin*, whom hee commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So

Samuel

Samuel went vnto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainement of *Saul* (whom yet hee knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also hauing wandred diuers dayes to seeke his Fathers Asses, at length by the aduice of his seruant trauailed towards *Ramath*, to finde out a *Seer* or *Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which iourney it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an asse, and not a Kingdome: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheepe of *Iethro*; and after to make choice of *Dauid* the yongest of eight sonnes, and by the *Scriptures* called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts, and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Iuda* and *Israel*. So *Iohn* and *Iacob* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of *Apostles*, a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and euerlasting in Gods endlesse Kingdome.

1. *Sam.* 16.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staied his arriuall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt. *Samuel* answered that himselfe was the man he sought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, aboue all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome, and of Gods graces to bee bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should incounter him by *Rabels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beasts, to doubt the losse of his Sonne; that he should then meete three other men in the plaine of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods spirit, and prophecie with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should bee changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errours of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Iosua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahias*, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, *Isay*, *Ieremie*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. *Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt*, *præterita*, *presentia*, *& futura*: but they were of those of whom S. *Paul* speaketh of, 1. *Cor.* 1. 14. who inriched with spirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

Chrys. in psal. 43

At *Mispeth Samuel* assembled the people, that hee might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vncle therewith, when he asked him what had past betweene him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might bee dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeth*, the generall opinion is, that hee was chosen by lot. *Chimhi* thinkes by the answere of **Vrim* and *Thumim*: that is, by the answere of the Priest, wearing that mysteric vpon his brest when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much vsed among the *Iewes*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the *Iewes* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanias*, and others haue remembred diuers sorts of lots,

* The *Vrim* and *Thumim* in the ornaments of the High Priest were inserted within the pectorall, which therfore was *duplicatum*, they were placed in the pectoral ouer against the hart of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exod. c.* 38.

Cic. de diuin. *Paus. in Mes.*

vsed

vſed by the *Romanes*, *Graecians*, and other Nations: as in the diuiſion of grounds or honours; and in things to bee vnder-taken: the two firſt kindes were called diuiſorie; the third, diuinatory; and into one of theſe three all may be reduced: all which kindes howſoeuer they may ſeeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Prouerbs*: *The lot is caſt into the lap, But the whole diſpoſition is of the Lord.* And in like ſort fell the Kingdome of *Iſrael* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* with-drew himſelfe in modeſtie, as both *Ioſephus* conſters it, and as it may bee gathered by his former anſwers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himſelfe the leaſt of the leaſt Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the reſt by the ſhoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the choſen King of *Iſrael*, whereupon all the multitude ſaluted him King, and prayed for him; yet ſome there were that enuied his glory (as in all eſtates there are ſuch) who did not acknowledge him by offering him preſents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoide ſedition, tooke no notice. 1. *Sam.* 10.

§. III.

Of the eſtabliſhing of SAVL *by his firſt victories.*

NO ſooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdome, but that hee receiued knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to beſiege *Iabes Gilead*: which Nation ſince the great ouerthrow giuen them by *Iephta*, neuer durſt attempt any thing vpon the *Iſraelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwayes attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recouer thoſe Territories which firſt the *Amorite*, and then *Iſrael* diſpoſſeſt them of; which they made the ground of their inuaſion in *Iephta's* time; yet they neuer perſwaded themſelues of more aduantage than at this preſent. For firſt they knew that there were many of the *Iſraelites* that did not willingly ſubmit themſelues to this new King: ſecondly, they were remembred that the *Philiſtims* had not long before ſlaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and beſides had vſed great care and policie that they ſhould haue no Smithes to make them ſwords or ſpeares: neither was it long before that of the *Bethſhemeſites* and places adioyning, there periſhed by the hand of God more then 50000. and therefore in theſe reſpects, euen occaſion it ſelfe inuited them to inlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: *Iabes Gilead* being one of the neereſt. Beſides it may further be coniectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened againſt *Iabes Gilead*, in reſpect of their weakneſſe: ſince the *Iſraelites* deſtroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them againſt the *Beniamites*: at which time they did not onely ſlaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their yong women, and gaue them to the *Beniamites*: and therefore they were not likely to haue beene increaſed to any great numbers: and if they had recouered themſelues of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himſelfe with the opinion, that *Iſrael* hauing for long time been diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deepely wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would giue them no other condition to ranſome themſelues, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they ſhould be vtterly diſabled for the Warre, as elſewhere hath been ſpoken: *Saul*, both to value himſelfe in his firſt yeeres raigne, and becauſe perchance hee was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maides taken from the *Gileadites*, and giuen to the *Beniamites*, gaue order to aſſemble the forces of *Iſrael*, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers ouer all the coaſts, proteſting thus: *That whoſoeuer came not forth after* SAVL *and after* SAMVEL, *ſo ſhould his Oxen bee ſerued*: threatning the people Iud. 21.

by

by their goods, and not by their liues at the first. Seuen dayes had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seuen dayes to giue *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an answere: who, could they haue obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to haue seuered themselues from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired vnto him at *Bezec*, neere *Iordan*, that he might readily passe the Riuer; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arriue at *Iabes*, vnder the Hills of *Gilead*.

1.*Sam.*11.8. The Armie by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, hereturned an answere to those of *Iabes*, that they should assure themselues of succour by the next day at noone. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the Armie of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he diuided his force in three parts, putting them to the sword vntill the heate of the day, and the wearinesse of *Sauls* troupe inforst them to giue ouer the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careless and secure, in that those of *Iabes* promised the next morning to render themselues and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe the people were so farre in loue with their new King, that they would haue slaine all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misaduenture, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

1.*Sam.*11. After the Armie remoued, *Samuel* summoned the people to meete at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed King: and here *Samuel* vsed an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsall of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his gouernment
1.*Sam.*12. to that day. After *Saul* had now raigned one yeere before hee was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Ionathan* his sonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his nativitie: the rest hee kept about his owne person in *Micmas*; and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

§. IIII.

Of SAVLS *disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philistims and Amalekites, which caused his finall reiection.*

IONATHAN with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of aduantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some thinke, which *Saul* past by, when hee came from *Rama*, where hee was first anointed by *Samuel*, which they thinke to haue beene *Cariath-iearim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison, 1.*Sam.*10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderstand of *Cariath-iearim*: but *Iunius* vnderstands this Garrison to haue been at *Gebah* in *Beniamin* neere *Gibba*, where *Ionathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoeuer by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly inraged by this surprize, they
1.*Sam.*13.5. assembled 30000. armed Chariots, and 6000. Horse, where-with they inuaded *Iudea*, and incamped at *Machmas*, or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hierusalem*, and in the midst of the Land betweene the Sea and *Iordan*. With this sudden inuasion the *Israelites* were strucken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselues in the caues of the mountaines, other fled ouer *Iordan* into

into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelfe with ſome 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the paſſage of *Ioſua* when he led *Iſrael* ouer *Iordan*. Heere *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeuen daies: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* perceiued his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place 1. *Sam.* 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrarie to the *Eccleſiaſticall* lawes of the *Hebrewes*, and *Gods* Commaundements: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſinne of *Saul* not to haue beene any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commaundement, in not ſtaying according to the appointment 1. *Sam.* 10. 8. ſecondly a diffidence or miſtruſt in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not beare patiently; and laſtly a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoeuer was his ſinne, notwithſtanding his excuſes, he was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in termes vnfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinarie warrant beene giuen to *Samuel* ſo to doe, from God himſelfe, at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome ſhould be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his poſteritie. 1. *Sam.* c. 13. *Verſ.* 14.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his armie, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpeare, but *Saul* and his ſonne *Ionathan* only. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smyth* in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul* came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the yeere before, or in ſome part of this very yeere, to ſuccour *Iabes Gilead* with 300. and thirtie thouſand men, if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themſelues withall, ſaue onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Ionathan* his ſonne. But howſoeuer, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, and all thoſe crafteſmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the *Iſraelites* onely files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuffe as ſerued for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kinde of armes it is manifeſt, or els they durſt not haue attempted vpon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but onely that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had publiquely reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forſooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired vnto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arriued. 1. *Sam.* 13. 7. 1. *Sam.* 13. 22.

With this ſmall troupe he held himſelfe to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength and better aſſured vnto him, then *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſſe that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarme the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoeuer in the time of *Samuel* much had bin done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpeare, but by thunder from heauen: and when theſe craftſmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no maruaile if they could not in a ſhort peace vnder *Samuel* bee replanted againe. For this tiranny of the *Philiſtims* is to be vnderſtood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder *Samuel*: and yet vnder him it is to bee thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policie, not ſuffering their artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from hauing any ſtore of armour. The ſame policie did *Nabuchodonoſor* vſe after his Conqueſt in *Iudæa*: *Dionyſius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes elſe-where in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Iordan* the *Philiſtims* had not

inuaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquitie vſed, and their preſent neceſſitie miniſtred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and ſlings. For the *Beniamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the naturall weapons, and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the twelfth Chapter, it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *Dauid* againſt *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could vſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*; and with a ſling it was, that *Dauid* himſelfe ſlew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard termes, the *Philiſtims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might ſpoile and deſtroy many parts at once; *Ionathan* ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire onely, ſcaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the reſt of their armie (as may bee gathered by the ſucceſſe) beeing incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though hee were diſcouered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of deriſion called vp by his enemies: yet hee ſo behaued himſelfe, as with the aſſiſtance of God hee ſlew twentie of the firſt *Philiſtims* that hee incountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, feare, and iealouſie, they ſlaughtered one another in ſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, becauſe they feared to be ſpoiled by them, tooke the aduantage of their deſtruction, and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly, *Saul* himſelfe taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelues in mount *Ephraim*, ſet vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a moſt happie and glorious victorie ouer them. Heere was that prophecie in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Ionathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God, ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them ten thouſand.*

1.Sam.14.12.

1.Sam.14.

This done, the ſmall armie of *Iſrael* made retrait from the purſuit. And though *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take foode till the euening, yet his ſonne *Ionathan* being infeebled with extreme labour and emptineſſe, taſted a drop of hony in his paſſage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Ionathan*, ſeemes to haue reduced vnto the *Philiſtims* remembrance their former ouerthrow likewiſe miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelues quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vndertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabits*, *Ammonits*, *Edomits*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he preuailed. Hee then aſſembled all the forces hee could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiuing the commaundement of *God* by *Samuel*, hee inuaded *Amalec*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *deſart*, belonging to the *Amalekits*, from *Hauilah* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Ægypt*; in which warre he tooke *Agag* their King priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all other attempted *Iſrael*, when they left *Ægypt* in *Moſes* time: he notwithſtanding did not onely ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerued the beſt of the beaſts and ſpoile of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the liuing God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know, that God would caſt him from his roiall eſtate to which he was raiſed, when he was of baſe condition, and as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there bin no former precept to that effect: yet ſeeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how ſeuerely it pleaſed God to inioyne the *Iſraelites* to reuenge themſelues vpō that Nation, he was in all vnexcuſable. For God had commanded that the *Iſraelites ſhould put out the remembrance of* AMALEC *from vnder heauen*. For the crueltie which the predeceſſors of this *Agag* vſed againſt the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially on thoſe which were ouerwearied, faint, ſicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, & his Nation aboue 400. yeeres afterward;

1.Sam.14.

Exod.17.

Deut.25.15.

and

and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himselfe hauing also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witnesse: *As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himselfe (after he had bin by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay awhile with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soone after he departed to *Ramath*, *and came no more to see* SAVL, *vntill the day of his death.* 1.Sam.15.33.

§. V.

Of the occurrents betweene the reiection of SAVL *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sonnes of *Isshai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how hee might auoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of God, that by his cautious care and wisedome he sought to auoid the inconuenience or dangers of this life, then doe those men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath giuen them, doe no otherwise auoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate, or destinie, neglecting either to beg counsaile at Gods hand by prayer, or to exercise that wisedome or fore-sight, where-with God hath inriched the mind of man, for his preseruation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdaine here to instruct *Samuel*, to auoid the furie of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of *Isshai*, *Samuel* by God directed, made choise of *Dauid*, the yongest, hauing refused *Eliab*, the first borne: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* Hee also refusing the other sixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him *the Lord said to* SAMVEL, *Arise and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed & went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seeke the life of *Dauid*: in which bloudy mind he continued til he died, ouercome in battaile by the *Philistims*. 1.Sam.16.

The *Philistims* hauing well considered (as it seemes) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still and forborne to giue impediment vnto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel* might be repaied with aduantage, if euer opportunitie should serue their often iniured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all Warlike prouisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselues equall, if not superiours to *Israel*. The successe of their former wars had for the most part bin agreeable to their owne wishes; as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisedome, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so neere to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battaile, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the valley that lay between their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had beene confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any

ſtroake from heauen were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath* a ſtrong Giant, fearing neither God nor man, vndertooke to defie the whole hoſte of *Iſrael*, prouoking them with deſpightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the partie vanquiſhed in Champion, ſhould hold it ſelfe as ouercome in groſſe, and become vaſſall to the other. This gaue occaſion to young *Dauid*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durſt expoſe himſelfe to encounter the great ſtrength of *Goliah*, vntill *Dauid* (ſent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offenſiue or defenſiue than a ſling, wherewith hee ouerthrewe that haughtie Gyant, and after with his owne ſword ſtrooke off his head. Hereupon the *Philiſtims*, who ſhould haue yeelded themſelues as ſubiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne ſide propounded, fled without ſtay; and were purſued and ſlaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philiſtims* were not ſo broken, that either any of their townes were loſt, or their people diſcouraged from infeſting the Territories of *Iſrael*. But *Dauid*, by whom *God* had wrought this victorie, fell into the grieuous indignation of his maſter *Saul*, through the honour purchaſed by his well deſeruing. For after ſuch time as the ſpirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *Dauid*, he then became a cruell Tyrant, faithleſſe, and irreligious. Becauſe the high Prieſt *Abimelech* fed *Dauid* in his neceſſitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with the ſword of his own conqueſt taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Prieſts of *Nob*, but alſo he deſtroyed the Citie, *and ſmote with the edge of the ſword both man and woman, both childe and ſuckling, both Oxe and Aſſe, and ſheepe.* And he that had compaſſion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and alſo ſpared and preſerued the beſt of his Cattell, contrarie to the Commaundement and ordinance of God, both by *Moſes* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercie in ſtore, for the innocent, for the Lords ſeruants the Prieſts of *Iſrael*. Yea he would haue ſlaine his owne ſonne *Ionathan*, for pitying and pleading *Dauids* innocencie, as alſo once before for taſting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreaſonable commination. The companions of crueltie are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The former he ſhewed in denying *Dauid* his daughter, whom he had promiſed him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had giuen her; alſo in that when as *Dauid* had twice ſpared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice ſworne to do him no hurt, and confeſſed his errours, yet he ſought ſtill to deſtroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impietie towards God he ſhewed, in that he ſought counſell of the witch of *Endor*, which was the laſt preparatiue for his deſtruction. For whereas when he ſought counſel from God he had beene alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Deuil this ſucceſſe followed, that both himſelfe, and his three ſons, with his neereſt and faithfulleſt ſeruants, were all ſlaughtered by the *Philiſtims*: his bodie with the bodies of his ſonnes (as a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour) were hung ouer the walls of *Bethſan*: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull *Gileadites* of *Iabes* ſtolne their carcaſes thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned *Iſrael*, together with *Samuel* 40. yeres, and by himſelfe after *Samuel* 20. yeeres, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Ioſephus*. But yet it ſeemeth to mee, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the reſt of the ſame chapter the paſſages are written of *Dauid*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly enſued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all thoſe victories which *Dauid* afterward obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; cruſht the *Syrians*, and their adhærents; broken the ſtrength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly waſted the power and pride of the *Philiſtims*.

1.*Sam.*16.*v.*13.

1.*Sam.*22.18.

1.*Sam.*24.23.

*Act.*13.21. *Cedren.pa.*69. *Theoph.l.*3.*p.*3. *Ioſeph.l.*28.

of

§. VI.

Of such as liued with SAMVEL *and* SAVL; *of* HELLEN *and* HERCVLES, *and of their issues: vpon occasion of the* DORES, *with the* HERACLIDAE, *entring* PELOPONESVS *about this time.*

IN the second yeere of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *Dauid* borne: after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth yeere: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *Dauid*, saith he, was thirtie yeeres old when he began to reigne: whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeeres, which are giuen to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Æneas Siluius* the sonne of *Posthumus* began his raigne ouer the *Latines* in *Alba*, who gouerned that State 31. yeeres. There are who place before him *Latinus Siluius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* sate in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire 40. yeeres. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possest a great part thereof 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Helles*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Pthiotis* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many *Colonies*, and sundrie great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themselues generally by one name, and yet euery seuerall Nation after some one of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had raigned ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of Heauen and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the *Greeke* tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*. *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* raigned in *Thessalie*, which then was called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the *Queene*. In *Deucalions* time was that great floud, of which we haue spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* hauing first inhabited sundrie parts of *Thessalie*, did afterward seate themselues about *Parnassus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldest sonne of *Hellen*, being banished by his bretheren, for hauing diuerted from them to his owne vse some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, hee begat on her two sonnes, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achæus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himselfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie, recouered the Kingdome of his Grand-father in *Thessalie*.

Ion being Generall for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* inuaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. Hee diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos*, or *Ægialia*: In which Countrie *Selinus* then raigning, thought it safer to giue his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him.

him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his wiues name in *Ægialia*, where he and his posteritie raigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land the denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* assisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, inuaded *Peloponnesus*, and ouer-comming the *Achæans*, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driuen to seeke a new seate, came vnto the *Iones*, desiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alleadging in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had beene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they sought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenes*, the sonne of *Orestes*, in that Warre.

Thus were the *Iones* driuen out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remoue into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof, on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Asia* hath been mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeeres after the descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father *Hercules* many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue beene true, others perhaps must be *allegorically* vnderstood. But the most approued Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to haue performed these twelue great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemæan* Lyon: secondly, he slew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hare: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore aliue, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadie*: The fift was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxe-stall in one day, which hee performed by turning the Riuer *Alpheus* into it: The sixt was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: The seuenth was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queene* of the *Amazons*: The three last were, to fetch *Gerions* Beeues from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselues. For some by *Hercules* vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sunne*, and his trauailes to be the twelue signes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That he tooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *OEchalia*, and other Townes, being assisted by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that he slew many Thebues, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His trauailes through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities in *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his indeuours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persequuted by the King *Euristheus*. This *Euristheus* was sonne of *Sthenelus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; he raigned in *Mycena*, the mightiest Citie then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard taskes vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obay him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madnesse he had committed vpon his owne Children; but as others say, because hee was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Euristheus* for imploying the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed

by

by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great iealousie by *Eurystheus* becausse of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein hee was imployed, so that hee grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wiues and Concubines aboue threescore children. These children *Eurystheus* would faine haue got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled vnto *Ceyx* King of *Trachinia*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gaue them entertainement, but lent them ayd, wherewith they encountred *Eurystheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers sonne of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heraclidæ*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leaue of *Pluto* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom when hee had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to mee, that whereas he had led *Colonies* into *Sicilie*, and aboade there a long time forgotten: he came againe into *Greece* to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Eurystheus* was slaine, they tooke *Atreus* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for hee was rich, mightie, and fauoured of the people. Against him the *Heraclidæ* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Hercules*. But to auoid effusion of bloud, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atreus*, with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, hee should peaceably enioy what hee challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidæ* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100. yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Aristodemus* (as the best authoritie shewes, though some haue said, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Achai*, ouer whom the issue of *Pelops* had raigned after the death of *Eurystheus* foure generations.

§. VII.

Of HOMER *and* HESIOD, *and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. Hee was by race of the *Maones*, descended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anamaon*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue beene long after these times, rashly framing his *Æra* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seuen more of this name to haue florished in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diuersitie of opinions, both of the time and of the natiue Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Iuda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, becausse blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blind. **Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* liued. So also [b] *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* florished 950. yeeres before the *Consulship* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. yeeres: and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*, making him to haue florished about the time of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* aboue named, mention authours that make him much ancienter. The difference of which authours in this point is not vnworthie the readers consideration, that by this one instance hee may gueesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errours

Funct. chro. fol. 11. col. D. a This author set out with *Berosus* and others, first at *Basil*, and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp* is *incertæ fidei*. *Naucler. f. 147.* placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel*.

**Stromatum l. 5* b *Nat. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. item l. 17. c. 21.*

errours in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diuersitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 80. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and **Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the armie of *Greece* sailed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*: which hee seekes to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*; *Philocorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirmes that hee liued while *Agesilaus* gouerned *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* florishing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Gracians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Eusebius* seemes to make him to haue beene about the time of *Ioas* King of *Iuda* 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though elswhere in his *Chronologie* he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *Dauid*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, hee reckoneth many other *Greeke* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian. Assyr.* report his opinion *rerum Phil.* 41. *Ros. in disc. temporum. Phil. in comm. in Archilog.*

Her. in vita Ho.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrarie, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the *Historian* make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaues it vncertaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he finds that they liued together some certaine yeeres, wherein he confirmes himselfe by an *Epigram*, written vpon a Treuit, and left by *Hesion* in *Helicon*.

Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11.

Varro de imag. lib. 1.

Nep. in Chron. Cass. l. 1. annal.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while the *Siluij* reigned in *Alba*, about [a] 140. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*. [b] *Euthimenes* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the sonne of *Pelias*, King of *Thessaly*. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but onely to shew the vncertaintie and disagreement of Historians, aswell in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiositie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In derision whereof *Lucian* fayning himselfe to haue beene in hell, and to haue spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to doe.

a This number *Mercator* corrects, & reads 240. for it.
b *Euthy. in Chr. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or after *Macrobius Sememures*, ruled *Ægypt* at this time: for *Tanephersobris* was his successour, who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Salomon*.

Eus. & Cass. in Chron.

About the end of *Sauls* gouernment, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* inuaded *Asia*, *Latinus Syluius* then ruling in *Italie*. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeeres before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung vp, somewhat neerely together, like Kingdomes into greatnesse not before erected. In *Italie*, that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achei*. In *Arabia*, *Syria Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselues Princes, of which there were tenne Kings, which began and ended with the King of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* hauing now altered their forme of Gouernment, began to flourish vnder Kings, of

which

which *Dauid*, in a few yeeres, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subiected the *Iudæans*, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a most abiect, and grieuous slauerie; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituræans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Iebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machathites*, all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

§. I.

Of DAVIDS *estate in the time of* SAVL.

HE hazards which *Dauid* ran into while he was yet onely designed King, and liuing as a priuate man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first personall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Ionathan* the sonne of *Saul*, that hee loued him as his owne soule: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perswade his sonne, that *Dauid* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause, *Ionathan* could neuer be perswaded, neuer forst, nor cuer wearied from the care of *Dauids* life, and well doing. It was not long after this signall act of *Dauids*, but that *Saul* became exceeding iealous of him, though he were become as his houshold seruant, and his Esquire, or armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill spirit, was aduised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him vpon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that hee might finde ease; which came to passe accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of Commaund among the men of warre. But the iealous tyrant soone waxed wearie of his good affections, and sought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the middest of his rauing fit, at which time hee threw a speare at *Dauid* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him ease.

Censorinus remembreth one *Asclepius* a *Physician*, who practised the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kinde of harmonie, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howsoeuer it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that Musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musician than to the King. *cens.* 12. & 14

Saul hauing failed in such open attempts, gaue vnto *Dauid* the Commaundement of 1000. souldiours, to confront the *Philistims* withall. For hee durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, hee promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but hauing married her to *Adriel*, hee gaue to *Dauid* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskinnes of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in re-

spect

spect of the valour of that Nation, that the *Philistims* would take *Dauids* head, than hee their foreskinnes. This hope failing, when as now *Dauids* victories begat new feares and iealousies in *Saul*, hee practised with *Ionathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this hee sought to murther him in his owne house, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Nob* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himselfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, he couered himselfe in the *Caue of Adullam*: and after conueying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him into *Moab*, he hid himselfe in the *desarts of Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hilles of *Engaddi*, where hee cut off the lap of *Sauls* garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the *desart of Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis of Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his master *Saul* was knowne to prosecute him.

1. *Sam.* 19.
1. *Sam.* 21.
1. *Sam.* 24.
1. *Sam.* 26.
Iansen in Psal.

Of *Achis Dauid* obtained * *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to inuade *Iudæa*: but hee bent his forces another way and strooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. *Achis* supposing that *Dauid* had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himselfe assured of him; and therefore preparing to inuade *Israel*, summoneth *Dauid* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore hee withdrew himselfe to *Siklag*. At his returne he found the towne burnt, his two wiues with the wiues and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his fellowes mutined, but God gaue him comfort, and assurance to recouer all againe: which he did.

* It seemeth that *Simeon* neuer obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is said in the 1. of *Sam.* c. 27. v. 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth vnto the King of *Iuda* vnto this day.

This armie of the *Philistims* commaunded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which hee and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious ouer *Amalech*, by a man of the same Nation, who auowed (though falsly) that himselfe at *Sauls* requeft had slaine him. *Dauid*, because hee had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to be slaine at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong euidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that euery man ought to bee beleeued of himselfe to his owne preiudice. For it is held in the lawe; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, vnlesse some other proofe informe the conscience of the Iudge.* For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Iudge by examination may know to bee impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de custodia reorum l. si confessus, et in cap. de pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therfore doth the *Glosse* reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in iudgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseuere in his confession, it is enough.* That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stirre vp sorrow, and moue compassion in the heart of *Dauid*.

2. *Sam.* 1.
In F. de quæst. l. prim.

The victorie which the *Philistims* had gotten was so great, that some townes of the *Israelites*, euen beyond the riuer of *Iordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemie, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seeke to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediatly breaking out betweene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the rest of *Israel*, gaue them hope of an easie victorie ouer both; and thereby caused

sed them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which meanes, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

§. II.

Of the beginning of DAVIDS *reigne, and the warre made by* ABNER *for* ISBOSETH.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commaunded for *Saul* in the war, sought to aduance *Isboseth* (or *Ieboſtius* according to *Iosephus*) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Mephiboseth* the first sonne of *Ionathan* liued. Against this *Abner*, and *Isboseth*, *Dauid* made a defensiue warre, till *Abner* past *Iordan*, and entred the border of *Iuda*; at which time he sent *Ioab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboseth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other neere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betweene the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Argiues*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnslaine. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatij* and *Curiatij* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliah* the *Philistim* made, whom *Dauid* slew: a custome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his owne person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue chosen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda*: whose force and valour was so equall, as there suruiued not any one to challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the armie of *Iuda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundreth and sixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twentie of *Iuda*; whereof *Asahel* the brother of *Ioab* was one: who when he would needs pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moued to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounding him to death, with the stroake of his speare. For though *Asahel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue mastered *Abner* (who as *Asahel* perswaded himselfe, had by being ouerthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; *That the race is not to the swift.* 2. *Sam.* 2. *Eccles.*

That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Isboseth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew iealousie betweene him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* concubine: neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare. *Vers.* 10.

§. III.

§. III.

Of the death of ABNER *slaine by* IOAB, *and of* ISBOSETH *by* RECHAB *and* BAANAH.

2. *Sam.* 3. 27. ABner, reconciled to *Dauid*, was anon by *Ioab* murdered; for *Ioab* could not endure a companion in *Dauids* fauour, and in the commandement of his forces, by which hee was growne so powerfull, as *Dauid* forbare to call him to account; for thus much hee confesseth of himselfe: 2. *Sam.* 3. 39. *I am this day weake, and these men the sonnes of* ZERVIAH *bee too hard for mee.* In this sort *Dauid* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it cleare that hee hated this fact of *Ioab*, hee followed him with this publike imprecation; *Vers.* 29. *Let the bloud fall on the head of* IOAB, *and on all his fathers house: and let them be subiect to vlcers, to the leprosie, to lamenesse, to the sword, and to pouertie, &c.* For could any thing haue withstood the ordinance of *God*, this murther committed by *Ioab* might greatly haue indangered *Dauids* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischaunce therefore *Dauid* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceiued him to bee innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselues were faine to giue them great respect, as hath bene alreadie shewed more at large. This office *Ioab* held in the armie of *Iuda*, & thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For hee was neere to *Dauid* in kinred, and had beene partaker of all his aduersitie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemie should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so ielous of his dignitie and place, that hee afterward slew *Amasa* his owne kinsman, and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdaine to see him ioyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of *Iuda*; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and beene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoeuer *Ioab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *Dauid* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the ouersight by which he might seeme to haue perished, by affirming that hee died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, 2. *Sam.* 3. *Vers.* 34. *But as a man falleth before wicked men, so* (said hee) *diddest thou fall.* And certainly it is no errour of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all vnder the *Sunne* are subiect to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsoeuer *Isboseth* meant to haue dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possest with great feare: insomuch as two of *Isboseths* owne Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Isboseth*, 2. *Sam.* 4. and presenting his head to *Dauid*, receiued the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to haue slaine *Saul*. *Isboseth* being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *Dauid* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by generall consent.

§. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of DAVIDS *Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem, with two ouerthrowes giuen to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of* DAVID.

WHen *Dauid* was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise was vpon the *Iebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walles with the 2. *Sam.* 5. blinde and lame of their Citie; which *Dauid* soone after entred: all their other forces notwithstanding. For hauing mastered the fort of

Zion

Zion (which was afterward the Citie of *Dauid*) hee became Lord of *Hieruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Iebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moſes* and *Ioſua*, and after them almoſt 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwiſe: *Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither.* For ſome thinke that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Iebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with *Iſaac*, and *Iacob*: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wreſtling with the Angell, and that therefore till thoſe (that is, till that Couenant) be broken, *Dauid* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelfe I take it with *Ioſephus*, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at firſt, in ſcorne of *Dauids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres againſt all the children of *Iſrael*, *Ioſua*, the *Iudges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *Dauid*.

When he had now poſſeſt himſelfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and receiued congratulatorie Embaſſadours & preſents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained diuers other concubines & married moe wiues, by whom he had ten ſons in *Ieruſalem*, and by his former wiues he had ſix in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The *Philiſtims* hearing that *Dauid* was now anointed king, as well of *Iuda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his ſeat. And being encountred by *Dauid* at two ſeuerall times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which hee called the place *Baalperazim*. 2. Sam. 5.

Then *Dauid* aſſembled 30000. choice *Iſraelites* to conduct the *Arke of God* from the houſe of *Abinadab* in *Gibea*, to the Citie of *Dauid*, which buſineſſe was interrupted by the death of *Vzzah* the ſonne of *Aminadab*, whom the Lord ſlewe for preſuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were with intent to ſtay it from taking harme, when it was ſhaken. But after three yeeres it was with great ſolemnitie brought into the Citie with ſacrifices, muſicke, dances, and all ſignes of ioyfulneſſe, in which *Dauid* himſelfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, and afterward told him in ſcorne, *That hee was vncouered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his ſeruants*; namely that hee forgat his regall dignitie both in apparrell and behauiour; and mixed himſelfe among the baſe multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and ſtreetes: not that ſhee diſliked *Dauids* behauiour (as I take it) though ſhe made it the colour of her deriſion. But rather the aboundant griefe, which this ſpectacle ſtirred vp, beholding, the glorie of her huſband to whom ſhee was deliuered laſtly by force, and remembring the miſerable end of her father and brethren, out of whoſe ruines ſhe conceiued that the ſonne of *Iſhai* had built this his greatneſſe, together with the many new wiues and concubines imbraced ſince his poſſeſſion of *Ieruſalem*, made her breake out in thoſe deſpitefull tearmes, for which ſhe remained barren to her death.

This done, *Dauid* conſulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or houſe of *God*: but was forbidden it, becauſe he was a man of warre, and had ſhed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all deteſt homicide; hauing threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaſt. The warres which *Dauid* had made were iuſt, and the bloud therein ſhed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cauſe it was not permitted that his hands ſhould lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly thoſe Princes deceiue themſelues, who thinke by bloudſhed and terrour of their warres, to make themſelues in greatnes like to the *Almightie*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodneſſe, or ſeeke the bleſſedneſſe promiſed by our *Sauiour* vnto the peacemakers. 1. Chron. 22. v. 3.

Now although it was not pleaſing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Dauids* founding, yet was his religious intent ſo well accepted, that hereupon hee receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happie promiſe of the euerlaſting throne, that ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his ſeede.

§. V.

The ouerthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

2. *Sam.* 8. v. 1. SOone after this *Dauid* ouerthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerlesse, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon *Israel* in haste. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philisthæorum*; which place our *English Geneua* conuerts in these words, And DAVID *tooke the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims.* The Latine of *Iunius* giueth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneua* hath it in the marginall note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsaria*, set on the frontier of *Palæstina* at the entrance into *Iudæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retrait in all their inuasions, which being taken by *Dauid* and demolished, there was left no such frontier towne of equall strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrewes* cal *Amma*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his first booke, and thirteenth Chap. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of *Chro.* the 18.

Iunius in 8. *c. of the second of Sam.*

There was no nation bordering the *Iewes* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leaue one Smith in al their Cities & villages of that kinde, but inforst them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoeuer they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *Dauid* were seldome free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

1. *Sam.* 13.

After this he gaue them foure other ouerthrowes: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came betweene. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose speare weighed 300. shickles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *Dauid* and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the Councellors and Captaines of *Dauid* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thencefoorth hazard himself in any battaile. The second and third incounter and ouerthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob* a place neere *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, hee inuaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his aduersitie hee sought succour and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no it is not knowne.

2. *Sam.* 21. v. 17.

The *Rabines* faine that *Moab* slew those kinsfolkes of *Dauid*, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time, but questionlesse *Dauid* well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to *Israel*, and tooke all the occasions to vexe them that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23. of *Deuter.* God commaunded *Israel* not to seeke the peace or prosperitie of the *Moabites*, which *Dauid* well obserued, for he destroyed two parts of all the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victorie obtained, he led his armie by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the sonne of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

The warre which DAVID *made vpon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: DAVID *smote also* HADADEZER *&c. as hee went to recouer his border at the riuer Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as hee went to recouer his border*) be referred to *Dauid* or *Hadadezer* it is not agreed vpon. *Iunius* thinkes that the article (*he*) hath relation to *Dauid*, who finding *Toha* oppresst by *Hadadezer*, ouerthrew

threw the one and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt receiued opinion, that this recouerie hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *Dauid* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, hee was in farre better caſe to haue proceeded after his victorie than before: ſeeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemie on his backe, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to ſtop the paſſages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Againe, ſeeing *Dauid* was either to paſſe through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his armie conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: Hee had now both horſe and chariots good ſtore to carry his prouiſions through thoſe vncultiued places, by which he was to haue marched before he could haue reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we find that *Dauid* returned to *Hieruſalem*, after hee had twice ouerthrowne the *Syrian* armie, not bending his courſe towards the riuer *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes alreadie made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *Dauid*, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The king of *Syria Damaſcena*, and of *Damaſcus*, wherof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Adadezer* was ouerthrowne by the *Iſraelites*, fearing his owne eſtate, & the loſſe of his owne country which adioyned to *Syria Zobah* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too ſoone for themſelues: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This king of *Damaſcus*, *Ioſephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an ancient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name & family as all thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatneſſe, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the *Aſſyrians*, as is ſhewed heretofore. *Dauid* hauing now reduced *Damaſcus* vnder his obedience, left a garriſon therin, as he did in *Edom*: hauing alſo ſackt the adioyning cities of *Betah*, and *Berati*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tohu* or *Thoi* whoſe country of *Hamath* ioyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) ſent his ſon *Ioram* to congratulate this ſucceſſe of *Dauid*: partly becauſe he had warre with *Adadezer*, and partly becauſe he feared *Dauid* now victorious. He alſo preſented *Dauid* with veſſels of gold, ſiluer, and braſſe, all which together with the golden ſhields of the *Aramites*, and the beſt of all the ſpoils of other Nations, *Dauid* dedicated vnto God at his returne. *Iunius* tranſlated the words (*clypeos aureos*) by *vmbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chaines. But becauſe *Roboam* made ſhields of braſſe in place of theſe of *Adadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shiſak* the *Ægyptian* ſackt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, it may be gathered thereby, that thoſe of *Adadezer* were golden ſhelds. 2.*Sam.*8.

This done, *Dauid* ſent Embaſſadours to *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his eſtabliſhment in his fathers Kingdome: for *Dauid* in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had beene relieued by *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill aduiſed, and ouer-icalous of his eſtate, vſed *Dauids* meſſengers ſo barbarouſly, and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as he thereby drew a warre vpon himſelfe, which neither his owne ſtrength, nor all the aydes purchaſed could put off, or ſuſtaine. For notwithſtanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thouſand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaſſalles of *Adadezer* twentie thouſand, and of *Maachah* and *Iſhtob* thirteene thouſand (for which hee diſburſed a thouſand talents of ſiluer) yet all theſe great armies together with the ſtrength of the *Ammonites*, were by *Ioab* and his brother *Abiſhai* eaſily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loſſe or ſlaughter at that time. And it is written that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* alſo retraited into their Cities, the one holding themſelues within the walles, the other in their deſarts adioyning, till *Ioab* was returned to *Hieruſalem*. 2.*Sam.*1.

Maachah the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in *Deut* 3.14.
Iſhtob or *Thob* a country neer *Gad* vnder the rockes of *Arnon*.
2.*Sam.*10.

Hadadezer hearing that *Ioab* had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent for all the companies that he could leuie out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *Dauid* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched towards the *Syrian* armie in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the Northeast, than *Hierusalem* was towards the Southwest. Now *Dauid* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off iourney that euer he made) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also possest himselfe of **Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified, and this Citie was but one dayes iourney from *Helam*, and the riuer *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retraites, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this incounter between *Dauid* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and so *Iunius* conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of *Israel* consisting of footemen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbred at 7000. in the first of *Chron.* the 9. in which number, as I conceiue, all the Souldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included: so as there died of the *Syrians* in this warre against *Dauid*, before he forc't them to tribute; 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Ioab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabba*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of *Iuda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impouerished euen to the last end of that State.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* neere the foords of *Euphrates*. 2. *Sam.* 10.

* See c. 18. §. 2.

Dauid hauing now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians* from the partie and confederacie of *Ammon*: He sent out *Ioab* the Lieutenant of his armies to forradge and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possest. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *Dauid* set on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *Dauid* stayed at *Hierusalem*, following the warre of *Vriah* his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie, and readie to be entred: yet *Ioab* in honour of *Dauid* forbare the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arriuall. To the people he vsed extreme rigour (if wee may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters) for some of them he tare with harrowes, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kils, in which he baked tile and bricke.

§. VII.

Of DAVIDS *troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.*

BVt as victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicitie a forgetfulnesse of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commaundements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemie (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) hee beganne to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not only satisfied to take *Vriahs* wife from him, and to vse her by stealth: but hee imbrodered his adultery with *Vriahs* slaughter, giuing order to his trustie seruant

Ioab

Ioab to marshall him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gaue an assault vpon the suburbes of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibilitie of preuailing. And, that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best seruants and Souldiers should perish together with *Vriah*, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse; and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his trodden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witnesse of *Dauids* owne mouth against him, as *Dauid* himselfe did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to haue slaine *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne errour, in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bereauer being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *Dauid*, for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods iustice together with his mercie in the tenour following; *Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house, &c. Because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine* VRIAH *with the sword of the children of Ammon.* Soone after this *Dauid* lost the childe of adulterie which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his owne sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Thamar*, by the aduice of his Cousin german the sonne of *Shimeah Dauids* brother, possest her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despightfull manner. Two yeeres after which foule and incestuous act, *Absalom* caused him to be murthered, at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in reuenge of *Thamars* rauishment alone: but hauing it in his heart to vsurpe the Kingdome; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Amnon*, hee thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing rauished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first, made his owne brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away, and liued vnder the sauegard of *Talmai* King of *Gessur*, neere *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Absalom* by the inuention of *Ioab*, (but chiefly because of the great affection of *Dauid* towards his sonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence: He began instantly to practise against *Dauid* his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment of *Dauids* sinne.

1.*Sam.*11.15.
2.*Sam.*12. *vers.*9 *and* 10.
2.*Sam.*17.
2.*Sam.*14.

The company which *Absalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Hierusalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himselfe King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *Dauid* doubting to be set vpon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of *Hierusalem*, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surprise: but incamped in the fields, & desarts with some 600. of his gards, and few else. The priests he left in *Hierusalem* with the Arke of God, from whom he desired to be aduertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trustie friend, and seruant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and councels of *Absaloms* partie and confederacie, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a reuolted Counsailor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephiboseth* the sonne of *Ionathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire

2.*Sam.*15.
2.*Sam.*15.

of whose hatred *Dauids* prosperitie had smothered, but his aduersitie illightened) holding himselfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at
2.*Sam.*16. *Dauid*, and most despightfully cursed him to his face: but *Dauid* attending no priuate reuenges, forbadde *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the rolle of his reuenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Absalom* being now possest of *Hierusalem*, was aduised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all *Israel* might assure themselues, that hee was irreconciliable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resoluedly adhere to *Absalom* and his cause, without feare of being giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betweene
2.*Sam.*17. them. This saluage and impious (though craftie counsaile) *Achitophel* indeed vrged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Absalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *Dauid*: *I will raise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wiues before thine eyes, and giue them vnto thy neighbour, and hee shall lye with thy wiues in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all Israel, and before the Sunne.* Hee also gaue aduice to *Absalom*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee imployed at the in-
2.*Sam.*17.v.14. stant for the suprizing of *Dauid*, which had willingly beene imbraced by *Absalom*, had not *Hushai Dauids* faithfull seruant giuen counter-aduice, and swayed it: perswading *Absalom*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, to pursue his father, then by such a troope, which *Dauids* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Absalom*, and aduantage of time gained by *Dauid*, was indeed, after God, the losse of the one and deliuerie of
2.*Sam.*17.23. the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forsooke both the partie and the care of *Absalom*, and of his owne life.

Dauid being aduertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Iordan*, possessing himselfe of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Isboseth* himselfe in the warre against *Dauid* after *Sauls* death seated himselfe. To which place there repayred vnto him *Shobi*, the sonne of *Nahash* the *Ammonite*, whom *Dauid* loued, the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanum*, whom *Dauid* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after *Hanums* ouerthrow. In thankfulnesse whereof hee relieued *Dauid* in this his extremitie. There came also to *Dauids* assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Gardian in former times to *Mephiboseth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *Dauid* and all his companie.

In the meane time both the King and *Absalom* prepared to fight; *Absalom* made *Amasa* Commaunder of the armie of *Israel*, the same place which *Ioab* held with *Dauid*; an office next the King himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace aunciently in *Fraunce*. *Dauid*, perswaded by his companie, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces hee had to *Ioab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Absalom*. But *Ioab*, besides that he was very cruell by nature, remembred that *Absalom* had lately disposed of his Gouernement to *Amasa*, and therefore the victo-
15 rie being obtained, and newes brought him that *Absalom* hung by the haire of his
16 head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him,
2.*Sam.*18.14. hee himselfe with his owne seruants dispatcht him. It appeared also by the sequell
2.*Sam.*18. that *Ioab* affected *Adonijah* whom hee afterward acknowledged, *Dauid* yet liuing; and fearing the disposition of *Absalom*, he imbraced the present aduantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *Dauid*, he mourned and sorrowed, not onely as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and seene euery delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward

ward after ſo great a victory, couered themſelues alſo in the Citie, as if they had committed the greateſt offences, and had rather deſerued death than recompence. Whereupon *Ioab* preſenting himſelfe before *Dauid*, perſwaded him to diſſemble his ſorrow for the preſent, and to ſhew himſelfe to the Armie. For firſt he told him that he had diſcountenanced his faithfull ſeruants, who had that day preſerued his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely to not acknowledge ſo great a loue and conſtancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet reſoluedly expoſe themſelues to great perils for his ſake: but on the contrary grieue and lament at their good ſucceſſe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abſalom* at an eaſie rate. Secondly, hee vrged that it was generally beleeued, that he loued his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witneſſed by this his mourning, that he had not any reſpect of his Princes, and others his faithfull ſeruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had all periſhed, and *Abſalom* liued, than in the victorie by their faithfulneſſe and approued valour gotten.

Laſtly, he vſed this preualent argument, that if the King came not out and ſhewed himſelfe publikely to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatning: *And that will bee worſe vnto thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* 2.*Sam.*19. By theſe ouer-bold and arrogant ſpeeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) *Ioab* raiſed *Dauid* from his bed of ſorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citie among the people, whom he aſſured of his loue and affection, eſpecially *Amaſa*, who commanded the Armie of *Abſalom*, to whom he promiſed the office of Lieutenantſhip; the ſame which *Abſalom* had giuen him, and which *Ioab* now enioyed. For *Dauid* doubted, that if *Amaſa* were not ſatisfied, hee might draw from him a great part of the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, now vnder his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards *Iordan* homeward, where in his paſſage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remiſſion was but externall, as appeared afterward. 2.*Sam.*19.23. He alſo accepted of *Mephiboſheth* his excuſe, whom *Ziba* had formerly falſly accuſed and betrayed.

He alſo intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberall Oaſt, to follow him to *Ieruſalem*, that he might reward his ſeruice done him; who excuſing himſelfe by his age, appointed his ſonne *Chimham* to attend the King. 2.*Sam.*19.38.

At *Gilgal* on this ſide *Iordan*, all the Tribes aſſembled, and after ſome contention which of them ought to haue moſt intereſt in *Dauid*, the Armie brake, and *Dauid* returned to *Ieruſalem*. But *Sheba* the ſonne of *Bichri*, a *Beniamite*, of the faction of the houſe of *Saul*, finding ſome diſcontentment among the *Iſraelites*, withdrew them from *Dauid*, as from a ſtranger in whom they had no intereſt, and it ſeemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Iuda*, bare ſtill a good affection to the iſſues of their firſt King. *Dauid* imployed his reconciled Captaine *Amaſa*, to giue him contentment, and to witneſſe his truſt, as alſo becauſe hee conceiued that *Amaſa* had intereſt in thoſe reuolts of *Iſrael* more than *Ioab* had. He receiued commandement from *Dauid* to aſſemble the Armie within three dayes, which he foreſlowed: but being onward on his way, *Abiſhai*, *Ioabs* brother, was ſent after him, with *Dauids* guard and beſt Souldiers, whom alſo *Ioab* accompanied: and ouertaking *Amaſa* neere *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no leſſe iealous of *Amaſa* than hee was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the ſame manner, and out of the ſame impatient ambition. 2.*Sam* 20.10. This done, he purſued *Sheba*, and finding him incloſed in *Abel*, aſſaulted the Citie with that furie, that the Citizens by the perſwaſions of a wiſe woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Ioab* ouer the walls: which done, hee retraited his Armie to *Ieruſalem*, and commanded, as before, all the hoſte of *Iſrael*. 2.*Sam.*20.22.

The next act of *Dauids*, was the deliuerie of *Sauls* ſonnes or kinſmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom thoſe Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their Fathers crueltie. *Dauid* had know-

knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of *Saul* and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yeelded to giue them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from *God* himselfe, as also if wee may iudge humanely, to rid himselfe of *Sauls* line, by whom hee and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; onely he spared *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Ionathan*, both for the loue hee bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to *God*.

2.Sam.21. Now where it is written in the Text; *The King tooke the two sonnes of* RISPAH, *whom she bare vnto* SAVL, *and the fiue sonnes of* MICHOL *the daughter of* SAVL, *whom shee bare to* ADRIEL, *and deliuered them to the Gibeonites*:

Iunius calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *Dauids* wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *Dauid*, when he slue *Goliah* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loued *Dauid*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *Dauid* had any humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to *God*.

Now whereas the *Geneua* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the *Hebrew* word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. Chapter it is said of *Goliah* whose speare was weighty as a weauers beame, when as by the same Eclipsis it must be vnderstood by the brother of *Goliah*: *Goliah* himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of *Sauls* children *God* secured the house of *Dauid*, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forraine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commaunders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of *Israel* is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were sixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue been giuen vpon meere consideration of their vertue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Ioab*, who in the warre against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neerenesse in bloud vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approued seruices. All these Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea, or thirtie times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Sauls* time, and been hardened with his aduersities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their seuerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with *Ioab*, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the especiall men of warre, and reckoned as *Dauids* Worthies. The long reigne of *Dauid*, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be gessed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths wee finde no-where mentioned. For the sonnes of *Zeruia*, who had been too hard for *Dauid*, were worne away, and onely *Ioab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

2.Sam.23: 9.39.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *Dauid*, it is gathered that hee had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout; when the posteritie of *Saul* was rooted out, so that hee

hee enioyed about seuen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remoue all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his Fathers throne. In this time also *Dauid* hauing established all things in *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, hee againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Ioab*, with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine moneths and twenty dayes trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteene hundred thousand, besides *Leui* and *Beniamin*, whereof in *Iuda* and the Cities thereof fiue hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand. 2.*Sam.*24. 1.*Chron.c.*21.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* hee was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seuen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and bee chaced by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: *Dauid* made choice to bow himselfe vnder the hand of God onely, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished seuentie thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that liue, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giueth vs this diuine reason; *For his mercies are great.* 2.*Sam.*14.

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of DAVID; ADONIAHS *faction; the reuenge vpon* IOAB *and* SHIMEI.

LAstly, when hee grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a yong and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when he was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldest sonne (*Amnon* and *Absalom* being now dead) hauing drawne vnto his partie that inuincible, renowmed and feared *Ioab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, beganne manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of *Dauids* sonnes, and a man of a goodly personage, *Salomon* yet yong, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by S. *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) hee presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when *Dauid* had knowledge by *Bersabe* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that *Salomon* her sonne should reigne after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijahs* presumption) the King calling vnto him *Zadoc* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiah* the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to anoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe vsed to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choice men of warre, the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, shewed himselfe to the people. Those tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the hornes of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *Dauid* had remaining two especiall cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all meanes to aduance, and make the businesse publique. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the seuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who repaired vnto *Ierusalem*. 1.*Kings* 1. *Chron.c.*28.*v.*1.

In

In this assembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approued the motion. Herein he tooke occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Iuda* (as *Iacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choice of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne, to conforme themselues vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which *Salomon* was chosen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

1.*Chron.*29.9.

The Kings proposition was so well approoued by the Princes and people, that whereas hee himselfe had giuen three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand of siluer, they added vnto it seuen thousand of gold, and tenne thousand of siluer, besides brasse, iron and iewels, heartily reioycing in the aduancement of so religious a worke. This businesse being well dispatched, a solemne feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, and receiued fealtie of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sonnes of King *Dauid*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *Dauid* finding himselfe euen in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mightie wordes; *Take heede to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes and his commaundements, and his iudgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of* MOSES, *&c.* to the performance of which God fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For this done (sayth God himselfe) *Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit vpon the Throne of Israel.*

1.*Kin.*2.3.

1.*Kin.*1.20.

Secondly, hee aduised him concerning *Ioab*, who out of doubt had serued *Dauid* from the first assault of *Ierusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, sauing that hee fastened himselfe to *Adonijah* (his master yet liuing) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left cruelty vnreuenged, so was it his will that *Ioab* should drinke of the same cuppe, whereof hee had enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himselfe had vniustly strooken others withall, *qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaued *Abner* and *Amasa* of their liues, hauing against the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slaine in the time of warre, and could not auoid him: against the other but a meere iealousie of his growing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Ioab* assured himselfe that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised vp *Benhaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *Dauid* giueth this cause to *Salomon* against *Ioab*, that he slue the Captaines of the hoste of *Israel*, and shed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparant and iust cause, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembred the ill affection of *Ioab* towards *Salomon*, which *Ioab* made manifest by the vntimely setting vp of *Adonijah*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Ioab* had committed against *Dauid*, of which in these words he put his sonne *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also what* IOAB *the sonne of* SERVIAH *did to mee, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Absalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Absalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Dauids* letter vnto him for the killing of *Vriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue themselues exceeding

1.*King.*2.

1.*King.*2.

ding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their seruice done, as also because they flatter themselues with an opinion, that either their masters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrowne many a worthie man otherwise deseruing great honour and respect.

Hee also gaue order to *Salomon*, to ridde himselfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *Dauid*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *Dauid* spared *Shimei* all the time himselfe liued, yet being dust and in the graue, he slue him by the hand of *Salomon* his Sonne. Hence it seemeth that King *Henrie* the seuenth of *England* had his patterne, when he gaue order to *Henrie* the eight to execute *Pool* as soone as himselfe was buried, hauing made promise to the King of *Spaine* when hee deliuered *Pool* vnto him, that while he liued he would neuer put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid vpon him. 1. *King.* 2.

And yet did not the execution of *Ioab* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any such great profite or assurance as hee hoped for. For he found a yong *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Rezin* of *Damascus* to vexe him: who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *Salomon*, hearing that *Dauid* slept with his fathers, and that *Ioab* the Captaine of the host was dead. Now when *Dauid* had reigned in all fortie yeeres, to wit, in *Hebron* seuen yeeres, and in *Ierusalem* three and thirtie, he died. 1. *King.* 11.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces he so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, he was said by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The *Psalmes* which he wrote witnesse his pietie, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Paulinus*: DAVID SIMONIDES *noster*, PINDARVS & ALCÆVS, FLACCVS, *quoque* CATVLLVS, & SERENVS, *Christum lyra personat, & in decachordo Psalterio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem*; DAVID (saith hee) *our* SIMONIDES, PINDARVS, ALCÆVS, HORACE, CATVLLVS *and* SERENVS, *he playeth Christ on his harpe, and on a ten stringed Psalter hee raiseth him vp rising from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, hee foretelleth Christ more lightsomely and liuely than all the rest.

The booke of the *Psalmes*, saith *Glycas*, was diuided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Psalmes* were written by *Dauid*, it is diuersly disputed. For *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceiue diuers Authors, answering the titles of the seuerall *Psalmes*, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named, and that onely 73. *Psalmes* were composed by *Dauid* himselfe, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius Dauid*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the sonne of *Barachia*, eleuen other on the sonnes of *Korah*, and eleuen are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old *Hebrew* Copies, though the vulgar and *Septuagint* (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these *Psalmes* which *Dauid* wrote not. *Sixt: Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrarie to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Dauids* singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Ezraita*, *Idithum*, and the three sonnes of *Chore*. But S. *Chrysostome* makes *Dauid* the sole Authour of all the *Psalmes*, and so doth S. *Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Psalmes* onely to *Dauid*, which are ouer-written *ipsius Dauid*, and the rest intituled *ipsi Dauid*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce Euangelica saluatoris ipsius refutatur, vbi ait quòd ipse* DAVID *in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus* 109. *sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *Dauid* himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the 109. *Psalme* beginnes thus: *The Lord said vnto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a paterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him. *Athan. in Synop. Hier. epist. 134. Lyr. in exp. i. ps.* *Vid. Sixt. Senen. Bib. sanct. l. 1. fol. 10. & 11. Aug. de ci. Dei, l. 13. c. 14.*

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. *ver.* 19. For the seuerall parts of the bookes

bookes of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *Dauid*, were as it seemes written by these three holy men.

C.17.§.6.7. In his annales translated out of Greeke into Latin by Ioannes Leunclaius.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the *Troians* during the time of the siege, sought for succour from *Dauid*, and that he stayed neuter in that warre. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time twixt *Dauid* and the *Troian* warre. For it is generally receiued that *Troy* fell betweene the times of *Abdon* and *Samson* Iudges of *Israel*, about the worlds yeere 2848. and *Dauid* died in the yeere 2991.

§. IX.

Of the treasures of DAVID *and* SALOMON.

Vers.14. HIs treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of siluer, and of brasse and yron passing all weight, which is more then any King of the world possest besides himselfe, and his son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirtie and three cartload and a third of a cartload of siluer, allowing two thousand weight of siluer or sixe thousand pound sterling to euery cartload, besides threescore and seuenteene millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimonie of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him it doth not appeare; seeing that the Iudges had not any treasure, nor any soueraigne power to make leuies: but when they went to the warres, they were followed by such voluntaries as the seuerall tribes by turnes gaue them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a meane Parentage, and perpetually vexed and inuaded by the *Philistims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories beeing exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possest by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amisse to consider how *Dauid* within the space of not very many yeeres, might amasse vp such mighty treasures. For though parsimonie bee it selfe a great reuenue, yet needs there must haue been some other great meanes. It seemes that hee made the vttermost profit of all that hee had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth booke and last Chapter *de præparatione Euangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *Dauid*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a nauie in *Melanis* (or as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a Citie of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Iland *Vrphe*, which *Ortelius* thinkes, was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland is in the red Sea; from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Iury*. *Pineda lib.4. de rebus Salomonis c.1.* thinkes that *Dauid* did this way also inrich himselfe, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainely *Dauid* had many other wayes to gather great riches. Much Land doubtlesse hee gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistims*, besides those fruitfull valleys neere *Iordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other Countries bordering the *Israelites*. These demaines belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which he tooke in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themselues, husbanded those grounds for his greatest aduantage. For it is written, 1. *Chron.* 17. that *Iehonathan* was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the Cities, in the townes; that *Ezri* was ouer the labourers, that tilled his ground; *Simei* ouer the vineyards; and *Sabdi* ouer the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* ouer the olive trees, and *Ioash* ouer the store of the oyle, also that hee had herdmen that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high Lands, and in the plaines, ouer his sheepe, camels, and asses. And this custome of enriching themselues by husbandry and Cattell, the ancient Kings euery where held, both before and

and after *Dauids* time. For wee reade of *Pharao*, that hee spake to *Ioseph* to appoint *Gen.47.*
some of his brethren or of their seruants, to be Rulers ouer his cattell. We reade of *2.Chron.26.*
Vzzia, that he loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise we reade it in all *Greeke* Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Heards and flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not vnlikely, but that those captiues which were not imploied in husbandrie, were many of them vsed by him in all sorts of gainefull professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner vsed their slaues.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yeerely were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Iehu* and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *By the law of capitation or head money*, euery man rich or poore paying halfe a sickle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fourteene pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand fiue hundred and seuentie thousand fighting men *1.Chron.21.*
were numbred by *Ioab*. Now although this Law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to haue beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuertheless they confesse is against the *Hebrew* expositions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occasion is not vnlikely to haue put it in practize. And by these meanes might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that of this great masse of gold and siluer left by *Dauid*, the least part was his owne in priuate, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that he left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that he gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand talents of siluer, a great summe: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needs they must haue been, hauing receiued continuall encrease, without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. The reuennues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintayned the Priest and *Leuites*) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and *Numb.31.27.*
the People which remayned at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countrie receiued benefit of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euery single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued, and one in fiue hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoile of *Midian*, thirtie two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteene thousand of them for slaues, and the Congregation had other sixteene thou- *Numb.31.40.*
sand; but out of the sixteene thousand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two and thirtie for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twentie. By this meanes, the lesser that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had euery Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remayning at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trauaile in domesticall affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and siluer, and other metalls found in *Iericho*, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulnesse of the Rulers and *Ios.6.19.*
People, as when after the victorie obtayned against the *Midianites* without the losse of one man, all Iewells, Braclets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as vol- *Numb.31.50.*
untarie presents.

Now howsoeuer the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and troden downe by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies neuer gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must haue beene exceeding great; as contayning aboue one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtayned against the bordering Nations. For that this treasurie was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; seeing that before the time of *Dauid* and his Lieutenant *Ioab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had vsed to dedicate of the spoyles obtayned in warre, to maintayne the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines in other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of *Dauid* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Iosua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of siluer, may seeme rather to haue beene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

1. *Chron.* c. 26. v. 27. & 28.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them, for he receiued of yeerely reuennues with his tributes sixe hundred sixtie sixe Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also sixe rich Returnes from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage euery three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his raigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Besides this, all *Iudæa* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyra*, of *Iturea*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and other races of the *Cananites*, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

A Talent of gold is 770. french crowns. 1. *King.* 10. 14.

1. *King.* c. 9. v. 20 & c. 10. v. 29.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of *Israel* reduced by *Dauid*, who after fortie yeeres raigne, and seuentie yeeres of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *Dauid*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *Dauids* Tombe a maruailous quantitie of treasures, in so much as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of the *Maccabees*, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred yeeres after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of *Antiochus* then besieging *Ierusalem*, and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and siluer therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discouered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themselues by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleeued, in regard of the great exactions with which he was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall considered that his want of monie grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *Dauid* the Scriptures haue no mention, but onely the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monuments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of *Vlika*) they remayned within these thirtie yeeres, and are like to remaine still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed vpon them.

1. *Chron.* 29. 28.

Ioseph. Antiq. l. 7.

Peregrinat. Hierosol. D. N. Ch. Radz. Epist. 2.

§. II.

§. X.

Of the Philiſtims, whom DAVID *abſolutely maſtered: and of ſundry other contemporaries with* DAVID.

OF the *Philiſtims*, whoſe pride *Dauid* was the firſt that abſolutely maſtered, in this concluſion of *Dauids* time ſomewhat heere may bee ſpoken.

They deſcended of *Caſloim*, who, according to *Iſydor* and *Ioſephus*, was one of the ſonnes of *Miſraim*, and was ſurnamed *Philiſtim*, as *Eſau* was ſurnamed *Edom*, and *Iacob Iſrael*. There were of them fiue Cities of pettie principalities; namely, *Azotus*, or *Aſdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Aſcalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It ſeemeth that *Caſloim* was the firſt founder of this nation, becauſe of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Ægyptians*. *Iſid. l. 9. 19.* *Ioſ. l. 1 ant. 17.* *1. Sam. 6.*

The firſt King of theſe *Philiſtims*, which the Scriptures haue named, was that *Abimelech* which loued *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife. *Gen. 20.*

The ſecond *Abimelech* liued at once with *Iſaac*, to whom *Iſaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then reſiding at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumæa*, which *Abimelech* fancied *Iſaac* his wife: as his father had done *Sara*. *Gen. 26.*

After *Abimelech* the ſecond, the *Philiſtims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *Dauids* time: perhaps the gouernment was turned into *Ariſtocraticall*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philiſtims*, howſoeuer *Achis* be named king of *Gath*, the ſame to whom *Dauid* fled, and who againe gaue him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Sauls* time. *Iud. 16. 1. Sam. 18. 29.* *1. Sam. 21. 11.* *1. King. 2.*

After him wee read of another *Achis* who liued with *Salomon*, to whom *Semei* trauailed to fetch back his fugitiue ſeruant, what time the ſeeking of his ſeruant was the loſſe of his life. *Ieremie* the Prophet ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Paleſtin* or *Philiſtim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Aſcalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The reſt of the warres of the *Philiſtims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Iudges*, of *Saul* and *Dauid*, and therefore I ſhall not neede to collect the particulars in this place.

There liued at once with *Dauid*, the third of the *Siluij* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Siluius*, who is ſaid to haue ruled that part of *Italy* fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the laſt King of the *Athenians* died, to whom ſucceeded the firſt Prince of thoſe, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regall name gouerned *Athens* during their life.

The reaſons which moued the *Athenians* to change their gouernment, were not drawne from any inconuenience found in the rule of Soueraignetie, but in honour of *Codrus* onely. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region betweene *Phocis* and the mountaine of *Oeta*, ſought counſaile from the Oracle, for their ſucceſſe in the warres againſt the *Athenians*, it was anſwered, that then vndoubtedly they ſhould preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie againſt the Nation, and yet preſerue the *Athenian* King liuing. *Codrus* by ſome intelligence being informed of this anſwere, withdrew himſelfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common ſouldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the firſt hee encountred, was himſelfe forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Aſſyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. yeere of *Dauid*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the ſame time began *Ixion* the ſecond King of the *Heraclidæ*, the ſonne of *Euryſthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the ſecond of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his ſucceſſours were called *Agidæ*, for many yeeres after. He reſtored the *Laconians* to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of

Helos in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetuall slauerie; wherof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclaui* came the word *Slaue*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seised vpon the countrie of *Illyria* and made it their owne by Conqueſt, their victorie pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselues by a new name, *Slaues*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer Climate hauing thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden down, and made seruants to their neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaues*, vsing the word as a name of reproch: in which sense it is now currant through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and say, that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

Euseb. in Chron.

In the tenth yeere of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third sonne of *Codrus* assisted by the *Ionies*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adioyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was slaine by the *Carians* whose countrie he vsurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetes*, his armed *Statua* being set ouer him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next prouince to *Ephesus* on the sea coast of *Asia* the lesse) he inlarged his Dominions vpon the *Æoles*, which ioyneth to *Ionia*: and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Basilidæ* in *Strabo* his owne time. Of the expedition of the *Ionies* how they came hither out of *Peloponesus*, I haue * spoken alreadie vpon occasion of the returne of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponesus*, wherein with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Ionies* succeeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. yeeres.

The East-gate of *Ephesus* toward *Magnesia* vpon the riuer *Mœander*.

Arist. l. 5. pol. c. 6.

* See *Ch.* in this 17. *Ch.* 9. 1. *post. medium.*

The Citie of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in bredth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen, and all the rest of choice marble polisht, the worke being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnossos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that receiued the Christian faith, of which *Timothie* was Bishop; to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epistles so intituled. The other Citie possest by *Androclus* in *Æolis* was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythræa*: who liued seuen hundred and fourtie yeeres before Christ borne. Saint *Augustine* auoweth that a *Romane Proconsul* shewed him in an ancient Greeke coppie certaine verses of this Propheteſse: which began (as Saint *Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these wordes: *Iesus Christus Dei filius saluator. Iesus Christ sonne of God the Sauiour.*

Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.

About the time that *Ioab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* beganne to gouerne in *Egypt*, the same that was father in Law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the Citie of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the lesse founded, the same which is seated vpon the riuer *Mœander*, where *Scipio* gaue the great ouerthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best Horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

Seru. in AEneid. 3. Strabo. l. 5.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Seruius*, with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, saying, that to the one of these people the gouernment was giuen, with condition that the other should giue name to the Citie. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous scholler of *Isocrates*.

Euse-

Euſebius and *Caſſiodor* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *Dauid*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinus* the ſonne of *Badezor* brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Iſrael*; and betweene the death of *Dauid*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 95. yeeres.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* liued, the ſecond of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteene in deſcent before the State changed into a *Magiſtracie* of tenne yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the *Æolians* led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, poſſeſt the Citie and Iſland of *Lesbos* about this time. In the 32. yeere of *Dauid*, *Hiram* began to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Ioſephus*, who ſaith, that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Ioſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point hee doth ſo ſtrangely, as if hee knew not how at all to caſt any accompt. For it is manifeſt that *Hiram* ſent meſſengers, and Cedars to *Dauid*, ſoone after his taking of *Ieruſalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Dauids* reigne ouer *Iſrael*, when as yet hee had reigned onely ſeuen yeeres in *Hebron*, ouer the houſe of *Iuda*. Wherefore it muſt needs be that *Hiram* had reigned aboue 30. yeeres before *Salomon*; vnleſſe more credit ſhould be giuen to thoſe *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Ioſephus*, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the ſame *Hiram* which liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainely manifeſt.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. l. 14.

Antiq. 8. & cont. Ap. l. 1.

Sam. 5.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SALOMON.

§ I.

Of the eſtabliſhing of SALOMON: *of birthright, and of the cauſe of* ADONIAHS *death, and of* SALOMONS *wiſedome.*

SALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne ouer *Iuda* and *Iſrael*, in the yeere of the world 2991. Hee was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was alſo called *Iediddia*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, diſpatched Embaſſadours toward him, congratulating his eſtabliſhment: a cuſtome betweene Princes very ancient. Whence we reade that *Dauid* did in like ſort ſalute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdome. *2. Sam. 10.*

The beginning of *Salomon* was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For ſoone after *Dauids* death, hee cauſed his brother *Adonijah* to bee ſlaine by *Benaiah* the ſonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Berſheba*, that the young maid *Abiſhag* (which lay in *Dauids* boſome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. Whatſoeuer he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and ſought the kingdome contrary to the will of *Dauid*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is ſaid that a word is

enough to the wise, and he that sees but the claw, may know whether it bee a lyon or no: so it may seeme that to the quick-sighted wisdome of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had beene concubines to a King, might not after bee touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wished *Absalon* to take his Fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *Dauid* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not giue them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntill their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isbosheths* quarrell against *Abner*, for hauing his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *Dauid*; *I haue giuen thee thy masters house, and thy masters wiues*. And in the words of *Saul*, vpbraiding *Ionathan*, that he had chosen *Dauid* to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *Dauid* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conueying of the Kingdome to *Salomon*. There might be diuers farther occasions, as either that hee would learne such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauids* last Testament, or any thing else that might preiudice the title of *Salomon*.

2.*Sam*.16.21.
2.*Sam*.20.3.
1.*Sam*.20.30.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customes of the *Iewes*: yet the Kings of the *Iewes* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely, of *Iacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *Dauid*, it appeares by the words of *Bersabe* and *Nathan* to *Dauid*, and of *Ionathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusall of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appeares in the stories of the *Iewes*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilgal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before no man can doubt. In like manner elswhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to bee expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselues a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

1.*King*.1.15.
Deut.21.15. *Filium exosæ agnoscito, dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipsius est ius primogenitorum*.1.*Reg*. 1.*v*.17.& 20. & *v*.29. & 34. 1.*King*.1.1.*v*.20 & 27.
1.*Sam*.11.14.
Deut.28.30.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himselfe also of *Ioab*, and three yeeres after of *Shimei*, as *Dauid* had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *Dauid* in all his afflictions, and because hee had borne the *Arke of God* before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt* to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. Hee offered a thousand Sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; SALOMON *chooseth wisdome, which pleased God. And God said vnto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I haue done according to thy words*: by which wee may informe our selues what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life, in respect of our selues, cannot but proceede of selfe-loue, which is the roote of all impietie: the desire of priuate riches is an affection of couetousnesse which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, & to distrust his Iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *Dauid*, or

1.*King*.2.

from

from the Law of God. But becauſe *Salomon* deſired wiſedome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleaſed God to giue him withall that which he deſired not. *And I haue alſo giuen thee* (ſaith God) *that which thou haſt not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of wiſedome our *Commentators* ſtretch to almoſt all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and liuing creatures the Scripture teſtifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* wiſedome, was in the knowledge of gouerning his kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wiſedome, the Scripture telleth how ſoone he iudged the controuerſie betweene the two harlots. 1. *King.* 4. 33. 1. *King.* 3. 9.

§. II.

Of SALOMONS *buildings and glorie.*

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom hee had much of his materials, for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had receiued a double charge, one from his father *Dauid*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *Dauid*, that *He called* SALOMON *his ſonne, and charged him to build a houſe for the Lord God of Iſrael*: ſo doth *Toſtatus* giue the force of a diuine precept to theſe words, *Behold; a ſonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee ſhall build an houſe for my name.* 1. *Chron.* 22. 6. *Toſt.* 9. 26. *in* 1. *Chron.*

Hee began the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the fourth yeere of his reigne, at which time alſo hee prepared his fleete at *Eſiongaber* to trade for gold in the Eaſt *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to ſupplie the charge of ſo great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleetes were paſſing to and fro it is manifeſt. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almaggim* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this moſt glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by God himſelfe) many learned men haue written, as *Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda*, and others, to whom I referre the Reader. 1. *King.* 6. 1. *Chron.* 28. 19.

For the cutting and ſquaring of the Cedars which ſerued that building, *Salomon* employed thirtie thouſand Carpenters, tenne thouſand euery moneth by courſe: he alſo vſed eightie thouſand Maſons in the mountaine, and ſeuentie thouſand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceiued, he ſelected out of the *Proſelites*, beſides three thouſand three hundred maſters of his worke, ſo as he paid and imployed in all one hundred eightie three thouſand and three hundred men, in which number the *Zidonians* which were more skilfull in hewing timber than the *Iſraelites*, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* cauſed his ſeruants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the ſea, and thence ſent them in raffes to *Ioppe*, or the next port to *Hieruſalem*. For in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ſecond Chapter, it is plaine that all but the thirtie thouſand Carpenters, and the ouerſeers, were ſtrangers, and as it ſeemeth the vaſſals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and ſtone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thouſand meaſures of wheate, and twentie meaſures of pure oyle yeerely. *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation the laſt Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the ſame as *Huram* or *Hiram*) King of *Tyre* in theſe words: 1. *King.* 5. 1. *King.* 5. 9. 1. *King.* 5. 11.

REX SALOMON SVRONI, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phanicia regi. Amico paterno ſalutem. Scias me à Deo magno* DAVID *patris mei regnum accepiſſe, cumq; mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad te ſcriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te vt artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

King

KIng SALOMON *to King* SVRON, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting; You may vnderstand that I haue receiued of the great God of my father* DAVID, *the Kingdome: and when my father commaunded mee to build a Temple to God which created heauen and earth, hee commaunded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would bee pleased to send mee Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron* made this answere.

SVRON, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ rex,* SALOMONI *regi salutem. Lectis literis gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrosq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur vt necessarijs non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.*

SVRON *of Tyre, Sidon and Phœnicia King, to King* SALOMON *greeting: when I read your letters, I gaue God thankes, who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that carpenters and workemen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I haue sent vnto you foure score thousand men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Iewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be prouided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to vs.*

Ioſ. Ant. l. 8. c. 2.

The Copies of these letters were extant in *Iosephus* time as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals.* But he deliuereth them somewhat in different tearmes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Iosephus* set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

1. King. 5. from the 1. v. to the 9.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is said to haue written to *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some *Commentors* vpon *Salomon* finde that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt*, gaue *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*, I doe not finde any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in *Iosephus* in the eight booke and second chapter of the *Iewes* antiquities: it being a vaine title vsed by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings, and vsed likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, insomuch as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Ierusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had beene the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Iosuahs* time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistims*: he built *Bethoron*, *Gerar* and the *Millo* or munition of *Hierusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in fauour of *Salomon*) came vp into the edge of *Ephraim*, and tooke *Gerar*, which the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie he gaue *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of those neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Ægyptians* to visite those partes againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne *Rehoboams* time *Sheshack* this mans successor did sacke *Ierusalem* it selfe.

Ioſ. ant. l. 8. c. 2.

Salomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Iordan*; and *Balah* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamoron* in the desart of *Iuda* (or as *Iosephus*

phus thinkes *Palmyra* in the desart of *Syria*, which *Palmyra* because it stood on the vtmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeast of *Libanus*, and was of *Dauids* conquest when he wan *Damascus*; it may seeme that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best arte that that age had. *Iosephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name (saith hee) giuen by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of *Hebrew* places calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twentie talents of gold receiued from *Hirams* seruants, *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twentie towns in or neere the vpper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an vnfruitfull and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and thereof was the territorie called *Chabul*.

Ioseph. l. 8. ant. c. 2.

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis gentilis erat, Not that it was possest by Gentiles* (saith *Nauclerus*) *but because it was vnder the rule of a King that was a Gentile*. Howsoeuer it were, it is true that *Salomon* in his 21. yeere fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a iourney into *Syria Zobah*, and established his tributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition he were driuen to fight) that hee made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and so to the Desarts of *Idumæa*, from whence hee visited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth*, the vttermost place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I haue described in the Storie of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of SALOMONS *sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about* SALOMONS *riches, and of* PINEDAES *conceipt of two strange passages about Africke.*

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of *Arabia*, which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *Dauid*, did the Fleet passe on to the East *India*, which was not farre off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the Islands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesse the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the aboundance which they gather in *Peru*, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at *Manilia*, and recouer a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they doe in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spaine*.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to foure hundred and twentie talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eight, it is written foure hundred and fiftie talents: whereof thirtie talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men, and foure hundred and twentie talents, which makes fiue and twentie hundred and twentie thousand Crownes came cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. *Reg.* 10. 14. which speaketh of sixe hundred sixtie and six talents of gold, that summe, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yeerely, and which came to him besides these profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as diuers haue thought) but a countrey in the East *Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedie returne to *Ierusalem* from the East *Indies* then in three yeeres; and that *Tharsis* in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath beene alreadie declared in the first booke.

c. 8. § 9. 10. 15. Lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis c. 6. & 15.

Onely

Onely it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Bætica*, would faine haue *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the South west corner of that Prouince, to be the *Tharsis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for loue of his owne countrie, and because of some affinitie of sound betweene *Tharsis* and *Tartessus*: For whereas it may seeme strange that it should be three yeere ere they, that tooke ship in the red sea, should returne from the East *Indies* to *Ierusalem*, this hath been in part answered alreadie. And further the intelligent may conceiue of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages betweene *Ierusalem* and the red sea, and perhaps also elswhere: so that wee haue no neede to make *Salomons* men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Affrick*, that so they might be long a comming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them, could not haue beene ignorant of) was along the *Mediterran sea*, and so (besides many wonderfull inconueniences and terrible nauigation in rounding *Africa*) they should haue escaped the troublesome land-carriage betweene *Ierusalem* and the red sea through drie, desart, and thoeuish Countries: and within 30. mile of *Ierusalem* at *Ioppe*, or some other hauen in *Salomons* owne Countrie, haue laden and vnladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis* in largenesse greater than all *Affrick* and *Asia* being swallowed vp in the *Atlantik Ocean* hindred *Salomons* ships from passing through the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alleadgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamitie happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straights of *Gades* were filled with mud and made vnpassable, that there could be no comming to *Gades* by the *Mediterran sea*: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scowreth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to haue stoode: or that *Salomons* ships being in the red sea, should neglect the golden mines of the East *Indies* (which were infinitly better and neerer to the red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seeke gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Affrica*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himselfe that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East *Indies*, and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the small territorie which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

De rebus Sal. l. 4. c. 12. 11. As it appeares he tooke ship at *Iapho* or *Ioppe. c. 1. v. 3.*

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elswhere he dreames of: supposing whereas *Ionas* sailing to *Tharsis* the Citie of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the *Mediterran sea*, and taken vp there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes swimming aboue twelue thousand English miles, along the *Mediterran seas*, and so through the streights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast vp *Ionas* vpon the shore of the red sea, that so hee might haue perhaps some sixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Niniuie*. This conceipt hee grounds onely vpon the ambiguitie of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red sea (as if wee should call it *mare algosum, the sea full of weeds*) for the red sea. But in *Ionas* 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would haue it, who in this place against his owne rule (which elsewhere he giueth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any neede. For this long voyage of the Whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preseruation of *Ionas* in the bellie of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessitie of this miracle, we send it backe vnto him, keeping his owne rule which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda.* And againe, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio noua fingenda, Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessitie, nor deliuered without cause, nor fained at pleasure.* Therefore to leaue this man in his dreames, which (were he not otherwise very learned and iudicious) might

Ing. F.

bee

bee thought vnworthie the mentioning. But to proceede with our Storie of *Salomon*.

The Queene of *Sabaes* comming from farre to *Salomon*, (as it ſeemes from *Arabia fœlix*, and not as ſome thinke from *Æthiopia*) and her rich preſents, and *Salomons* reciprocall magnificence, and his reſoluing of her difficult queſtions, thoſe are ſet downe at large in the text. But herein *Ioſephus* is greatly miſtaken, who calls this Queene of *Saba Nicaules*, the ſucceſſour (ſaith hee out of *Herodotus*) of thoſe thirtie and eight *Ægyptian* Kings which ſucceeded *Mineus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Ægyptian*, and the father in Law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Ægypt*. For as it is elſewhere proued that the Queene was of *Arabia*, not of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*; ſo were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in Law of *Salomon*. Yea, aboue three hundred yeeres after *Salomon*, *Pharao Necho* ſlew *Ioſias* King of *Iuda*. *Ioſ. ant. 8. 1. 2.* *2. King. c. 23. & 2. Chron. c. 25. Iere. c. 46. v. 2.*

It is alſo written of *Salomon*, that hee kept in garriſons fourteene thouſand Chariots, and twelue thouſand horſemen, that he ſpent in Court euery day thirtie meaſures of fine flower, threeſcore meaſures of wheat, one hundred ſheepe, beſides ſtags and fallow deare, bugles and fowle; foure thouſand ſtals of horſes he had for his chariots and other vſes, and for the twelue thouſand horſemen of his guard. For, the ten thouſand ſtals in the firſt of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for ſo many horſes, whence in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thouſand ſtals or teemes, and in euery teeme ten horſes, as *Iunius* and the *Geneua* vnderſtand it. He was ſaid to be wiſer than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Iunius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrak*. For the *Geneua* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Ioſephus* writes them *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the ſonnes of *Hemon*. Hee ſpake three thouſand Prouerbes, and his ſongs were one thouſand and fiue, whereof either the moſt part periſhed in the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, or elſe becauſe many actes of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publique Records of Ciuill cauſes and not Eccleſiaſticall, therefore they were not thought neceſſarie to bee inſerted into Gods booke. *1. King. 4. 31.*

§. IIII.

Of the fall of SALOMON, *and how long he liued.*

NOw as hee had plentie of all other things, ſo had he no ſcarcitie of women. For beſides his ſeuen hundred Wiues, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commaunded that none of his people ſhould accompanie the daughters of Idolators) hee tooke Wiues out of *Ægypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when hee fell a doting, his Wiues turned his heart after other Gods, as *Aſteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemoſh* of *Moab*.

Theſe things God puniſhed by *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and by *Ieroboam* his owne ſeruant, and one of the maſters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his ſonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie hee had. *Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis vtitur, quæ ipſe non fecit.* God in puniſhing ſinners, vſeth the ſinnes of others, which hee himſelfe wrought not. *P. Mart. in reg.*

In the reigne of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence and that great *Indian* voyage alreadie mentioned. Fourtie yeeres hee reigned: how many he liued, it is not written, and muſt therefore bee found onely by coniecture. The moſt likelie way to gueſſe at the truth in this caſe, is by conſidering the actions

of

of *Dauid* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby wee may best make estimation of the yeeres which they consumed, and consequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his natiuitie. Seuen yeeres *Dauid* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth yeere hee tooke *Ierusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke seemes to haue beene in the tenth yeere
1. *Kings.7.v.1.* of *Dauid*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leysure, liuing in rest. After this he had warres with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which must needs haue held him fiue yeeres, considered that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in euery of these warres he had the entire
2. *Sam.8.11.v.1.* victorie. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering campes in vse, but at conuenient seasons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies countrie, partly vpon the priuate prouision which euery souldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of *Dauid*, in which he tooke *Mephiboseth* the sonne of
1. *Sam.c.17.v.* 17. & 18. *Ionathan* into his Court, appeareth to haue passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begun the warre with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Ioab* after the victorie, returned immediatly to *Ierusalem*) the causes and preparations for that warre haue taken vp all the Summer. *Dauids* personall expedition against the *Aramites* wherein hee brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to haue beene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab* and *Idumæa* being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue beene the 20. yeere of *Dauids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Ioab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Vriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauids* reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie iudgement laid vpon him by God for his foule and bloudie offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the yeere after the death of that childe which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who must needs therefore haue beene nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when hee began to reigne at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *Dauid*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere *Absalom* slew his brother *Ammon*; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue beene one yeeres worke. So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* and the rest, may well seeme to haue beene in the 30. yeere of *Dauids* reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the *Philistims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the tenne remaining yeeres of *Dauid* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last infirmitie, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the *Philistims*, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* neere vnto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This warre the *Philistims* vndertooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauids* old age, for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwardes hin-

dered

dered by his men from expoſing himſelfe vnto danger any more. So *Dauid* had ſixe or ſeuen yeeres of reſt, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the ſtirring ſpirit of *Adoniiah* found little ſuccour in the broken partie of *Ioab* the ſonne of *Zeruia*.

At this time it might both truly be ſaid by *Dauid* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wiſe man*, and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a yong child*; for nineteene yeeres of age might well agree with either of theſe two ſpeeches. 1. *Kings.* 2. *v.* 9. & 3. *v.* 7.

Neuertheleſſe there are ſome that gather out of *Salomons* profeſſing himſelfe a child, that he was but eleuen yeeres old when he beganne to raigne. Of theſe *Rabbi Salomon* ſeemes the firſt Authour, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themſelues perhaps vpon that which is ſaide of *Abſolons* rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they vnderſtand as yeeres of *Dauids* raigne. But whereas *Rehoboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeeres old when hee beganne to raigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himſelfe but a child of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who raigned fortie yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his raigne began. To auoide this inconuenience, *Ioſephus* allowes 80. yeeres of raigne to *Salomon*; a report ſo diſagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion conſtrued the wordes of *Ioſephus*, as if they included all the yeeres of *Salomons* life. But by ſuch reckoning hee ſhould haue beene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and conſequently ſhould haue beene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ieruſalem*; which is a manifeſt vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeares remembred in *Abſolons* rebellion, may either ſeeme to haue reference to the ſpace betweene *Dauids* firſt anointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickedneſſe, or perhaps be read (according to *Ioſephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Latine* tranſlation) foure yeeres; which paſſed betweene the returne of *Abſolon* to *Ieruſalem*, and his breaking out. 2. *Sam.* 15. 7.

§. V.

Of SALOMONS *writings.*

THere remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Prouerbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the firſt he teacheth good life and correcteth manners, in the ſecond, the vanitie of humane nature, in the third hee ſingeth as it were the *Epithalamion* of Chriſt and his Church. For the Booke intituled The wiſedome of *Salomon*, (which ſome giue vnto *Salomon*, and ſome make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the beſt learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri ſapientiæ* (ſaith HIEROME) *qui* SALOMONIS *inſcribitur, Græcum redolet eloquentium*; *The ſtile of the booke of wiſedome, which is aſcribed to* SALOMON, *ſauoureth of the Gracian eloquence*; and of the ſame opinion was S. *Auguſtine*, and yet hee confeſſeth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct fore-telling of the Paſſion of Chriſt in theſe wordes: *Circumueniamus iuſtum quoniam inſuauis eſt nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous, for he is vnpleaſing to vs, he is contrarie to our doings, he checketh vs for offending againſt the Law, he makes his boaſt to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himſelfe the Sonne of the Lord, &c.* and ſo doth the courſe of all the following wordes point directly at Chriſt. The Bookes of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Prouerbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moſes Kimchi* aſcribeth to *Iſay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diſeaſes, and graued the ſame on the ſides of the Porch of the Temple, which they ſay *Ezechias* pulled downe, becauſe the people neglecting helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoueries.

Hier. ad Cromatium. *Sap.* 2. *S. Sen. fol.* 62. *Reinecc. in Iul. Hiſt.*

Of *Salomons* bookes of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though as I conceiue, rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truely.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring dispossest diuers persons of euill spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailty hath neuer been read of as this King: who hauing receiued wisedome from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his onely seruice, hee built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Iudea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner: SALOMON *raigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that hee might build a house to his name, and prepare the Sanctuarie for euer; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a flood! Thy minde couered the whole earth, and hath filled it with graue and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloued, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loynes to Women, and wast ouer-come by thy body, thou didst staine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly.* cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of SALOMON.

HEere the beginning of *Salomons* raigne, *Agelaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and soone after *Syluius Alba* the fourth of the *Syluij*, swayed those Kingdomes: *Laosthenes* then gouerning *Assyria*: *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus* ruling the *Athenians*.

In the sixe and twentieth of *Salomons* raigne *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and raigned seuenteene yeeres, after *Mercators* account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeeres. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Autolicus* findes *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there bee not some Kings omitted beweene the death of *Hiram*, and the raigne of *Bozorius*.

Ant. lib. 3.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* or *Shisak* (as our *English Geneua* termes him) beganne to gouerne in *Ægypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Iosephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susesinus*; *Eusebius* in the columne of the *Ægyptian* Kings *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrewes Susac*. *Iosephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reproueth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that hee ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sesostris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*, for the great things hee did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostris* I haue spoken already in the storie of the *Ægyptian* Princes: only in this hee was reproued, that hee caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when hee was disposed to bee seene, and to ride in trumph: one of which foure, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which *Sesostris* perceiuing, asked him what hee found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captiue King answered, that in those hee beheld the instabilitie of all worldly things; for that both the

loweſt part of the wheele was ſuddainly carried about, and became the higheſt, and the vpmoſt part was as ſuddainly turned downe-ward and vnder all: which when *Seſoſtris* had iudiciouſly weighed, he diſmiſſed thoſe Princes, and all other from the like ſeruitude in the future. Of this *Seſoſtris*, and that he could not be taken for *Seſac*, I haue ſpoken at large in that part of the *Ægyptian* Kings preceding. *Hiſt. Miſcel. l. 17*

CHAP. XIX.

Of SALOMONS *Succeſſors vntill the end of* IEHOSAPHAT.

§. I.

Of REHOBOAM *his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and* IEROBOAMS *Idolatrie.*

REHOBOAM the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammoniteſſe*, now fortie yeeres olde, ſucceeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Iſrael* were aſſembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in *Ægypt*, ſince hee fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arriuall the people preſented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to bee eaſed of thoſe great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, ſi amari mallet quàm metui*; *So ſhould his Empire* (ſaith IOSEPHVS) *be more aſſured, if hee deſired rather to bee beloued than feared*: whereof hee tooke three dayes to deliberate before his anſwere, of whom therefore it could not be ſaid as of *Dauid*, that he was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelfe hee knew not how to reſolue, ſo had hee not the iudgement to diſcerne of counſells, which is the very teſt of wiſedome in Princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe graue and aduiſed men, that ſerued his Father, who perſwaded him by all meanes to ſatisfie the multitude: he was tranſported by his familiars and fauourites, not only to continue on the backs of his ſubiects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſſe exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in ſharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heauier, and more vnſupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the ſucceſſe, thoſe yonger aduiſors greatly miſtooke the nature of ſeueritie, which without the temper of clemencie is no other than crueltie it ſelfe: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to be vſed for the helpe, and not for the harme of ſubiects. For, what is the ſtrength of a King left by his people? and what cordes or fetters haue euer laſted long, but thoſe which haue beene twiſted and forged by loue only? His witleſſe paraſites could well iudge of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and inabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwere of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* deſignes. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future aduancement, theſe the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no ſooner arriued, than elected King of *Iſrael*: the people crying out, What portion haue wee in *Dauid*? we haue no in-

Ant. l. 8. c. 3.

inheritance in the Sonne of *Ishai*. Now though themselues, euen all the Tribes of
2.Sam.c.5.1. *Israel*, had consented to *Dauids* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebells, they forgat both the bonds of nature, and their dutie to God, and, as all alienated resolued hearts doe, they serued themselues for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subiects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from
1.King.12.21. *Sichem* with all speede, and recouered *Ierusalem*, where preparing to inuade *Israel*, with an hundred and foure-score thousand chosen men, *Shemai* in the person of God commanding to the contrarie, all was stayed for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Iordan*; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood also promised the *Ægyptians* to follow their Idolatrie: hee set vp two Calues of gold for the Children of *Israel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods, which deliuered them out of *Ægypt*: and refusing the seruice of the *Leuites*, hee made Priests fit for such Gods. It must needes be that by banishing the *Leuites* which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all *Israel*, *Ieroboam* greatly inriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were giuen them by *Moses* and *Iosua*, for as it is written, *The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatrie that neuer could be rooted out, vntill *Israel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecie and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first beganne; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make
1.King.13.v.4. them yeeld. *Ieroboam* could not bee moued now by the authoritie of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claue a-sunder, according to the signe, which the man of God had giuen by the commandement of
V.5. *V.6.* God, who againe recouered and cured him of that defect; yet hee continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for hee held it the safest course in policie to proceede as he had begunne. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages, obseruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodiè* (saith hee) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, præsentesq; vtilitates sibi tanquàm vltimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promouenda, conseruanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si iustitiæ honestatisq; leges subuertendæ, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denique omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fas nefasq; relinquendum censent, cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil adipsos, modò id, quod è re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareue possit Deus; So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselues, as their vtmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit; are wont to alleage the case of state forsooth, as the principall point to bee regarded: for the good of the state, for aduancing, preseruing, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honestie, if religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will trie all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del stato*, did serue as well to vp-hold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground

Amazia

Amazia the Prieſt of *Bethel*, counſailed the Prophet *Amos*, not to prophecie at *Bethel*; *For* (ſaid he) *it is the Kings Court*. Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had maſſacred the Prieſts of *Baal*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wiſe depart from that politique ſinne of *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Nebat*, which made *Iſrael* to ſinne. It was reaſon of ſtate that perſwaded the laſt famous *French King Henrie* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Proteſtants whom hee forſooke, obeyed him, but ſome of the Papiſts whom hee followed, murdered him. So ſtrongly doth the painted vizzor of wiſe proceeding delude euen thoſe that know the foule face of impietie lurking vnder it, and behold the wretched endes that haue euer followed it; where-
10 of *Iehu* and all the Kings of *Iſrael* had, and were themſelues very great examples.

Amos. 7.13.
2. *Kings* 10.16.
2. *Kings* 10.20.

§. II.

Of REHOBOAM *his impietie; for which hee was puniſhed by* SESAC: *of his end and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Ieroboam* was occupied in ſetting vp his new Religion, *Reboboam* on the other ſide, hauing now little hope to recouer the Prouinces loſt, ſtrengthened the principall places remaining with all endeuour: for hee fortified and victualled fifteene Cities of *Iudah* and *Beniamin*: 2. *Chron.* 11.
20 not that hee feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the *Ægyptians*, to whom *Ieroboam* had not onely faſtned himſelfe, but withall inuited them to inuade *Iudæa*: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, which might now eaſily bee had, ſeeing ten of the twelue Tribes were reuolted, and become enemies to the *Iudæans*. So as by thoſe two wayes (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraine force, *Ieroboam* hoped to ſettle himſelfe in the ſeate of *Iſrael*, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatrie in a few yeeres after rooted out, with all his. *Reboboam* alſo, hauing as hee thought, by fortifying diuers places, aſſured his eſtate, forſooke the Law of the liuing God, 1. *Kings* 14.13.
30 and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on euerie high Hill, and vnder euerie greene Tree.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his raigne, *Seſac* or *Shiſhac* before ſpoken of, being now King of *Ægypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar, and his inſtruments, entred *Iudæa* with twelue thouſand Chariots, and 2. *Chron.* 12.3.
three ſcore thouſand Horſe, beſides foote-men, which *Ioſephus* numbers at foure *Ioſ. Ant.* 8. *c.* 4.
hundred thouſand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations; *Ægyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cuſites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans*, the next bordering Region to *Ægypt*, on the Weſt ſide. The *Cuſites* were of *Petræa*, and of the *Deſart Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zerah* againſt *Aſa* King of *Iuda*. The *Succæans* ac- 2. *Chron.* 12.
cording to *Iunius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth Tents: hee doth ſup- 2. *Kings* 14.
40 poſe that they were the *Troglodítæ*, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomie*, and other *Annot. in* 12. *Chron.*
Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not farre from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 29.
degrees from the line Northward, about ſixe hundred *Engliſh* mile from the beſt and *Ptol. Aſiæ tab.* 3.
Maritimate part of *Ægypt*: and therefore I doe not thinke that the *Succims*, or *Succei* were thoſe *Troglodítæ*, but rather thoſe *Arabians* which *Ptolomie* calles *Arabes Ægyptij*, or, *Ichthyophagi*, which poſſeſſe that part of *Ægypt* betweene the mountaines called *Alabaſtrini*, and the red Sea farre neerer *Ægypt*, and readier to be leuied then *Cap.* 47. *v.* 13.
thoſe remoued *Sauages* of the *Troglodytæ*.

With this great and powerfull Armie, *Seſac* inuaded *Iudæa*, and (beſides many other ſtrong Cities) wanne *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe; of which, and of the Temple, and
50 Kings houſe, he tooke the ſpoile, carrying away (beſides other treaſures) the golden ſhields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of thoſe which *Dauid* recouered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* warre: theſe *Reboboam* ſupplied with Targets of braſſe, which were fit enough to guard a King of his qualitie: whom *Syracides* calleth, The fooliſhneſſe of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of *Ægypt* claimed the soueraigntie of *Iudæa*, and held the *Iewes* as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may bee gathered out of the wordes of God, where promising the deliuerance of *Iuda* after their humiliation, hee doth notwithstanding leaue them vnder the yoke of *Ægypt*, in these wordes: *Neuertheless, they* (to wit, the *Indæans*) *shall be his seruants, that is, the seruants of* SESAC.

After this ouerthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* raigned twelue yeeres, and his losses receiued by *Sesac* notwithstanding, hee continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned *Israel* foure yeeres.

Rehoboam liued 58. yeeres, and raigned 17. his storie was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan* & the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Gouernours for life after *Codrus*, gouerned in *Athens*. *Abdastrartus*, or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doristhus* the fift of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Ouer the *Latines* reigned *Syluius Alba*, and *Syluius Atys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Syluij*.

Euseb. chron.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastrartus* King of *Tyre* was murthered by his Nurses sons, or foster brethren, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdom twelue yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, beganne to gouerne *Assyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Astartus*, the sonne of *Baleastartus* recouered the Kingdome of *Tyre* from the *Vsurpers*.

§. III.

Of the great battaile betweene IEROBOAM *and* ABIA, *with a Corolarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.*

ABIAH the Sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. Hee raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which hee inuaded *Ieroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thousand, both Armies ioyned neere to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side fiue hundred thousand, the greatest ouerthrow that euer was giuen or receiued of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recouered *Bethel*, *Ieshanah*, and *Ephron*, soone after which discomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with *Hesion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may bee gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he reigned but three yeeres, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Propher, as some part of his Fathers were.

2. Chron. 16. 23.

Heere wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of *Salomon* in his Sonne *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and a Traitor: and then by the successor of that *Ægyptian*, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when hee forsooke him, it was torne asunder by his meanest Vassals; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Ægyptian Sesac*. For the sonne *Abijah* was able to leuie foure hundred thousand men, and with the same number he ouerthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them fiue hundred thousand, God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when, and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were expresst, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God, who liueth and gouerneth all things for euer, doeth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in

in the preſent: for which reaſon, in theſe and other the afflictions of *Iſrael*, alwayes the cauſes are ſet downe, that they might bee as precedents to ſucceeding ages. They were puniſhed with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres, *For Saul and his bloudie houſe, &c.* And *Dauid* towards his latter end ſuffred all ſorts of afflictions, and ſorrowes in effect, for *Vriah*. *Salomon* had tenne tribes of twelue torne from his ſonne for his idolatrie. *Reboboam* was ſpoyled of his riches and honour by *Seſac* of *Ægypt*, becauſe the people of *Iuda* made images, high places, and groues, &c. And becauſe they ſuffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Ieroboam* was puniſhed in himſelfe & his poſteritie, for the golden *Calues* that he erected. *Ioram* had all his ſonnes ſlaine by the *Philiſtims*, and his very bowels torne out of his bodie by an excoriating flix, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Iezebel* were ſlaine, the bloud of the one, the bodie of the other eaten with dogs: for the falſe accuſing and killing of *Naboth*. So alſo hath God puniſhed the ſame and the like ſinnes in all after-times, and in theſe our dayes by the ſame famine, plagues, warre, loſſe, vexation, death, ſickneſſe, and calamities, howſoeuer the wiſe men of the world raiſe theſe effects no higher than to ſecond cauſes, and ſuch other accidents; which, as being next their eyes and eares, ſeeme to them to worke euery alteration that happeneth.

2. *Sam.* 27. 1.

§. IIII.

Of ASA *and his Contemporaries.*

TO *Abijah* ſucceeded *Aſa*, who enioyed peace for his firſt ten yeeres, in which time hee eſtabliſhed the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to ſtrange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. Hee alſo ſpared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatreſſe, but depoſing her from her regencie, brake her Idoll, ſtampt it, and burnt it. Hee alſo fortified many Cities, and other places, prouiding (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war in the leaſure of peace. For not long after hee was inuaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Iudæa*, and with ſuch a multitude entred the territorie of *Aſa*, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer aſſembled of that Nation, either before or ſince. For it is written, that there came againſt the *Iudeans Zerah* of *Aethiopia*, with an hoſte of tenne hundred thouſand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Aſa* encountred with an armie of fiue hundred and foure-ſcore thouſand, leuied out of thoſe two tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, which obeyed him, and with which hee ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the ſpoyle both of their Cities and Campe.

2. *Chron.* 14.

2. *Chron.* 15. 16.

2. *Chron.* 14. 9.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian*, I haue *proued alreadie, & were it but the length betweene *Æthiopia* and *Iudæa*, & the ſtrong flouriſhing Regions of *Egypt* interiacent (who would not ſuffer a million of ſtrangers to paſſe through them) it were ſufficient to make it appear how fooliſh the opinion is, that theſe inuaders were *Æthiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were ſpoyled by the *Iudeans*, in following their victorie, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* ſtandeth vpon the torrent of *Beſor*, which *Dauid* paſt ouer when he ſurprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*; this prooueth ſufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier towne, ſtanding on the vttermoſt South-border of all *Iudea*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* ſixe hundred miles. Alſo the ſpoyles which *Aſa* tooke, as the cattell, Camels, and ſheepe, whereof hee ſacrificed fiue thouſand, ſhew them to bee *Arabians* adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknowne *Æthiopians*. And if it be obiected that theſe deſart countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I anſwere, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the Deſart which compaſſe two parts of the holy Land, ſhould yeeld ten hundred thouſand, as that two tribes of the

* In the former booke *c.* 4. §. 14. *item c.* 8. §. 10. *6.

2. *Chron.* 14.

the twelue, should arme fiue hundred and foure score thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of *God* to *Abraham*, that these nations should exceed in number; for *God* spake it of *Israel*, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelue Princes, &c.

Baasha a king of *Israel* began to reigne in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatnesse of *Asa* after his great victorie, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, to ioyne with him against *Asa*; and to the end to blocke him vp, hee fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Ierusalem* towardes *Samaria*.

This warre began according to the letter of the *Scriptures* in the 36. yeere of *Asa* his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26. yeere of *Asa*; therefore could not *Baasha* begin this warre in the 35. of *Asa* his reigne, but in the 35. yeere of the diuision of *Iuda* and *Israel*: for so many yeeres it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seeme strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Armie of fiue hundred and foure score thousand good Souldiers, did not easily driue away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Ieroboam*, and of *Asa* himselfe against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of *Iuda*, and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late seruice against *Zerah*, had caused many mens priuate businesses to lie vndispatched, whereby the people being now intentiue to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be vnwilling to stirre against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconuenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterred *Asa* from aduenturing himselfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the successe into the hands of God. Howsoeuer it were, hee tooke the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which hee waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Baasha*, whose imployments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacie with *Baasha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers, and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inuasion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselues masters of that Kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nephthalim*, without resistance, he spoyled diuers principall Cities thereof, and inforced *Baasha* to quit *Rama*, and to leaue the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loued neither partie, being loden with the spoiles of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Iuda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that hee now relyed on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of God, hee not onely caused *Hanani* to bee imprisoned, but hee began to burden and oppresse his people, and was therefore strooken with the grieuous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after he had beene two yeeres continually tormented, hee gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

2. Chron. 16. v. 1.

2. Chron. 16. 4.

1. Kings 15.

2. Chron. 16.

There lived with *Asa*, *Agesilaus* the sixt of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fift King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Astartus*, and *Astarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astarimus* tooke reuenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Priest of the goddesse *Astarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the *Latines*. *Pirithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Assyrians*: *Tersippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Ægypt*, who dying in the 36. yeere of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successor, that reigned fiftie sixe yeeres, euen to the 16. of *Ioas*.

Euseb. in Chron.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the raigne of ASA.

IN the raigne of *Aſa*, the Kingdome of *Iſrael* felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegeance to the houſe of *Dauid*, if the wiſedome of God had not otherwiſe determined. The wickednesſe of *Ieroboam* had in his latter dayes, the ſentence of heauie vengeance layd vpon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the ſame Prophet which had foretold the diuiſion of *Iſrael*, for the ſinne of *Salomon*, and his raigne ouer the ten Tribes. One ſonne *Ieroboam* had among others, in whom onely God found ſo much pietie, as (though it ſufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable teſtimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was moſt happie) the fauourable approbation of God himſelfe.

After the loſſe of this good ſonne, the vngodly father was ſoone taken aẅay: a miſerable creature, ſo conſcious of his vile vnthankefulneſſe to God, that hee durſt not ſuffer his owne name to be vſed in conſulting with an holy Prophet, aſſured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea, of Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to deſtroy thoſe accurſed Idoles that wrought his confuſion. So loth hee was to forſake his worldly wiſedome, when the world was ready to forſake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the ſonne of *Ieroboam*, raigned in the ſecond and third yeeres of *Aſa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers laſt yeere of two and twentie did runne along (how farre is vncertaine) with the ſecond of *Aſa*, whoſe third yeere was the firſt of *Baaſha*, ſo that perhaps this *Nadab* inioyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courſes, neither did God alter his ſentence. It ſeemes that he little feared the iudgements denounced againſt his fathers houſe: for as a Prince that was ſecure of his owne eſtate, hee armed all *Iſrael* againſt the *Philiſtims*, and beſieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were ſo, that the people were offended with his ill ſucceſſe, and recalled to minde their grieuous loſſe of fiue hundred thouſand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie familie to the Nation; or whether by ſome particular indiſcretion, hee exaſperated them) ſlaine hee was by *Baaſha*, whom the Armie did willingly accept for King in his ſtead. *Baaſha* was no ſooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the houſe of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might moleſt him, putting all of them, without mercie, to the ſword. That he did this for priuate reſpects, and not in regard of Gods will to haue it ſo, it is euident by his continuing in the ſame forme of Idolatrie which *Ieroboam* had begunne. Wherefore hee receiued the ſame ſentence from God that had been layd vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him alſo in the ſame ſort. Hee beganne to infeſt *Aſa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diuerted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waſte his Countrey, deſtroying all the Land of *Nephthalim*. Foure and twentie yeeres hee reigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his ſonne; who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the ſonne of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres currant, perhaps not one compleat. 1. King. 15. 25.

Ela was as much an idolater as his father: and withall a riotous perſon. Hee ſent an Armie againſt *Gibbethon*, the ſame Towne of the *Philiſtims*, before which *Nadab* the ſonne of *Ieroboam* periſhed; but he ſate at home the whileſt, feaſting and drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gaue ſuch aduantage againſt himſelfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Maſter ſo diſſolute, and his behauiour ſo contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as *Baaſha* had found, by doing as *Baaſha* had done. Wherefore he did ſet vpon

on *Ela* in his drunkennesse, and slue him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himselfe King of *Israel*: and began his raigne with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his crueltie not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in *Tirza*. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitour: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselues before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling aliue into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seuen dayes he is said to haue raigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, *Walking in the way of* IEROBOAM; and therfore is likely to haue had more time wherin to declare himselfe, than the raigne of seuen dayes, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to haue defended his owne life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; wherby it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not vnlikely to resist and vanquish the Armie which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not finde; onely it appeares that his side was decayed, and so he died, leauing no other Successor than his concurrent.

1.Kin.16.19.

§. VI.

A coniecture of the causes hindering the reunion of Israel with Iuda, which might haue been effected by these troubles.

ANy man that shall consider the state of *Israel* in those times, may iustly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and reunite themselues with the mighty Tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken: than to haue recourse vnto a remedie, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answere (for his secret will is the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be prooued, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that businesse, as he forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betweene *Israel* and *Iuda*, so many yeeres following: wherein *Abia* so farre preuailed, that he wanne a great battaile, and recouered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vpstarts, rather than to cast their eyes vpon that Royall house of *Dauid*, from which the succession of fiue Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue been layd vpon the meane beginnings thereof: To thinke that *Omri* had preuented his Competitors, in making peace with *Asa*, were a coniecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, *but did worse than all that were before him*, which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon

1.King.16.25.

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the familie and friends of *Baaſha*, (*Aſa* his mortall enemie) giues manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, ſhould more iuſtly than he, haue expected the friendſhip of *Iuda* in that quarrell. Wherefore, in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſſe in the ten tribes (which was ſuch that they may ſeeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to ſubmit themſelues to their true Princes; it were not amiſſe to examine the cauſes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the ſonne of *Ieroboam*, who followed the warres in perſon, as a man of ſpirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very firſt defection of the ten Tribes, was (if wee looke vpon humane reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their deſire was to haue a King that ſhould not oppreſſe them; not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediatly chooſe *Ieroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to affoord that libertie vnto them, for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it ſeemes) herein altogether deceiued. For his affectation of popularitie appeares in his building of decayed townes, and in the inſtitution of his new deuiſed idolatry; where hee tolde the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile ſo farre as to *Ieruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntarie, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his reigne, and in the reigne of his ſonne, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his title, which at the firſt was onely good by courteſie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatiues of a King that he ſtill retained in his owne hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens: it is cleerely apparant, that the whole armie of all *Iſrael* ioyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* houſe.

Now the reigne of *Baaſha* himſelfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdome harried by the *Syrians*; neither did hee winne that one towne of *Gibbethon* from the *Philiſtims*, but left that buſineſſe to his ſonne, who likewiſe appeares an vnprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needes be, that the fauour of the people toward the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good forme of Ciuill gouernment, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And ſurely hee that ſhall take paines to looke into thoſe examples, which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, in adminiſtration of iuſtice, will finde it moſt probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo auerſe from the line of *Dauid*; as to thinke all aduerſitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that houſe. For the death of *Ioab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deſerued; yet in that they ſuffered it without forme of iudgement, they ſuffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without iudgement, and without any crime obiected, other than the Kings icalouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of arbitrarie iuſtice (vnder which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) he would haue ſlaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before hee had yet committed any offence, as appeares by his confident returne out of *Ægypt*, like one that was knowne to haue enduted wrong, hauing not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethren, and vpon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Ioaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah*, the ſonne of *Iehoiada*, who had made him King, *euen in the court of the houſe of the Lord: and* MANASSES *did ſhed innocent bloud exceeding much, till he repleniſhed Ieruſalem from corner to corner*: and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſinne, wherewith hee made Iuda to ſinne*. Contrariwiſe, among the kings of *Iſrael* wee finde no monument of ſuch arbitrarie proceeding, vnleſſe perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the ſonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may bee taken for an inſtance,

2. Chro. 24. 21.

2. King. 21. 16.

2.King.6.31. instance, when hee said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of* ELISHA *the sonne of* SHAPHAT *shall stand on him this day:* whereby it is not plaine whether he meant to kill him without more adoe, or to haue him condemned as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children, which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the libertie which the *Israelites* enioyed, than any peremptorie execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euen sicke for anger, neither was hee for that cause put to death, as vpon commaundement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuice, though to God it could not.

The murther of the Prophets is continually ascribed to *Iezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Iuda* (such as are registred) prooue them to haue vsed a more absolute manner of commaund, than the Kings of the tenne Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witnesse the contrary. For of those which reigned ouer *Iuda*, from the diuision of the Kingdome, to the captiuity of the ten tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a place of buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehu*, with the destruction of all the Royall seed by *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can reade) stirre vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the suddennesse and vniformitie testifie the affection to be generall, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vnlesse we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seuen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sence of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernement, whereon shee had seised. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seuen of the twentie) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people beeing so farre from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soueraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbeare to reuenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approoue the good successe of treason, vnlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and vsurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seuen remaine, whose endes how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, 2.King.10.4. because *they were exceedingly afraid*: and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that neuer any of them perished by furie of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them, neither was there any motiue vrging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainely (howsoeuer all that the law cals treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most preuailed, the furie of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoeuer wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soueraigne, but rather forbearing the aduantages gotten vpon his Royall person: which if any man impute vnto grose ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truely, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, beeing loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when

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all the rest of the Gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying, that Monarches neede not to feare any courbing of their absoluteneſſe by mightie ſubiects, as long as by wiſedome they keepe the hearts of the people, who will bee ſure to come in on their ſide. Though indeede the Storie might very well haue borne the ſame interpretation, as it is rehearſed by *Homer*, who tels vs that *Pallas* was one of the conſpiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by looſening *Briareus*. For a good forme of gouernment ſufficeth by it ſelfe to retaine the people, not onely without aſſiſtance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuices of the greateſt and ſhrewdeſt politicians: euery Sheriſe and Conſtable, being ſooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening Rebell how mightie ſoeuer, can againſt him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being ſeldome found in *Iuda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it ſelfe of gouernment there was ſuch, as neither gaue occaſion of contentment vnto the ſubiects, nor of confidence in their good affection, to the Kings. Vpon which reaſons it may ſeeme that the multitude was kept vſually diſarmed. For otherwiſe it would haue beene almoſt impoſſible, that *Athalia* the ſiſter of *Ahab*, a ſtranger to the royall bloud of *Iuda*, ſhould by the onely authoritie of a Queene mother haue deſtroyed all the ſeede of *Dauid*, and vſurped the Kingdome very neere ſeuen yeeres without finding any reſiſtance. Yea when *Iehoiada* the high Prieſt had agreed with the Captaines and principall men of the land to ſet vp *Ioaſh* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to giue to theſe Captaines and their men, *the ſpeares and the ſhields that were King* DAVIDS, *and were in the houſe of the Lord*. But we neede not enter into ſuch particulars. Queſtionleſſe, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admiſſion, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reaſon, why the tenne tribes did neuer ſeeke to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the deſtruction of their ſixe firſt Kings, which died in the reigne of *Aſa*, admitted a ſeuenth of a new family, rather than they would conſubiect themſelues, with thoſe of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So, *Aſa* hauing ſeene the death of ſeuen kings of *Iſrael*, died himſelfe after one and fourtie yeeres reigne, leauing *Iehoſaphat* his ſonne to deale with *Ahab* the ſon of *Omri*, who was the eight King ouer the tenne tribes.

§. VII.

Of IEHOSAPHAT *and his contemporaries.*

IEHOSAPHAT, who ſucceeded *Aſa*, was a Prince religious and happie; hee deſtroyed all the Groues, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and ſent ſearchers to all places and people wanting inſtruction; hee recouered the Tribute due vnto him by the *Arabians* and *Philiſtims*: from the one hee had ſiluer, from the other ſheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thouſand and foure hundred. The numbers of his men of warre were more than admirable: for it is written that *Adnah* had the commaund of three hundred thouſand, *Iehohanam* of two hundred and foureſcore thouſand, and *Amaſia* of two hundred thouſand; alſo that hee had, beſides theſe, in *Beniamin* of thoſe that bare ſhields, which wee call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada* 2. *Chron.* 17.

two hundred thousand, and vnder the commaundement of *Iehozabad* a hundred and foureſcore thouſand: which numbred together, make eleuen hundred and ſixtie thouſand, all which are ſaide to haue waited vpon the King, beſides his garriſons.

That *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of *Kent*, 2. Sam. 24. ſhould muſter eleuen hundred and ſixtie thouſand fighting men, it is very ſtrange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Ioab* in *Dauids* time found fiue hundred thouſand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and foure-ſcore thouſand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thouſand: *Aſa* fiue hundred and foure-ſcore thouſand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could beare armes, and they amounted to three hundred thouſand: *Vzziah* three hundred and ſeuen thouſand and fiue hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to *Iehoſaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his territorie to the Weſt of *Iordan*, and that their numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that hee would haue feared euen the armie of *Xerxes*, if hee could haue brought into the field eleuen hundred and three-ſcore thouſand fighting men, leauing all his ſtrong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my ſelfe to better iudgement) that theſe numbers ſpecified in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ſeuenteenth, diſtributed to ſeuerall leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thouſand vnder *Adnah*, and the two hundred and foure-ſcore thouſand vnder *Iehohanam*, were afterward commaunded and muſtered by *Amaſiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehoſabad*: for the groſſe and totall is not in that place ſet downe, as it was vnder the other Kings formerly named. Againe as the aydes which *Iehoſaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not ſhew that he was a Prince of extraordinarie power, ſo the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which hee feared could neuer make the one halfe of thoſe numbers, which hee that commaunded leaſt among *Iehoſhaphats* leaders had vnder him.

This mightie Prince notwithſtanding his greatneſſe, yet he ioyned in friendſhip with *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Ioſaphat* viſited at *Samaria*, and cauſed his ſonne *Ioram* to marrie *Athalia*, this *Achabs* daughter.

Ahab perſwaded *Ioſaphat* to aſſiſt him in the warre againſt the *Syrians*, who held the Citie of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites* to foretell the ſucceſſe: who promiſed him victorie. But *Iehoſaphat* beleeued nothing at all in thoſe diuiners, but reſolued firſt of all to conferre with ſome one Prophet of the Lord God of *Iſrael*. Hereupon *Achab* made anſwere that hee had one called *Michaiah*, but hee hated that Prophet, becauſe hee alwayes foretolde of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet ſent for *Michaiah* was to the King but by the way the meſſenger prayed him to conſent with the reſt of the Prophets: and to promiſe victorie vnto them as they did. But *Michaiah* ſpake the truth, and repeated his viſion to both Kings, which was that *God asked who ſhall perſwade* AHAB, *that hee may goe vp and fall at Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a ſpirit that ſtood before the Lord anſwered, that hee would enter into his prophets, and bee in them a falſe ſpirit to delude. For as it is ſaid by Chriſt: *Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris veſtri loquitur in vobis*: It is not you that ſpeake, but the ſpirit of your father ſpeakes in you: ſo in a contrarie kinde did the deuill in the prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Achab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martir* vpon this place well obſerueth, theſe euill ſpirits are the miniſters of Gods vengeance, and are vſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes ſometime imploy. For as it pleaſeth God by his good Angels, to ſaue and deliuer from deſtruction, of which the Scriptures haue many examples: ſo on the contrarie, it is by the euill that he puniſheth and deſtroyeth, both which are ſaid to performe the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are euery-where viſible. There are ſpi-

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rits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew foorth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his reuelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit hee discouered, was strooken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* prophets, and by *Achab* himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be reserued and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me.* Neuertheless *Achab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehosaphat* returned to *Ierusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God. 2. *Chron.* 18.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damascens*, ioyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* to inuade *Iudea*: who passe *Iordan* and encampe at *Engaddi*, and when *Iehosaphat* gathered his armie, the Prophet *Iahaziel* foretolde him of the victorie, which should bee obtained without any bloud-shed of his part: and so when *Iehosaphat* approached, this assembly of nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumæans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselues, those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set vpon the *Idumæans*, and brake them vtterly: which done they also inuaded each other; in which broile *Iehosaphat* arriuing tooke the spoile of them all without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. 2. *Chron.* 10.

Notwithstanding this victorie, *Iehosaphat* forgetting that hee was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding ioyne with *Ochazias*, the sonne of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like returne which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliezor* the Prophet foretold him, his shippes perished and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprize was ouerthrowne. 2. *Chron.* 20.

Yet hee taketh part with *Ieboram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* the *Edomites* ioyne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their armie.

The *Moabites*, subiects to *Dauid* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Iuda*, gaue themselues for vassals to *Ieroboam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Iehosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatrie of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to bee auenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Iuda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately ioyned themselues with the *Syrians* against *Iosaphat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsooke *Iuda* and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolued to passe by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to assure that nation, for wee finde that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Iehosaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselues against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of *Chronicles.* 11. *vers.* 8. it is written that in the time of *Ieboram*, the sonne of *Iehosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were slaine by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselues satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to ioyne themselues with the armie of *Iuda*. For that they were numbred among the enemies of *Iosaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plaine *c.* 2. *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Iehosaphats* death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinarie heat of the yeere, or whether the *Idumæans* hauing a purpose to rebell, misled the armie of *Iuda* and *Israel* with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crassus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, vtterly perished, had not *Elisha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not onely *Iehosaphat* and his armie, but

Iehoram King of *Israel* an Idolator was relieued: the great mercie and goodnesse of God, hauing euer beene prone to saue the euill for the good, whereas hee neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

2. *Kin.* 3. The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue alreadie

2. *Chron.* 20. written in the life of *Iehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Iehosaphat* reigned twentie fiue yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the *Py-*

Brocb. ter. sanct. *ramis* set ouer his graue is yet to be seene, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*.

There liued with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Assyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italie*; of the latter the riuer *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) tooke name.

In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agesilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the same race, of the *Heraclidæ* the seuenth in *Lacedæmon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of IEHORAM *the sonne of* IEHOSAPHAT, *and* AHAZIA.

§. I.

That IEHORAM *was made King sundry times.*

IEHORAM the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda* began to reigne at thirtie two yeeres of age, and liued vntill hee was fourtie yeeres olde, being eight yeeres a King: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is saide to haue reigned, foure are to bee reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Ahab*,

1. *Kin.* 22. v. 51. left this *Iehoram* King in his stead, as *Ahab* did his sonne *Ahazia*. This appeares by the seuerall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehorams* kings of *Israel* and *Iuda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldest sonne of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is saide to haue begun his reigne, in the seuenteenth yeere of *Iehosaphat*. *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* succeeded him in

2. *Kin.* 1. 17. the second yeere of IEHORAM *the sonne of* IEHOSAPHAT *King of Iuda*, that is, in the next yeere after that *Iehoram* of *Iuda* was designed king by his father; it being (as

2. *Kin.* 3. v. 1. *and* 9. wee finde elsewhere) *the eighteenth yeere of* IEHOSAPHAT *himselfe*, who went with the *Israelite* against *Moab*. Heereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in *the fift yeere of* IE-

2. *Kin.* 8. 16. HORAM *King of Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the olde King tooke vnto him, as partner in the Gouernement, this his eldest sonne, who was at that time thirtie two yeeres olde, his Father being fiftie seuen. Now for-

1. *Kin.* 22. 42. asmuch as IEHOSAPHAT *reigned twentie fiue yeeres*, it is euident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Ioram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to bee had

had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, who did not alwayes reigne precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seeme at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mooving *Iehosaphat* either to assume vnto him his sonne as partner in the Kingdome, whilest he was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the seuenteenth of his reigne) vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to resume it vnto himselfe, or at least-wise to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill foure or fiue yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more cleerely discouer the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the Storie briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approoue.

Wee are therefore to consider, that this King *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Rehoboams* issue that euer entred into any streight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Iuda* before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themselues in vaine, making small profit of the greatest aduantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Iehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensiue and defensiue betweene *Israel* and *Iuda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true *roote and fountaine of all wisedome*; yet as a piece of sound policie, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdomes, against the vncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable a iewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditarie from father to sonne, it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri* and sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, giuen in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was sonne and heire apparant to the King of *Iuda*. This Ladie was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queene *Iezabel* her brothers wife, that she durst vndertake, and could throughly perform a great deale more in *Ierusalem*, than the other knew how to compasse in *Samaria*. Shee was indeede a fire-brand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Iuda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisedome, regardlesse of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

2. Chro. 19. v. 2. and 3.

The first fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* warre at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Iuda* and *Israel* did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victorie should haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldome thriue by matching with Idolators, but rather serue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting foorth *Ahab* designed, as King, his sonne *Ahazia*; not so much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine euents of warre (for none of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Micaia* (for he despised them) as inuiting *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he preuailed.

§. II.

Probable coniectures of the motiues inducing the old King IEHOSAPHAT *to change his purpose often, in making his sonne* IEHORAM *King.*

MAny argumentsdoe very strongly proone *Iehoram* to haue beene wholy ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to liue a priuate life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter shee was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women and meere subiects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied so honorably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crowne, whereof alreadie he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainely be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his yonger brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgouernment of his vngodly sonne. For the good old King was faine to make his progresse round about the land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and appointing Iudges *throughout all the strong Cities of Iuda Citie by Citie*. This had beene a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Iustice beene peruerted, by the power of such as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appeares by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commission giuen to one of the priestes in spirituall causes, and to the steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouerseers.

2.Chron.19.v.4. 5,&c.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the sonne of *Ahab*; but how long after it is vncertaine. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* beganne his reigne (as hath beene alreadie noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*, *Iehosaphats* sonne, though afterward this *Iehoram* of *Iuda* had another first and second yeere, euen in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone; as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in priuate estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitie are not set downe, yet wee may not thinke, that motiues thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondencie with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done; and made vse of it. Hee drewe the *Iudæan* into the warre of *Moab*, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of *Iuda* was againe ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition hee had beene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupie so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that nation rebelled against *Israel*, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the dailie negotiations betweene the two Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the affinitie betweene them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might

might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behauiour of the yonger ſonnes, in their elder brothers diſgrace, might cauſe their Father to put him in poſſeſſion for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe diſſimulation of *Iehoram* himſelfe might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vſuall in miſchieuous fell natures, to be as abiect and ſeruile in time of aduerſitie, as inſolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, hee demeaned himſelfe in ſuch wiſe towards his brethren, as cauſed their Father to enable them, not onely with ſtore *of ſiluer, and of gold, and of precious things*, (which kinde of liberality other Kings doubtleſſe had vſed vnto their yonger ſonnes) but with the cuſtody of *ſtrong Cities in Iuda*, to aſſure them, if it might haue been by vnwonted means, againſt vnwonted perils. 2.Chron.21.3.

§. III.

The doings of IEHORAM *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.*

BVt all this prouidence auailed nothing; for an higher prouidence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequele. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger ſonnes of *Iehoſaphat* found ſtrong Cities, a weake defence, againſt the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the ſummons of the King their brother, then had hee them without more adoe; if they ſtood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, and ſo vnable to hold out againſt him, who beſides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the *Iſraelitiſh* Kingdome againſt them, ſo that the apparant likelyhood of their finall ouerthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoeuer it was, they were all taken and ſlain, and with them for company many great men of the Land; ſuch belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant ſought their liues, or had been appointed Rulers of the Countrie, when *Iehoram* was depoſed from his Gouernment; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iuſtice, could hardly auoide the doing of many things, derogatory to their yong Maſter, which if he would now call treaſon, ſaying that he was then King, who durſt ſay the contrary?

After this, *Iehoram* tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innouations in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and ſafe conduct vnto Superſtition and Idolatrie, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that ſinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were ſo much addicted, hauing ſuch knowledge of God, and of his deteſting that aboue all other ſinnes; but he vſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to haue ſet vp Irreligion by force.

Whileſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what hee liſted, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; and hauing hitherto, ſince *Dauids* time, been gouerned by a *Viceroy*, did now make vnto themſelues a King. Againſt theſe *Iehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which hee obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that hee had gotten in beating and killing ſome of thoſe whom hee ſhould haue ſubdued, and kept his ſeruants. Now began the prophecie of *Iſaac* to take effect, wherein hee fore-told, that *Eſau* in proceſſe of time ſhould breake the yoke of *Iacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could neuer be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Iuda*, but held their owne ſo well, that when, after many ciuill and forraine warres, the *Iewes* by ſundry Nations had beene brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his Sonne, and others of that race following them, became

came Lords of the *Iewes*, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and raigned as Kings, euen in *Ierusalem* it selfe.

The freedome of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great Citie within *Iuda*, which in the time of *Iosua* had a peculiar King, to rebell against *Iehoram*, and set it selfe at libertie. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Beniamin* and of *Dan*, farre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Iuda*, and therefore so vnlikely it was to haue maintained it selfe in libertie, that it may seeme strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue been taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Iuda*, that he would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we reade that it sought how to cast it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehoram*, was, *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to haue not onely beene the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, moouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Towne of the *Leuites*: who must needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsiue authority to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at *Ierusalem* (which being deuout men they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the ten reuolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather inuited the *Israelites* thither, and gaue them kinde entertainement: vnder Idolaters they must haue beene without it whether they liued free or in subiection. Yet it seemes that priuate reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than to suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein *Iehoshaphat* reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Gouernours, and giuing them especiall charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vsed these wordes, *The Leuites shall bee Officers before you; Bee of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seemes, that hee encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his sonne; whom if the *Leuites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their dueties, likely it is that he meant to be euen with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heauie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that wee can reade) so much as beseiged or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Iehoshaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouer-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might in one moneth haue cast into it with shouells, by ordinary approches.

2. Chron. 21. 10.

2. Chron. 30.

But it seemes that of these great numbers which his Father could haue leuied, there were not many whom *Iehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps hee thought it an easier losse, to let one Towne goe, then to put weapons into their handes, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loued; are faine themselues to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue been dreadfull vnto others.

§. IIII.

Of the miseries falling vpon IEHORAM, *and of his death.*

THese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wiues, and his owne body. Hereby likewise it appeares that hee was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reproue him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and euill Kings, but were faine to denounce Gods iudgements against him by letters, keeping themselues close and farre from him. This Epistle is saide to haue beene sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophecied in his stead before this time, euen in the dayes of *Iehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecie in writing behinde him, or that (as some coniecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that wee reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeede any thing may rather bee beleeued than the Tradition held by some of the *Iewish Rabbins*, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heauen to S. *Giles*.

2. *Chron.* 21. 12.

2. *King.* 2. *and* 3. *v.* 11.

But whosoeuer was the Author of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible, as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians* brake into *Iudæa*, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any offensiue warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselues in the rest of their small Territorie, by defensiue armes, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to haue beene then as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to robbe and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thicke set in *Iuda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered; that this was when they had learned of the *Romanes* the Art of Warre; and that the prouisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going onward into Regions farre remoued from them. At this day hauing lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in *Arabia* it selfe are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengets, but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnes of their horses, than in any other meanes of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue beene, that spoiled *Iudæa* in the time of *Iehoram*. For their Countrie was alwayes barraine and desert, wanting manuall Arts whereby to supply the naturalls with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may inferre, that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehosaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men) had beene enough to haue driuen away farre greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people beene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes ielousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philistims*.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not his

his Palace in *Ierusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrie, where his wiues and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we reade not that they did sacke the Citie, or spoyle the Temple, which would haue inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke *Ierusalem* it selfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore hauing done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselues with such purchase as they were able safely to conueigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* vpon the two and fortie brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers Sonnes, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (onely *Ioas* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeeres after this inuasion of the *Philistims*, and *Arabians*, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murther beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly striken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the bodie of this wicked King, smiting him with a grieuous disease in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcasse. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of *Iuda*, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had beene his Fathers euill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to prouide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such *Counsellours, of the house of* AHAB, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnseasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed bee layd vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoide. Such is the quality of wicked Instigators, hauing made greedie vse of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euill inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once hee is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fell out indeede in a busie time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the *Aramite*; and therefore could haue had no better leisure to helpe *Athalia*, in setting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistims*. Yea rather hee needed and craued the assistance of the men of *Iuda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairely intreated.

2. *Chron.* 22. 4.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainely appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reuealed will of God, accomplish neuertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselues in the seeming-wise deuices of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisedome dictateth vnto them. For in such kinde of vnhappie subtilties, it is manifest that

Athalia

Athalia was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne, but the issue of them partly hath appeared alreadie, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

Of the raigne of AHAZIA, *and his businesse with the King of Israel.*

OCHAZIAS, or *Ahazia*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his raigne ouer *Iuda* in the twelfth yeere of *Iehoram*, the sonne of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and raigned but that one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Torniellus*, alleaging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which saith that hee was twentie yeeres old in the beginning of his Kingdome, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that giue him two yeeres more. Like enough hee is to haue beene yong: for hee was gouerned by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State, he likewise vp-held the league made with the house of *Ahab*. Hee was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wanne, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was faine to aduenture his owne person, which scaped not vnwounded. The Towne being wonne was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to bee made by *Hazael* king of *Aram*: which done, *Iehoram* King of *Israel* with-drew himselfe to the Citie of *Izreel*, where with more quiet hee might attend the curing of his woundes; and *Ahazia* returned to *Ierusalem*. It seemes that hee was but newly come home (for hee raigned in all scantly one yeere, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part) when hee made a new iourney, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his woundes. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindred, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine piece of worke so to leaue his kingdome, hauing no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom hee had seene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolued at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which hee had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet vpon the house of *Ahab*. And heereunto at this time had hee disposed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to haue beene accidentall; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly bee needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that wee diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How AHAZIA *perished with the house of* AHAB: *and how that Familie was destroyed by* IEHV.

THe whole Armie of *Israel*, with all the principall Captaines lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Iehu*, a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him King ouer *Israel*, rehearsing vnto him the prophecie of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*,

Ahab, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a desire to know his errand, which *Iehu* thought meete to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but foorth-with proclaimed him King. For the prophecie of *Elias* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Iehu, who had vpon the sudden this great honour throwne vpon him, was not slow to put himselfe in possession of it, but vsed the first heate of their affections who ioyned with him, in setting on foote the businesse which neerely concerned him; and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might bee carried to *Izreel*, whereby the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseene, hee marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recouered of his wounds, that hee could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahazia* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queene, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seuenty Princes of the bloud Royall there were that liued in *Samaria*; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queene *Iezabel* had wonne *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he receiued wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great betweene *Israel* and *Iuda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecie of *Elias* might be forgotten; or no otherwise remembred, than as an vnlikely tale by them that beheld the maiesticall face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Iuda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

In the midst of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosequution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebells and enemies: or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already well atchieued, and the Queene Mother dressing her selfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discouered a company comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to bee readie against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to bee discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemie would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answere, might argue the matter to bee of small importance: yet the King to bee satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by *Iehu*. These dumbe showes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whom the watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so neere, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discouer any weaknesse, caused his Chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Iuda* in his company, whose presence added maiestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee had been more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Iehu* was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field

field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* beganne to ſalute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiuing a bitter anſwere, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out vpon the treaſon to his fellow King, he turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* ſoone ouertooke him with an arrow, where-with he ſtrooke him dead, and threw his carkaſſe into that field, which, purchaſed with the bloud of the right full owner, was to bee watered with bloud of the vniuſt poſſeſſour. Neither did *Ahazia* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a wound, which held him till death did ſeize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might ſoone be aduertiſed of this calamitie, if ſhee did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whoſe iudgement, pronounced againſt her long before, had ouer-taken her, when ſhee leaſt expected it. But ſhee, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her ſelfe readie in all haſte, and painted her face; hoping with her ſtately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitour, or at the leaſt to vtter ſome *Apophthegme*, that ſhould expreſſe her braue ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did ſhee thinke vpon the hungrie dogs, that were ordained to deuoure her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhee beſmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language where-with ſhee armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neere, ſhe opened her window, and looking out vpon him, beganne to put him in minde of *Zimri*, that had not long inioyned the fruits of his treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meere humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeede a part of miſerable folly, as are all things, howſoeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her owne *Eunuches* that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſſe was her enemie daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Iehu* ſaw that ſhee did vſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vexe him; hee made her preſently to vnderſtand her owne eſtate, by deedes and not by words. He onely called to her ſeruants to know which of them would be of his ſide, and ſoone found them readie to offer their ſeruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatneſſe and eſtate, wherein ſhee had a few houres before ſhined ſo glorioufly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the iudgements of God that had beene denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her owne ſeruants, at the commandement of her greateſt enemie, that was yeſterday her ſubiect, but now her Lord: and ſhee periſhed miſerably ſtruggling in vaine with baſe groomes, who contumelioufly did hale and thruſt her, whileſt her inſulting enemie ſate on horſe-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by ſcornefull beholding the ſhamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcaſſe that was left without the walls was deuoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure paiment, and full intereſt.

Ahazia King of *Iuda* fleeing a-pace from *Iehu*, was ouer-taken by the way where he lurked; and receiuing his deadly wound in the Kingdome of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeeke his buriall in his owne kingdome: and this fauour hee obtained for his grand-fathers ſake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Ieruſalem*, where hee was enterred with his Anceſtors, hauing raigned about one yeere.

CHAP. XXI.

Of ATHALIA, *and whose Sonne he was that succeeded vnto her.*

§. I.

Of ATHALIA *her vsurping the Kingdome, and what pretences shee might forge.*

2. Chron. 22. 9.

AFTER the death of *Ahazia*, it is saide that his house *was not able to retaine the Kingdome*: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her Sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Ioas*, who raigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoiled of her Sonne, vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her selfe, and raigne as Queene, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great place, and made Counsailours vnto her sonne, such as were fittest for her purpose, and readie at all times to execute her will: that shee kept a strong guard about her it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to stirre, what soeuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it bee, is seldome or neuer so shameleſſe as to refuse the commoditie of goodly pretenses offering themselues; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for vs to thinke, that *Athalia*, when shee saw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a manner, slaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne children destroyed by the *Philistims*, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities where-with her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might shee giue him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whileſt as yet hee might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remained onely in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had alreadie shewed what might after come to passe) the people of *Iuda* were not vnlikely to choose a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee laide vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not alreadie contriue the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie, not onely his Successour, but also the reuersioner, and so to prouide, that the Crowne might neuer be subiect to any rifeling, but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might bee feared comming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such perswasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the iealous Tyrant thinke

thinke that the only way to fruſtrate all deuices of ſuch as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the laſt and yongeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* tooke no ſuch courſe as this in her huſbands times, yet might ſhee doe it in her Sonnes. For *Ahazia* (beſides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the ſecuritie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in reſpect of his owne high borne-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children baſely begotten. But if this miſchieuous woman forgate her ſelfe ſo farre in her wicked policie, that ſhee loſt all opportunitie which the weakeneſſe of her huſband and ſonne did afford, of procuring to her ſelfe ſome ſeeming Title; yet could ſhee afterwards faine ſome ſuch matter, as boldly ſhee might: being ſure that none would aske to ſee her euidence, for feare of being ſent to learne the certaintie of her ſonne or huſband in another world. But I rather thinke that ſhee tooke order for her affaires beforehand. For though ſhee had no reaſon to ſuſpect or feare the ſuddaine death of her ſonne, yet it was the wiſeſt way to prouide betimes againſt all that might happen, whileſt her huſbands iſſue by other women was yong and vnable to reſiſt. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and fortie, were ſent to the Court of *Iſrael*, only to ſalute the children of the King, and the children of the Queene. The ſlender occaſion of which long iourney, conſidered together with the qualitie of theſe perſons (being in effect all the ſtocke of *Iehoram* that could be growne to any ſtrength) makes it very ſuſpitious that their entertainement in *Iezabels* houſe would only haue beene more formall, but little differing in ſubſtance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. Hee that lookes into the courſes held both before and after by theſe two Queenes, will finde cauſe enough to thinke no leſſe. Of ſuch as haue aſpired vnto Lordſhips not belonging to them, and thruſt out the right Heires by pretence of Teſtaments, that had no other validitie than the ſword of ſuch as claimed by them could giue, Hiſtories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may ſay, Behold, this is new? it hath been alreadie in the old time that was before vs.* Eccleſ. 1. 10.

That a King might ſhead his brothers bloud, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonias*; that he might aliene the Crowne from his naturall Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proofe: but theſe had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that pleaſe them, will neglect the reaſons of thoſe examples, if they pleaſe them not, and reſt contented with the practice, as more willingly ſhewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* ſlew his brother that had begunne one rebellion, and was entring into another. IEHORAM *ſlew all his brethren, which were better than hee*: DAVID purchaſed the Kingdome, and might the more freely diſpoſe of it, yet he diſpoſed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Iehoram*, who had loſt much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might aliene the remainder at his pleaſure; or if *Ahazia* ſought to cut off the ſucceſſion of his brethren, or of their iſſue: either of theſe was to be anſwered with the wordes which *Iehoiada* the Prieſt vſed afterwards, in declaring the title of IOASH: *Behold, the Kings ſonne muſt raigne; as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſonnes of* DAVID. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend ſome title, whatſoeuer it might bee, to the Crowne of *Iuda*; yet is it moſt certaine that ſhee had thereunto no right at all, but onely got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and ſo ſhee held it ſixe whole yeeres, and a part of the ſeuenth, in good ſeeming-ſecuritie. 2. Chro. 21. v. 13.

§. II.

How IEHV *spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest* ATHALIA.

IN all this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to disturbe her; which in reason hee was likely to desire, being an enemie to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the *Aramite*, wherein hee was so farre ouercharged, that hardly hee could retaine his owne, much lesse attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seuentie liuing in *Samaria*, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselues to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident hee was, which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom hee had slaine, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their seruice, wherein they so readily shewed themselues obedient, that in lesse than one dayes warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this hee surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which meanes he drew them altogether into one Temple, where he slew them; and in the same zeale to God vtterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuised by *Ieroboam*, no King of *Israel* had euer greater reason than *Iehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should be allured vnto the house of *Dauid*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of *Iuda* in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had receiued his kingdome by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, hee was promised, notwithstanding his following the sinne of *Ieroboam*, that the Kingdome should remaine in his Familie, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serue; he would needs helpe to piece out Gods prouidence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needelesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, so long practized as was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all these, how many soeuer they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom, to retaine them, hee now forsooke, had not giuen him the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Iehu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the Executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophecie of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire, and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not onely the wickednesse of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazaels* victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one inuasion; but he *smote them in all the coasts of Israel*, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the Riuer of *Iordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (*For in those dayes the Lord beganne to loath Israel,*) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of *Ahab*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities

2. *King.* 8. *v.* 12.

2. *King.* 10. *v.* 32

ties which his Father had wonne: whereas now they were faine to make wofull ſhifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Maſter that had put him in truſt, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in ſeruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in ſtead of the eaſe and pleaſure to themſelues propounded by contrarie courſes, ouer-whelmed with the troubles which they ſought to auoide, and therein by God whom they firſt forſooke, forſaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wiſedome, wherein they had repoſed all their confidence.

§. III.

Of ATHALIAHS *Gouernement.*

THeſe calamities falling vpon *Iſrael*, kept *Athalia* ſafe on that ſide, giuing her leiſure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vnleſſe it were ſo that ſhee held ſome correſpondencie with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her huſbands grand-father King *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probabilitie that ſhee did ſo may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde, that this *wicked* ATHALIA *and her children brake vp the houſe of God, and all things that were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord did they beſtow vpon* BAALIM. 2. Chro. 24. v. 7. Such a ſacriledge, though it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her owne Idolatrie, with ſuch pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want ſome faire pretext of neceſſitie of the State ſo requiring: in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſour was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

Vnder this impious gouernement of *Athalia*, the deuotion of the Prieſts and Leuites was very notable, and ſerued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himſelfe, howſoeuer the Queens proceedings aduanced the contrarie. For the pouertie of that ſacred Tribe of *Leui* muſt needes haue been exceeding great at this time; all their lands and poſſeſſions in the ten Tribes being vtterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they liued, being now very few, and ſmall; and the ſtore laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by ſhamefull robberie. Yet they vp-held in all this miſerie the ſeruice of God, and the daily ſacrifice, keeping duly their courſes, and performing obedience to the high Prieſt, no leſſe than in thoſe dayes wherein their entertainement was farre better.

§. IIII.

Of the preſeruation of IOAS.

IEHOIADA then occupied the high Prieſt-hood, an honourable, wiſe and religious man. To his carefulneſſe it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the Church was in ſome ſlender ſort vp-held in thoſe vnhappie times. His wife was *Iehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of King *Iehoram*, and ſiſter to *Ahazia*, a godly Ladie and vertuous, whoſe pietie makes it ſeeme that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her acceſſe to the Court argue the contrarie: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers houſe, than the education vnder ſuch a Mother could haue permitted her to be ſuch as ſhee was. By her care *Ioaſh* the yong Prince that raigned ſoone after, was conueighed out of the nourſerie, when *Athalia* deſtroyed all the Kings chil-

dren, and was carried secretly into the Temple, whereas secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yong child was not hunted out, when his bodie was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoided that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innouations, and so bee the lesse conformable to the present gouernment. So *Ioash* was deliuered out of that slaughter, he and his Nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might bee thought peraduenture to bee cast away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him sucke, who foolishly doubting that shee her selfe should haue beene slaine, was fled away with him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that shee and hee should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will lose the thankes due to their ioyfull tidings.

§. V.
Whose Sonne IOAS *was.*

†. I.
Whether IOAS *may be thought likely to haue beene the Sonne of* AHAZIA.

2. *Kings* 11. 2. & 2. *Chron.* 22. v. 11.

NOw concerning this *Ioash*, whose sonne he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the sonne of* AHAZIA, seeme plaine enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might giue that title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answere the difficulties appearing in the contrarie opinions of them, that thinke him to haue beene, or not, the naturall Sonne of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is said, that

2. *Chron.* 22. v. 9. *the house of* AHAZIA *was not able to retaine the Kingdome*; some doe inferre that this *Ioash* was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For shee perceiuing that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom shee had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyrannie exercised by her husband, at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had beene heire to the Crowne; for shee that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie shee might haue done her pleasure, and beene the more both obayed by others, and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needefull, that she should be so vnnaturall, as to destroy the child of her owne sonne, of whose life she might haue made greater vse, than shee could of his death: whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than that of Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessitie vrgeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would haue perswaded.

†. II.

†. II.

That IOAS *did not deſcend from* NATHAN.

BVt (as it is more eaſie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to ſhew how it might haue otherwiſe been) the pedegree of this *Ioaſh* is, by them which thinke him not the ſonne of *Ahazia*, ſet downe in ſuch ſort that it may very iuſtly be ſuſpected. They ſay that he deſcended from *Nathan* the ſonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*; to which purpoſe they bring a Hiſtorie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, ſaying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdome with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* ſhould ſucceede it. Concerning this *Nathan* the ſonne of *Dauid* there are that would haue him to bee *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as alſo S. *Auguſtine* ſometime was, but afterward hee reuoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the ſonnes of *Dauid*, by *Bathſhua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therfore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Eraſmus*, and *Faber Stapulenſis*, haue likewiſe held the ſame of *Ioaſh*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and thoſe other brethren of *Salomon* by the ſame mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue been the children of *Vria* the *Hittite*: and ſo are they accounted by ſundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* expoſitors of that place in the firſt of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himſelfe the onely begotten of his mother, doe approoue this expoſition: for wee reade of no more than two ſonnes which *Bathſhua* or *Bathſheba* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one, begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Salomon* only of her children by the King did liue. So that the reſt muſt needs haue been the children of *Vria*, and are thought to haue been *Dauids* onely by adoption. Wherefore, if *Ioas* had not been the ſonne of *Ahazia*, then muſt that pedegree haue been falſe, wherein S. *Matthew* deriueth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not *our bleſſed Sauiour* iſſued from the loynes of *Dauid*, according to the fleſh, but had onely been of his line by courteſie of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Ioaſh* was not of the poſteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to ſay, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any ſuch matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to ſpeake what he liſt.

1. *Chron.* 3. 5.

†. III.

That IOAS *may probably be thought to haue beene the ſonne of* IEHORAM.

IN ſo doubtfull a caſe, if it ſeeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinkes it were not amiſſe to lay open at once, and peruſe together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedneſſe of *Iehoram* the ſonne of *Iehoſaphat* King of *Iuda*, for which hee and his children periſhed, rehearſeth it as one of Gods mercies towards the houſe of *Dauid*, that according to his promiſe he would *giue him a light, and to his children for euer*: the other doth ſay, that for the offences of the ſame IEHORAM, *there was not a ſonne left him, ſaue* IEHOAHAS *the yongeſt of his ſonnes*. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promiſe to *Dauid*, that after thoſe maſſacres of *Iehoram*, vpon all his brethren, and of the *Philiſtims*, and *Arabians* vpon the children of *Iehoram*, one of the ſeede of *Dauid* eſcaped; why may it not be thought that hee was ſaid to haue eſcaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preſerued? for had all the race of *Salomon* been rooted vp in theſe woefull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would haue been extant, of an euent

2. *King.* 8. v. 19.

ſo

so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord; as it is recounted by S. *Luke*: but the preseruation of the house of *Dauid*, mentioned in the bookes of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehoahas*, in whom the Royal branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not onely legall issue remaining of *Dauid*, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may bee thought that this *Ioash*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the yongest sonne of *Ieboram*, whose life *Athalia* as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily vnderstood, why the preseruation of *Dauids* line, by *Gods* especiall mercie, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when be-
2. *King.* 10. 13. sides *Ahazia* himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwards
2. *Chron.* 22. v. 8. were all slaine by *Iehu*; than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one onely did escape. Certainely that inhumane murther which *Ieboram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, but being onely begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Iehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heauie iudgement layd vpon *Ieboram*
2. *Chron.* 21. 14. and all his children, onely *Iehoahas* his yongest sonne was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirme to bee the same with *Ioas*, which is called the sonne of *Ahazia*, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of necessitie there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue beene. For it was the youngest sonne of *Ieboram* in whom the race was preserued; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, seeing that he was twenty yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when hee began to raigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now, I know not whether of the two is more vnlikely, either that *Ieboram* should haue begotten many children before he was eighteene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wiues and children, hee should vpon the sudden, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty yeeres following: each of which must haue been true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the same *Iehoahas*, which was his yongest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causelesse crueltie of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Ioas*, are easily cleared, if *Ioas* and *Iehoahas* were
2. *Chron.* 24. 1. one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was *seuen yeeres old when hee began to reigne*; which if wee vnderstand of yeeres compleat, he might haue been a yeere old at the death of *Ieboram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickenesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall sonne of *Ieboram*, though called the sonne of *Ahazia*, than it were to say, as great Authors haue done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that hee was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoahas*, that soundeth much more neere to *Ioas*, than to *Ahazia*, in an *English* eare, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diuersitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Westerne
2. *Chron.* 22. 6. manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Ahazia* himselfe be also called *Azaria*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehoahas*; in which manner *Ioas* might also haue had seuerall names; yet, because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibilitie, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weake foundatation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leisure to consider of this point.

†. IIII.

Vpon what reasons ATHALIA *might seeke to destroy* IOAS, *if he were her owne grandchilde.*

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly receiued, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may bee said, that *Athalia* was not onely blinded by the passions of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some naturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grandchilde, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwayes chaste) had imitated the libertie of *Iezabel* her sister in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraided by *Iehu* to her sonne; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married vnto *Iehoram* (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certaine it is that she had sonnes of her owne, and those old enough to be imployed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to bee wondred at, that to settle the Crowne vpon her owne children, shee did seeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Ioas*, if she were his grandmother, yet shee might mistrust the interest which his mother would haue in him, left when he came to yeers, it might withdraw him from her deuotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wiues) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for shee made him spend all his time in idle iourneys, to no other apparant end, than that she might rule at home; and he liuing abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Iezabel* had cunning enough to bee his tutoresse. But when the sword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine deuices, then was *Athalia* faine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as shee did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to *Ioas*, we neede not seeke into the reasons moouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

2. King. c. 9. v. 22.

§. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of vsing coniecture in Histories.

THus much concerning the person of *Ioas*, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of *Dauid* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diuersitie betweene it and others, the lesse me thinkes I neede to suspect mine owne presumption, as deseruing blame, for curiositie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in libertie of coniecture. For all Histories doe giue vs information of humane counsailes and euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can affoord; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speake onely at randome, and many times falsly. This we often finde in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great vndertakings to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeede God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answere made by the *Iewes* in *Ægypt* vnto *Ieremie* the Prophet reprehending their idolatry. For, howsoeuer the written Law of *God* was knowne vnto the people, and his punishments laid vpon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their owne wills, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queene of Heauen*, as they and their

Ier. 44. v. 17. and 18. their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vſed to do; *For then* (ſaid they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill*: adding that all manner of miſeries were befallen them, ſince they left off that ſeruice of the *Queene of Heauen*. So blinde is the wiſedome of man, in looking into the counſaile of God, which to finde out there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruerted by vaine additions.

But this Hiſtorie of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda* hath herein a ſingular prerogatiue aboue all that haue been written by the moſt ſufficient of meerely humane authours: it ſetteth downe expreſly the true, and firſt cauſes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his ouer-forwardneſſe in battaile; the ruine of his familie, to the ſecuritie of *Ieroboam* in *Izreel*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raiſed in *Iſrael*, by the comming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purpoſes doe not varie, this ſtory, by many great examples, giues moſt notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence of ſecond cauſes with their effects, is in theſe bookes nothing largely deſcribed; nor perhaps exactly in any of thoſe Hiſtories that are in theſe points moſt copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir PHILIP SIDNIE, that Hiſtorians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but ſomewhat of their ſubſtance. Informations are often falſe, records not alwayes true, and notorious actions commonly inſufficient to diſcouer the paſſions which did ſet them firſt on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I ſpeake of the beſt, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Liuie* euery one circumſtance of *Claudius* his iourney againſt *Aſdruball* in *Italie*, fitting all to another buſineſſe, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Hiſtoricall nor Poeticall) to ſearch into the particular humour of Princes, and of thoſe which haue gouerned their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the moſt likely motiues, or impediments of euery buſineſſe; and ſo figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciouſly conſider the defects in counſaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

S. Phil. Sid. in his Apol. for Poetry.

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to giue aſſurance, howſoeuer it may giue ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is vnſearchable: and Princes, howſoeuer their intents bee ſeldome hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which prie both into them, and into ſuch as liue about them; yet ſometimes either by their owne cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtill miſte, they conceale the trueth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelues lie dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparations which they begate, are conuerted to another vſe. The induſtrie of an Hiſtorian, hauing ſo many things to weary it, may well be excuſed, when finding apparant cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; though it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions worke to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that ſeemes farre greater. So comes it many times to paſſe, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or Townes, begin with a few ſtrawes, that are waſted or not ſeene; when the flame is diſcouered, hauing faſtened vpon ſome wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſſe it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greekes*, proceeded from deſire of the *Perſians* to inlarge their Empire: howſoeuer the enterprize of the *Athenians* vpon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton deſire of Queene *Atoſſa*, to haue the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did firſt moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before he had receiued any iniury; and when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

Herod. l. 1.

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* bee more iuſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alleadging the vaine appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the Queene in bed with her husband, as the cauſe of thoſe great euils following; this I may boldly affirme, (hauing I thinke, in euery eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſſes) that

matter

matter of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue issued indeed from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answere that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to visite him in his Popedome, as hauing long before in his meaner estate, beene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to vse his old libertie of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning polititian, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compassing of which, all the subtiltie (sayd hee) of the most crafty braines, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the conclaue, and your vnaptnesse thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and seene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is mooued; the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needes or can. But if we lift vp our thoughts to that supreme Gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Iupiter*:

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & vrbes, regnaq; tristia
Diuosq;, mortalesq; turmas,
Imperio regit vnus æquo.

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swolne streames,
The ciuill Cities, and th'infernall realmes,
Who th'host of heauen and the mortall band,
Alone doth gouerne by his iust commaund.

Then shall wee finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertaintie nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his owne honour; Hee neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that law, which hee hath prescribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the prosperitie of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soule, many cruell thornes deepely wounding the bodie, all which, if any few escape, they haue onely this miserable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the seruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicitie, yeelding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easily counteruaile all afflictions whatsoeuer; though indeed those brambles that sometimes teare the skinne of such as walke in this blessed way, doe commonly lay hold vpon them at such time as they sit downe to take their ease, and make them wish themselues at their iournies end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serue, in whose *presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for euermore.* Psal. 16. v. 11.

Wherfore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdome as may guide our desires and actions, we should not maruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct vs chiefly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicitie, both here, and hereafter, propounding

pounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of Wisedome.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by some Prophet after the captivitie: wee may well beleeue that the counsaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, should haue occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the businesse at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, been the lesse true, though they might haue beene omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein hee should not haue done iniurie to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborne to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more then was due.

Such, or little different, is the businesse that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleeue that any man of iudgement will taxe mee, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faine, that rehearseth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things, which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the libertie, which I haue vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vse when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor mis-beseeming an Historian.

§. VII.

The conspiracie against ATHALIA.

When *Athalia* had now sixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of *Iuda*, and had found neither any forraine enemie, nor domesticall aduersarie to disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the yong Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very vnfitting that his education should bee simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safetie it was requisite,) when his capacitie required to haue beene indued with the stomake and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada* the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impietie, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe ouer all the Countrie, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore he associated vnto himselfe fiue of the Captaines, in whose fidelitie he had best assurance, and hauing taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, he made a Couenant with them, to aduance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely that they should repaire to *Ierusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to winne them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord vnto the house of *Dauid*, was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likely to succeede as they desired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared: For it was not to bee hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captaines, and other associats of *Iehoiada* able by close working, to drawe together so many trustie and seruiceable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the *Leuites*, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Diuine seruice at the Temple, and were now relieued by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made vp such a number, as would bee able

able to deale with the Queens ordinarie Guard, and that was enough, for if the Tyranneſſe did not preuaile againſt them at the firſt brunt, the fauour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelfe on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe *Leuites* were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the perſon of the King, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, were beſtowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it ſelfe had ſtore enough; King *Dauid* had left an Armorie to the place, which was now employed in defence of his iſſue.

All things being in a readineſſe, and the day come, wherein this high deſigne was to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings perſon; produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities, with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings, the Queene was the laſt that heard any word; which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeeme: for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly looſe the benefit of hearing what is to bee feared, whileſt yet it may bee preuented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſſe, behold it in the ſhape of ineuitable miſchiefe.

All *Ieruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertayned it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ranne forth to ſee, and the common joy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praiſing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinarie concourſe, and noiſe, of folkes in the ſtreets, making towards the Temple, with much vnvſuall paſſion in their lookes, did preſently conceiue, that ſomewhat worthie of her care was happened; though, what it might bee, ſhee did not apprehend. Howſoeuer it were, ſhee meant to vſe her owne wiſedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may bee, that ſhee thought it ſome eſpeciall ſolemnitie vſed in the Diuine ſeruice, which cauſed this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccuſtomed number of *Leuites*, and of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue ſome preſumption. 2. *Chron.* 23. 12.

Many things argue that ſhee little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although *Ioſephus* would make it ſeeme otherwiſe. For we finde in the Text, *Shee came to the people into the houſe of the Lord* (which was neere to her Palace) and that when ſhee looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, ſhee rent her clothes, and cryed, Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appeares that ſhee was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or feare, to take her place, which when ſhee found occupied by another, then ſhee begun to afflict her ſelfe, as one caſt away, and cryed out in vaine vpon the Treaſon, whereby ſhee ſaw that ſhee muſt periſh. But that ſhee came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Ioſephus* reporteth) and that her companie being beaten back, ſhee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had ſhee truely knowne how things went, ſhee would ſurely haue gathered her friends about her, and vſed thoſe forces in defence of her Crowne, by which ſhee gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainely, if it were granted, that ſhee, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene meere madneſſe in her, to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhee perceiuing that neither her authoritie, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheleſſe take vpon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of ſeuen yeeres old a Conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhee ſaw to bee armed in his defence, may wee not thinke that ſhee was mad in the moſt extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counſaile of God would haue taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhee vſed the moſt likely meanes to diſappoint it: yet wee neede not ſo cut her throate with any morall impoſſibilities. It is 2. *Chron.* 23. 12. & 13. & 2. *King.* c. 11. vers. 13. & 14.

enough to ſay, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more eaſie ſucceſſe, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could haue beene expected; ſo that at his appointment, ſhee was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and ſlaine, yea ſo, that no bloud, ſaue her owne, was ſhed in that quarrell; her ſmall traine, that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of ATHALIA, *with a compariſon of her and* IEZABEL.

MOſt like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſſe of her Nephew *Iehoram* the *Iſraelite*, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, only through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet, ſhee her ſelfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued ſuch a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſutable death. Theſe two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her huſband; was an Idolatreſſe, and a Murdreſſe. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them ſurviuing her huſband about eight yeeres, did ſpend the time in ſatisfying her owne affections; the one vſing tyrannie, as the exerciſe of her haughtie minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaſte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſuddaine by Conſpirators, and each of them exclayming vpon the Treaſon, receiued ſentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her ſubjection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horſes; *Athalia* ſlaine at her owne horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more leiſure to vexe her proud heart; that of *Iezabel*, the more indignitie, and ſhame of body. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as hauing not perſecuted and ſlaine the Lords Prophets, but ſuffered the Prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument; for ſhee was a Church-robber. The ſeruice of *Baal* erected by theſe two Queenes, was deſtroyed as ſoone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Prieſts of that Religion, ſlaine. Herein alſo it came to paſſe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who ſlue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who ſeemes to haue beene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Iuda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel*, periſhed in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; ſhee had ſonnes liuing after ſhee was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were ſlaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthie of conſideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had beene in *Ieruſalem* when their Mother fell, their death would ſurely haue followed hers as neerely, and beene regiſtred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Prieſt of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbade that the children ſhould die for the fathers*, could not haue ſaued theſe vngracious Imps, whom the clauſe following would haue cut off, which commands, that euery man ſhall die for his owne ſinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene profeſſors & aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worſhip of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the houſe of *Baal* with the ſpoile of it; likely it is, that they ſhould not haue eſcaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Prieſt could haue gotten

Deut. 24. 16.

ten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cauſe enough requiring their death, ſo the ſecuritie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earneſtly. For theſe had beene eſteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her aſſiſtants in that particular buſineſſe of robbing the Temple, may be thought to haue carried a great ſway in other matters, as Princes and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his warres againſt *Iehu*) abſent from *Ieruſalem*; whereby *Iehoiada* might, with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes againſt their Mother, that was deſolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of IOAS *and* AMASIA, *with their Contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of Carthage.*

§. I.

Of IOAS *his doings, whileſt* IEHOIADA *the Prieſt liued.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of *Iuda* was filled with great ioy and quietneſſe, wherein *Ioas* a childe of ſeuen yeeres old or there-about, began his raigne, which continued almoſt fortie yeeres. During his minoritie, hee liued vnder the protection of that honorable man *Iehoiada* the Prieſt, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as hee had before carefully preſerued the Kings life, and reſtored him vnto the Throne of his anceſtors. When hee came to mans eſtate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wiues, and begat Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid*, which was almoſt worne out. The firſt Act that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy Place was fallen, through the wickedneſſe of vngodly Tyrants; and requiſite it was that he ſhould vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This buſineſſe hee followed with ſo earneſt a zeale, that not onely the *Leuites* were more ſlack than he, but euen *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe impoſed by *Moſes*, partly out of the liberalitie of the people: who gaue ſo freely, that the Temple, beſides all reparations, was enriched with veſſels of gold and ſiluer, and with all other Vtenſiles. The ſacrifices likewiſe were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had beene, and the ſeruice of God was magnificently celebrated. 2. *Chron.* 24. 14.

§. II.

The death of IEHOIADA, *and Apostasie of* IOAS.

BVt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Priest: who hauing liued an hundred and thirtie yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could haue spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Iuda*, as he well deserued, hauing preserued the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselues, and all their issue. Yet his honorable Funerall seemes to haue beene giuen to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of* DAVID. As for the King himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue beene Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if hee had thereby beene discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of *Iuda* beganne to flatter their King, he soone forgate, not onely the benefits, receiued by this worthie man his old Councellour, but also the good precepts which he had receiued from him, yea and God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Countrie, in fifteene or sixteene yeeres; that thirtie yeeres, or there-about, of the raigne of *Ioas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The King himselfe, when once hee was entred into these courses, ranne on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now King indeede, that hee regarded no longer the sowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was onely counterfaited, wherein like an actor vpon the stage, he had striuen to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians inuading Iuda in the dayes of IOAS.

BVt God, from whom hee was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, hauing taken *Gath*, a Towne of the *Philistims*, addressed himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Iuda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises vpon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I thinke he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of *Iuda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leauing the ten Tribes in their extreme miserie, to the furie of *Hazael* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemie, before hee had assured the conqueste of *Israel*, that lay betweene *Ierusalem* and his owne Kingdome, if some oportunitie had not promised such easie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries vsually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *Ioas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and *Israel*, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had

cause,

cauſe, for the rooting out of *Iehu* his poſteritie, who, like a bloudie Traytor, had vterly deſtroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, euen the whole houſe of *Ahab*, to which he was a ſubiect. If this were ſo, *Hazael* had the more apparant reaſon to inuade the Kingdome of *Iuda*. Howſoeuer it were, wee finde it plainely, that *Ioas* was afraid of him, and therefore *tooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord*, or in his owne houſe, with which preſent hee redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (queſtionleſſe) thinking it a better bargaine, to get ſo much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the aſſurance of this, for the poſſibilitie of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of vnhappie treaſure, which, belonging to the liuing God, remayned a ſmall while in the poſſeſſion of this mightie, yet corruptible man, but ſent him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie ſeuenth of *Ioas*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehoahaz*, he made this purchaſe; but in the ſame or the very next yeere he died, leauing all that he had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom theſe treaſures proſpered none otherwiſe, than ill-gotten goods are wont. 2.*King*.12.18.

This enterpriſe of *Hazael* is, by ſome, confounded with that warre of the *Aramites* vpon *Iuda*, mentioned in the ſecond Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reaſons alleaged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly prooue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloud-ſhed or fight; in the later, *Ioas* tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worſt, hee loſt all his Princes, and hardly eſcaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himſelfe was preſent; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwiſe, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may ſeeme to haue then beene the Sonne of *Hazael*) is ſaid to haue beene at *Damaſcus*. The firſt Armie came to conquer, and was ſo great, that it terrified the King of *Iuda*; The ſecond was a *ſmall companie of men*, which did animate *Ioas* (in vaine, for God was againſt him) to deale with them, as hauing *a very great Armie*. 2.*Chron*.24.24.

Now, concerning the time of this former inuaſion, I cannot perceiue that God forſooke him, till he had firſt forſaken God. There are indeede ſome, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Prieſt, becauſe that ſtorie is ioyned vnto the reſtauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the ſecond Booke of *Kings*, or if the Apoſtaſie of *Ioas*, or any other matter implying ſo much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeede to be doubted, that the Lord of all may diſpoſe of all things, according to his owne will and pleaſure, neither was he more vniuſt in the afflictions of *Iob* that righteous man, or the death of *Ioſias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgements vpon the houſe of *Ahab*. But it appeares plainely, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent ſeruice of God therewithall, which are ioyned together, were vſed *in the houſe of the Lord continually, all the dayes of* IEHOIADA; ſoone after whoſe death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as ſome very learnedly collect) in the ſixe, or thirtie ſeuenth yeere of this *Ioas* his raigne, the King falling away from the God of his Father, became a foule Idolater. 2.*Chron*.24.14.

And indeede we commonly obſerue, that the croſſes which it hath pleaſed God ſometimes to lay vpon his ſeruants, without any cauſe notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwayes tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which reſpect, euen the ſufferings of the bleſſed Martyrs *(the death of his Saints being precious in the ſight of the Lord)* are to their great aduantage. But with euil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen, and more ſtrict account; permitting vſually their faults to get the ſtart of their puniſhment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedneſſe be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but ſuffering them to runne on in their wicked courſes, to their greater miſerie. So hath he dealt with many; and ſo it appeares that he dealt with *Ioas*. For this vnhappie man did not onely continue an obſtinate Idolater, but grew ſo forgetfull of God and all goodneſſe, as if he had ſtrouen to exceede the wickedneſſe of all that *Pſal*.115.15.

went before him,and to leaue such a villainous patterne vnto others,as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

§. IIII.

How ZACHARIA *was murdered by* IOAS.

SVndry Prophets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the sonne of *Iehoiada* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so honourable, and sonne to a man so exceeding beloued in his life time,and reuerenced,that if *Ioas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemie,yet ought he in common honestie, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vsed at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should haue placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured loue of *Ioas*,yea though he had beene otherwise a man of very small marke, and not verie good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should bee heard with reuerence, how simple soeuer he appeares that brings it. But this King *Ioas*,hauing alreadie scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent,did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Sauiour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heire, come let vs kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that hee was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plaine truth, how great soeuer that mans deseruing were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised vpon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treacherie, I doe neither reade nor can conjecture. The dignitie of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement, though the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrarie. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandement, by which he suffered,tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath beene alreadie noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of *Iuda*.

Luke 20.14.

§. V.

How IOAS *was shamefully beaten by the Aramites, and of his death.*

THis odious murder,committed by an vnthankfull snake vpon the man in whose bosome he had beene fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed, to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his owne time, and his memorie detested in all ages; so had it the well-described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe swiftly, and heauily vpon the head of that vngratefull monster. It was the last yeere of his raigne; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to liue how he listed without controulement. When that yeere was expired, the *Aramites* came into the Countrie,rather as may seeme to get pillage, than to performe any great action;

ction; for they *came with a ſmall companie of men*: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themſelues did hope for. 2. Chron. 24. 24.

That *Ioas* naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice againſt his beſt friend, is, in my iudgement proofe ſufficient: though otherwiſe his baſe compoſition with *Hazael*, when hee might haue leauied (as his ſonne after him did muſter) three hundred thouſand choſen men for the warre, doth well enough ſhew his temper. Yet now he would needs bee valiant and make his people know, how ſtout of diſpoſition their King was, when he might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rouers, hee tooke a verie great Armie, ſo that wiſe-men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making ſhew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expoſe his perſon to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere oſtentation, and no perill to be feared; he going forth ſo ſtrongly appointed, againſt ſo weake enemies. Thus might wiſemen thinke, and laugh at him in ſecret; conſidering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reaſon was (as they ſay) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wiſedome of this world is fooliſhneſſe, did laugh not onely at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King ſecure, by reaſon of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Ioas* met, whether it were by ſome folly of the leaders, or by ſome amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatſoeuer meanes it pleaſed God to worke, ſo it was, that that great Armie of *Iuda* receiued a notable ouer-throw, and all the Princes were deſtroyed: the Princes of *Iuda*, at whoſe perſwaſion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Ioas* himſelfe (as *Abulenſis* and others expound the ſtorie) hee was ſorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and ſhamefully tormented, to wring out of him an exceſſiue ranſome.

And ſurely, all circumſtances doe greatly ſtrengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old tranſlation) ſaith, they exerciſed vpon *Ioas* ignominious iudgements; and that departing from him, they diſmiſſed him in great languor. All, which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-fauouredly. Now at that time *Ioas* the ſon of *Iehoahaz* raigned ouer *Iſrael*, and *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael* ouer the *Syrians* in *Damaſcus*; the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raiſed vp by God to reſtore the State of his miſerable Countrie; the other inferior euery way to his father, of whoſe purchaſes he loſt a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene theſe two Princes, promiſing no other euent than ſuch as after followed, might haue giuen to the King of *Iuda* good cauſe to bee bold, and plucke vp his ſpirits, which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not beene againſt him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehenſion of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with ſome ſhew of warre at his doores, it were eaſie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good ſucceſſe hereof, alreadie related, and the (perhaps as inexpected) ill ſucceſſe, which the *Aramites* found in their following warres againſt the King of *Iſrael*, ſheweth plainely the weakneſſe of all earthly might, reſiſting the power of the Almightie. For by his ordinance, both the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after more than fortie yeeres time of gathering ſtrength, was vnable to driue out a ſmall companie of enemies; and the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, hauing ſo beene trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fiftie Horſe-men, ten Chariots, and ten thouſand Foot-men were left, preuailed againſt his Sonne, and recouered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are euery-where found, and therefore I will not inſiſt vpon this; though indeed we ſhould not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heauenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-father vpon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they liſted, and ſaw that they were not able, being

ing so few, to take any possession of the Countrie, they departed out of *Iuda* loden with spoile, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselues belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not halfe so well. The King of *Iuda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sonnes of an *Ammonitesse*, and of a *Moabitesse*, whom some (because onely their Mothers names being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue beene bond-men. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, lest (as Tyrants vse) hee should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoeuer else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tells vs plainly, that, *for the bloud of the children of* IEHOIADA, this befell him. And the same appeares to haue beene vsed as the pretence of their conspiracie, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the sonne and successor of *Ioas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his bodie was judged vnworthie of buriall in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of *Zecharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deserued death.

2. *Chron.* 24. 25.

§. VI.

Of the Princes liuing in the time of IOAS: *Of the time when Carthage was built; and of* DIDO.

THere liued with *Ioas*, *Mezades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Syluius*, and after him *Syluius Alladius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italie*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirtie seuenth King succeeding vnto *Ophratanes*, began his raigne ouer the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth yeere of *Ioas*, which lasted fortie two yeeres. In the sixteenth of *Ioas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres.

In this time of *Ioas*, was likewise the raigne of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which Citie is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, some reporting it to be seuentie yeeres yonger than *Rome*, others aboue foure hundred yeeres elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the Annalls of *Tyre*, counting one hundred fortie and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeere of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seuenth of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and serue not verie well to make cleere the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write, some number of the yeeres, which hee reckoneth in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*; we may well enough beleeue, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose Bookes he giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two workes no longer following one the other, than the memorie of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleuenth yeere of *Ioas*, was a hundred fortie and three yeeres before the birth of *Rome*, and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eightie and nine: a time so long after the death of *Æneas*, that wee might truely conclude all to bee fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honor her Statua with this Epigramme.

Iosep. Cont. App. lib. 1.

ILLA

ILLA *ego ſum* DIDO *vultu quam conſpicis hoſpes,* Auſon. Ep. 117.
Aſſimulata modis pulchraq; mirificis.
Talis eram, ſed non MARO *quam mihi finxit erat mens,*
Vita nec incæſtis læta cupidinibus
(Namq; nec ÆNEAS *vidit me Troius vnquam*
Nec Libyam aduenit, claſſibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atq; arma procacis IARBAE;
Seruaui, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, caſtos quod pertulit enſes)
Non furor, aut læſo crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidiſſe iuuat: vixi ſine vulnere famæ,
Vlta virum, poſitis mœnibus oppetij.
Inuida cur in me ſtimulaſti Muſa MARONEM,
Fingeret vt noſtræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis hiſtoricis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubituſq; canunt.
Falſidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humaniſq; deos aſſimulant vitijs.

Which in effect is this,

I Am that DIDO which thou here do'ſt ſee,
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie.
Like this I was, but had not ſuch a ſoule,
As MARO fained, inceſtuous and foule.
ÆNEAS neuer with his *Troian* hoaſt
Beheld my face, or landed on this coaſt.
But flying proud IARBAS villanie,
Not mou'd by furious loue or iealouſie;
I did with weapon chaſt, to ſaue my fame,
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but firſt I built a Towne,
Reueng'd my huſbands death, liu'd with renowne.
Why did'ſt thou ſtirre vp VIRGIL, enuious Muſe,
Falſely my name and honour to abuſe?
Readers, beleeue Hiſtorians; not thoſe
Which to the world IOVES thefts and vice expoſe.
Poets are lyers, and for verſes ſake
Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* vnto the firſt *Punick* warre, that *Carthage* grew and flouriſhed in wealth and conqueſts, we find in many hiſtories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affaires before that warre, excepting thoſe few things that are recorded of their attempts vpon the Iſle of *Sicil.* Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightie Citie, vntill ſuch time as they ſhall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally deſtroyed; and proſecute in the meane while the Hiſtorie that is now in hand.

§. VII.

§. VII.

The beginning of AMAZIA *his reigne. Of* IOAS *King of Israel, and* ELISHA *the Prophet.*

AMAZIAS, the sonne of *Ioash*, being twentie fiue yeeres old when his father dyed, tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Iuda*, wherein he laboured so to demeane himselfe, as his new beginning raigne might be least offensiue. The Law of *Moses* he professed to obserue; which howsoeuer it had beene secretly despised since the time of *Iehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conforme himselfe vnto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had with-drawne the late King from the seruice of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, euen whilest that execrable murther, committed by the King vpon *Zechari*, was yet fresh in memorie, did serue as a notable example of Gods justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the arte of dissimulation, did not only forbeare to punish the Traytors that had slaine King *Ioas*, but gaue way to the time, and suffered the dead bodie to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had beene, in the Citie of *Dauid*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Iuda*. Neuertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoeuer their deede done, was applauded as the handie-worke of God) had neither any mightie partakers in their fact, nor strong maintayners of their persons, but rested secure, as hauing done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceiued his gouernement well establi∫hed, called them into question, at such a time, as the heate of mens affections, being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish betweene their treasons and Gods judgement, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue; which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life the better secured, by such exemplarie iustice, against the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelue or thirteene yeeres.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in *Iuda* by the commoditie of a long peace, so *Ioas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had beene, worshipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Iehu*, sufficed not to with-draw him from this politique Idolatrie; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime *Iehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, euen then when hee and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable wayes. Therefore in temporall matters, the ten Tribes recouered apace, but the fauour of God, which had beene infinitely more worth, I doe not find, nor beleeue, that they sought; that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to AMAZIA, *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of* EPHRAIM.

2. Chron. 25. 7.

Whe-

Whether it were ſo, that the great Prophet *Eliſha*, who liued in thoſe times, did fore-tell the proſperitie of the *Iſraelites* vnder the Raigne of *Ioas*; or whether *Iehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long aduerſitie, thought it the wiſeſt way, to diſcharge himſelfe in part of the heauie cares attending thoſe vnhappy *Syrian* warres, by laying the burthen vpon his hopefull ſonne; we finde that *in the thirtie-ſeuenth yeere of* IOAS, *King of Iuda*, IOAS *the ſonne of* IEHOAHAZ *began to raigne ouer Iſrael in Samaria*, which was in the fifteenth of his fathers raigne, and ſome two or three yeeres before his death. 2. *Kings* 13. 10.

It appeares that this yong Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did ſo well huſband that poore ſtocke which hee receiued from his Father, of ten Chariots, fiftie Horſe-men, and ten thouſand Foot, that he might ſeeme likely to proue a thriuer. Among other circumſtances, the wordes which he ſpake to *Eliſha* the Prophet, argue no leſſe. For *Ioas* viſiting the Prophet, who lay ſicke, ſpake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Iſrael, and the horſe-men of the ſame*: by which manner of ſpeech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had ſtood his Kingdome in more ſtead, than all the Horſes and Chariots could doe. 2. *Kings* 13. 14.

This Prophet who ſucceeded vnto *Elias*, about the firſt yeere of *Ioram* the ſonne of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, dyed (as ſome haue probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Ioas*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To ſhew how the Spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raiſe a dead child vnto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himſelfe was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead bones ſhould reſtore life vnto a carcaſſe, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee beſtowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Ioas*, who thereby did ſet *Iſrael* in a faire way of recouering all that the *Aramites* had vſurped, and weakning the Kings of *Damaſco* in ſuch ſort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of AMAZIA *his warre againſt* EDOM; *His Apoſtaſie; and ouerthrow by* IOAS.

THe happie ſucceſſe which *Ioas* had found in his warre againſt the *Aramites*, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of vndertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelfe might purchaſe the like honour. His kingdome could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſeruiceable men for the wars; and his treaſures were ſufficient for the payment of theſe, and the hire of many more. Cauſe of warre he had very iuſt againſt the *Edomites*, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Iehoram*, had about fiftie yeeres beene vnreclaymed, partly by meanes of the troubles happening in *Iuda*, partly through the ſloth and timorouſneſſe of his father *Ioas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the men of *Iuda* had in many yeeres beene without all exerciſe of warre (excepting that vnhappie fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wiſedome to increaſe his forces, with Souldiers waged out of *Iſrael*, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of ſiluer, *an hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Ioſephus* diminiſh the number, ſaying that they were but twentie thouſand. 2. *Chron.* 21. 6. *Ioſ. Antiq. Iud. lib.* 9. 6. 10.

This great Armie, which with ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, he was faine to diſmiſſe, before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill ſucceſſe, if hee ſtrengthned himſelfe with the helpe of thoſe men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victorie againſt the cruell *Aramites*) did not loue, becauſe they were Idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace; which to reuenge, they fell vpon

a peece of *Iuda* in their returne, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand men; and ſome ſpoile, which they carryed away. But *Amazia* with his owne forces, knowing that God would be aſſiſtant to their journey, entered couragiouſly into the *Edomites* Countrie; ouer whom obtayning victorie, hee ſlew ten thouſand, and tooke other ten thouſand priſoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it ſeemes, rather as Traytors, than as iuſt enemies. This victorie did not ſeeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the ſubjection of the crowne of *Iuda*, which might be the cauſe of that ſeueritie, which was vſed to the priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the liues of their friends and kinſmen at ſo deare a rate, as the loſſe of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount *Seir*, *Amazia* tooke, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places moſt indefencible, in that he left no garriſons there, whereby he might another yeere the better haue purſued the conqueſt of the whole Countrie. Howſoeuer it were, he got both honor by the journie, & gaines enough, had he not loſt himſelfe.

Among other ſpoiles of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods, which being vanquiſhed and taken priſoners, did deſerue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwiſe, I know not by what ſtrange witchcraft, ſo beſotted this vnworthie King *Amazia*, that *hee ſet them vp to bee his gods, and worſhipped them, and burned incenſe vnto them.*

2. Chron. 25. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, hee gaue a churliſh and threatning anſwere; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counſeller, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuffe, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious workemanſhip and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauiſhed the Kings fancie; me thinkes, he ſhould haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houſe-hold ornaments and things of pleaſure, than thereby haue ſuffered himſelfe to be blinded, with ſuch vnreaſonable deuotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſeruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it ſeemes to me, that the ſame affections caried him from God, vnto the ſeruice of Idols, which afterwards mooued him to talke ſo roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had alreadie obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and ſent away ſuch auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Iſrael*; which done, it is ſaid, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather aſſiſt him by miracle, than let him faile of obtayning all his hearts deſire. But with better reaſon he ſhould haue limited his deſires by the will of God, whoſe pleaſure it was, that *Eſau*, hauing broken the yoke of *Iacob* from his necke, accordingly as *Iſaac* had foretold, ſhould no more become his ſeruant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the Countrie of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet ſo, that he brought home both profit and honor, which might haue well contented him.

2. Chron. 25. 11.

But there is a fooliſh and a wretched pride, wherwith men being tranſported, can ill endure to aſcribe vnto God the honour of thoſe actions, in which it hath pleaſed him to vſe their owne induſtrie, courage, or fore-ſight. Therefore it is commonly ſeene, that they, who entring into battaile, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got ſuch a ground of aduantage; another, how he gaue checke to ſuch a battallion; a third, how hee ſeized on the enemies Canon; euery one ſtriuing to magnifie himſelfe, whileſt all forget God, as one that had not beene preſent in the action. To aſcribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confeſſe, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better ſucceſſe, than he did, or in reaſon might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happineſſe; ſo hee whoſe meere wiſedome and labour hath brought things to a proſperous iſſue, is doubly

doubly bound to ſhew himſelfe thankefull, both for the victorie, and for thoſe vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeed ſo farre from weakeneſſe is the nature of ſuch thankeſgiuing, that it may wel be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being ſo truly heroicall, as that by which the ſpirit of a man aduanceth it ſelfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which ſenſe it is a braue ſpeech that *Euander* in *Virgil*, vſeth to *Æneas*, none but a Chriſtian being capable of the admonition,

Aude hoſpes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philoſophie *Amazia* (as appeares by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had ſhewed himſelfe a better man of warre than any King of *Iuda*, ſince the time of *Iehoſaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people ſhould thinke him little inferior to *Dauid*: of which honour hee ſaw no reaſon why the Prophets ſhould rob him, who had made him looſe a hundred talents, and done him no pleaſure, he hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was diſtempered with ſuch vaine thoughts as theſe (beſides the witneſſe of his impietie following) *Ioſephus* doth teſtifie; ſaying, That hee deſpiſed GOD, and that being puft vp with his good ſucceſſe, of which neuertheleſſe hee would not acknowledge God to bee the Authour, hee commanded *Ioas* King of *Iſrael* to become his ſubject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Anceſtors King *Dauid* and King *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Ioas* was rather grounded vpon the iniurie done to him by the *Iſraelites*, whom he diſmiſſed in the journey againſt Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the ſenſe of a late wrong had more power to ſtirre him vp, than the remembrance of an olde title, forgotten long ſince, and by himſelfe neglected thirteene or foureteene yeeres. Neuertheleſſe it might ſo be, that when he was thus prouoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would alſo call olde matters into queſtion; that ſo the Kings of *Iſrael* might, at the leaſt, learne to keepe their ſubjects from offending *Iuda*, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazia* deſired onely recompence for the injurie done to him, it is not improbable that he ſhould haue had ſome reaſonable anſwere from *Ioas*, who was not deſirous to fight with him. But the anſwere which *Ioas* returned, likening himſelfe to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in reſpect of him to no better than a thiſtle, ſhewes that the challenge was made in inſolent tearmes, ſtuft perhaps with ſuch proud compariſon of nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which *Ioſephus* hath written) betweene a King of ancient race, and one of leſſe nobilitie than vertue.

Ioſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 10

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Aiax*, that when, going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods aſſiſtance, he made anſwere, that by Gods aſſiſtance, a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without ſuch helpe: after which proud ſpeech, though hee did many valiant acts, hee had ſmall thankes, and finally killing himſelfe in a madneſſe, whereinto he fell vpon diſgrace receiued, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did vtter ſuch words, I doe not find: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of ſuch words, hee was rewarded with ſucceſſe according. The verie firſt counſaile wherein this Warre was concluded, ſerues to proue that hee was a wiſe Prince indeed at *Ieruſalem*, among his Paraſites; but a foole when hee had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weake people, truſting more in the ſite of their Countrey than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Ioas*, who from ſo poore beginnings had rayſed himſelfe to ſuch ſtrength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thouſand men, and had all his Nation exerciſed, and trained vp, in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazia* diſcouered much want of judgement, in vndertaking ſuch a match;

Sophocles in Aiace Lor.

so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, hee behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *Ioas* on the contrarie side; hauing beene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemie than the King of *Iuda*, vsed that celeritie, which peraduenture had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Countrie, but presented himselfe with an Armie in *Iuda*, readie to bid battaile to *Amazia*, and saue him the labour of a long journie. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Iuda*; who (besides the impression of feare which an inuasion beats into people, not inured to the like) hauing deuoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoyle of *Israel*, fully perswading themselues to get as much, and at as easie rate as in the journie of *Edom*; were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomacke enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *Dauid*, to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foole-hardinesse might easily be foreseene in humane reason; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But meere humane wisedome, howsoeuer it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischiefe that fell vpon *Amazia*. For as soone as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so despised, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the men of *Iuda*, that without one blow giuen, they fled all away, leauing their King to shift for himselfe, which hee did so ill, that his enemie had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect baseneſſe. That the Armie which fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Ioas* carried him directly to *Ierusalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates might be opened, to let him in and his Armie; threatning him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable caytiue, with these dreadfull wordes, that he durst doe none other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselues to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwardes being in weaker state, held out two yeeres, against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vtterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to saue it, vsed all his force of command and intreatie to betray it. So the gates of *Ierusalem* were opened to *Ioas*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had euer obtained) hee could not rest contented, but, the more to despight *Amazia* and his people, he caused foure hundred cubits of the wall to be throwne downe, and entred the Citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in triumph. This done, he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazia*, hee dismissed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

Ios. Ant. l. 9. c. 10

§. IX.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering IOAS *from vniting* IVDA *to the Crowne of Israel, when he had wonne Ierusalem, and held* AMAZIA *prisoner. The end of* IOAS *his Raigne.*

WE may justly maruaile how it came to passe, that *Ioas*, being thus in possession of *Ierusalem*, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his owne entire, could bee so contented to depart quietly, with a little spoyle, when hee might haue seized vpon the whole Kingdome. The raigne of *Athalia* had giuen him cause to hope, that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that crowne; his owne Nobilitie, being the sonne and grand-childe of Kings, together with the famous acts that hee had done, were enough to make the people of *Iuda* thinke highly of him; who might also haue preferred his forme of gouernment, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thankes, which were due to the memorie of a few good ones. The commoditie that would haue ensued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is so apparant, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbad the *Israelites* (as afterwards in the victorie which *Peka* the sonne of *Romelia* got vpon *Ahaz*) to turne his present aduantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so well exercised, as *Ioas* had bin, in recouering his owne, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of *Ierusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

But concerning that point, which, of all others, had beene most materiall, I meane the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainely seene, that entring *Ierusalem* in triumphant manner, *Ioas* was vnable to concoct his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had beene enough to haue let him not only into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie (especially hauing sure meanes of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, when they saw themselues betrayed, and basely giuen away by him whose they had beene before. The faire marke which this opportunity presented, he did not ayme at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanely busied, in leuelling at the glorie of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwardes haue beene corrected well enough, if entring as an enemie, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the walles, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his couetousnesse beganne, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most readie to the spoyler, yet should be most forborne. The treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philistims*, men ignorant of the true God & his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Ioas*, who though an Idolatour, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at *Ierusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed Edom (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasurie) to a strict account*, as if they had beene Officers of his owne Exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable Churchrobber, than as a Noble Prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely auoyded; by stealing a few Apples, hee lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselues one to one, perceiue his

1. *Chron.* 26. 15.

Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mightie towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnaduised feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recouer their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first errour; they will thinke vpon euery aduantage, of place, of prouisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the euills growne out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poyson the body, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be desired, than the Citie of *Florence*, which through the weakenesse of *Peter de Medices*, gouerning therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard termes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the Eighth, who not plainely professing himselfe either friend or foe to the Estate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himselfe and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preserue their libertie, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of readie money, and the absolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bade him sound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells: which peremptorie wordes made the French bethinke themselues, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thousand pounds, and not halfe of that mony to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatsoeuer he had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Ioas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, vsually drawes euery Citizen to saue his owne, leauing victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolued, women can quench, as fast as the enemie, hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeed that Commander is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diuersitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Ierusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soeuer *Ioas* might hold himselfe within *Ierusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the Armie of *Iuda*, which had beene more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, should re-enforce it selfe, and giue him a checke vpon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being vpon returne, and better loden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of *Ioas*, and keepe it downe from aspiring to the Crowne of *Iuda*; it appeares that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the Prophet; who when this *Ioas* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred vnto the fifth, sixth and seuenth yeeres of *Ioas*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good successe, ill might the King of *Israel* haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could hee haue either lent the *Indean* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battaile, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by

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the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories, *Ioas* ſhould find ſome change of fortune, and ſuffer loſſe; we muſt needs conclude, That the *Aramite* preuailed vpon him this yeere, it being the laſt of his Raigne. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking aduantage of *Ioas* his abſence, gaue ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himſelfe into new misfortunes, which increaſed the calamitie, wee may euidently perceiue in that which is ſpoken of *Ieroboam* his ſonne. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Iſrael*, and that hauing *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from vnder the heauen, he preſerued them by the hand of* IEROBOAM, *the ſonne of* IOAS. This is enough to proue, that the victorious Raigne of *Ioas* was concluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the Temple haſtning his miſerie and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious Potentates.

Thus eyther through indignation conceiued againſt him, by the people of *Ieruſalem*, and courage which they tooke to ſet vpon him within the Walls: or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battaile in open field, and recouer by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter; or through the miſeries daily brought vpon his owne Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his abſence, if not by all of theſe; *Ioas* was driuen to lay aſide all thought of winning the Kingdome of *Iuda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſte homewards, where hee found a ſad wel-come, and being vtterly forſaken of his wonted proſperitie, forſooke alſo his life in few moneths after, leauing his Kingdome to *Ieroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant ſonne.

§. X.

The end of AMAZIA *his Raigne and Life.*

ANy man is able to gheſſe how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted ſo much of his owne great proweſſe and skil in armes, threatning to worke wonders, and ſet vp anew the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncaſed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a beaſt as he had beene painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred vnto ſuch, as held him in diſlike; which at this time, doubtleſſe, were very many: for the ſhame that fals vpon an inſolent man, ſeldome failes of meeting with aboundance of reproch. As for *Amazia* (beſides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, euen of thoſe calamities which happened by their owne default) there was no child in all *Ieruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchiefe. He had not only challenged a good man of Warre, being himſelfe a Daſtard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemy, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes hee might ſee what ſpoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-ſay. The father of this *Amazia*, was a beaſtly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, hee did not offer to buy his owne life at ſo deare a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Ieruſalem*. Had he offered, ſhould they haue made his promiſe good? Surely the haſte which they had made in condeſcending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelite* (which was eaſie enough) any little while, they ſhould ſoone haue beene rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would haue made him runne home, with greater ſpeed than hee came forth. Then alſo, when hauing truſſed vp his baggage, hee was ready to bee gone, a little courage would haue ſerued to perſwade him to leaue his load behind; had not their good King deliuered vp Hoſtages, to ſecure his returne, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this vnhappy King: it had beene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolatour to the very last. For it is said of
2. *Chron.25.27.* him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem*; a manifest proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainely, they which tell a man in his aduersitie of his faults passed, shall sooner bee thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to seeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than euer they had beene. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselues might alwayes be masters, wanted not plausible matter to reuiue him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of *Iuda*, that had beene ouercome in battaile. *Dauid* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leauing it, before the Enemie was in sight, vnto *Absalom* his rebellious sonne. Many besides him had receiued losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Ioas* might so easily haue beene kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessitie of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather liue to punish them, than dye to please them. Though wherein had he giuen them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Ioas*; but it was the people that did it. Good seruants ought not to haue obeyed their Masters Commandements, to his disaduantage, when they saw him not master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had hee beene as hasty to flye, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom hee trusted. Vnworthie creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans wordes, being prisoner, he commanded them to yeeld; hauing neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand liues were saued; the Enemie hauing wisely preferred the surprise of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Armie of Stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perswade him, that it was euen so indeed. And such excuses might haue serued well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily find how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that hee meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteene yeeres following (so long he out-liued his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth bee recorded of his gouernment, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking that lesse regard is had of his person, than he beleeueth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a seuere man. For the affected sowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the grauitie of one that is wise: and the feare wherein they liue, which are subiect vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to him that does the wrong; at least it serues to dazle the eyes of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weaknesse of such as haue iurisdiction ouer them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vsing it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they doe vsually misspend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vaine and

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deceiuable course; procuring instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an vnable spirit, being ouerparted with high authoritie, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold vp his reputation, what did hee else than striue to make the people thinke he hated them, when of themselues they were apt enough to beleeue, that he did not loue them? The best was that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, prouided well enough for his owne securitie: but who should take vengeance; (or vpon whom?) of such a murther, wherein euery one had a part? Surely God himselfe, who had not giuen commandement or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the bloud of his Anoynted. Yet as *Amazia*, careleſſe of God, was carried headlong by his owne affections; so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vp against him, with such headlong fury, that being vnable to defend himselfe in *Ierusalem*, he was driuen to forsake the Citie, and flye to *Lachis*, for safegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceiued against him, and so generall, that neyther his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrey abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionlesse, he chose the Towne of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conspiratours (who troubled not themselues about raysing an Armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, hee was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the vtmost Citie of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Iuda*; so that he might haue made an easie escape (if hee durst aduenture) into the Territorie of the *Philistims*, or the Kingdome of *Israel*. Therefore it may seeme that hee was detained there, where certaine it is that hee found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the generall insurrection; the murtherers could not at so good leisure as they did, haue carried away his bodie to *Ierusalem*, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Interregnum, *or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of* IVDA, *after the death of* AMAZIA.

IT hath alreadie beene shewed, that the raignes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat yeeres; otherwhiles, by yeeres current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeeres of his fathers Raigne, or the foremost of his sonnes. But we are now arriued at a meere vacation, wherein the Crowne of *Iuda* lay voyd eleuen whole yeeres: a thing not plainly set downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Iosephus*, and therefore hard to bee beleeued, were it not proued by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that AMAZIA, *King of Iuda, liued after the death of* IOAS *King of Israel fifteene yeeres*; whereupon it followes, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteene yeeres compleate, which *Ieroboam* the second (who *in the fifteenth yeere of* AMAZIA *was made King ouer Israel*) had raigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Vzzia*, who is also called *Azaria*, vnto his father in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, was eleuen yeeres later than the sixteenth of *Ieroboam*: for it is expressed, that AZARIA *beganne to raigne in the seuen and twentieth yeere of* IEROBOAM; the sixteenth yeere of his life, being ioyned with the first of two and fiftie that he raigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleuen yeeres cannot be diuided, without some hard meanes vsed, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter sounds.

2. *Chron.* 25. 2. & 2 *Kin.* 14. 17. 2. *King.* 14. 23.

2. *King.* 15. 1.

Yet

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voyde time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seuen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*, we should perhaps vnderstand the seuen and twentieth yeere of his life; or else (because the like wordes are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was eleauen yeeres vnder age, that is, fiue yeeres old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth yeere might concurre with the seuen and twentieth of *Ieroboam*; or that the text it selfe may haue suffered some wrong, by miswriting twentie seuen for seuenteene yeeres, and so, by making the seuenteenth yeere of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may be salued. These are the conjectures of that worthie man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the Author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon euery doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all coppies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his Raigne being fiue yeeres old; but then must we adde those eleauen yeeres which passed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth yeere, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so carefull to auoide an *interregnum* in *Iuda*, seeing that the like necessitie hath inforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the Kingdome of *Israel*? The space of time betweene *Ieroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariahs* Reigne, and such another gap found betweene the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, haue made it easily to be admitted in *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Iuda*, when *Amazia* was slaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the necessitie of computation were not so apparant.

For the publike furie, hauing so farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the Kings owne person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to breake forth into such extremity. Wee need not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselues into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inuested in all ornaments of Regalitie, is neuertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from head-strong and forgetfull subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to haue beene King but one and forty yeeres, after hee came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* eleauen yeeres of Raigne with his Father, before he beganne to raigne single in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not swallow vp almost the whole Raigne of *Ioas*, and extending the yeeres of those which raigned in *Israel* (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Raignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with AMAZIA, *and more particularly of* SARDANAPALVS.

THE Princes liuing with *Amazia*, and in the eleauen yeeres that followed his death, were *Ioas* and *Ieroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Syluius Alladius*, and *Syluius Auentinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Theleclus*, in whose time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and some other Townes.

But

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth yeere of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, raigned twentie yeeres, and was ſlaine the laſt of the eleuen void yeeres which fore-went the Raigne of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand, two hundred and fortie yeeres. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes hee liued an vnhappie life, knowing himſelfe to bee ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man haue a ſight of him; yet ſeene he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who gouerned *Media* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriuing to counterfeit an harlot, that hee thought it great ſhame to liue vnder the command of ſo vnworthie a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelfe and others from ſo baſe ſubiection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainely, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with this prophecie, did promiſe vnto *Beloſus* himſelfe the gouernment of *Babylon*; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſines, one of them ſtirred vp the *Medes*, and allured the *Perſians* into the quarrell, the other perſwaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themſelues in the ſame cauſe. Theſe foure Nations armed fortie thouſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelfe, but gathering ſuch forces as hee could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, anſwere to the manner of his retiredneſſe. For in three battailes hee carried away the better, driuing *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch fearefull termes, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome vnexpected ſuccours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Campe. About the ſame time, an Armie out of *Bactria* was comming to aſſiſt the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it vpon the way, perſwaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of libertie, that thoſe forces joyned themſelues with his. The ſodaine departure of the enemie ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his Armie, triumphing before victorie. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened with this new ſupply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through ouer-great ſecuritie was vnprepared for reſiſtance.

This ouerthrow did ſo weaken the Kings heart, that leauing his wiues brother *Salamenus* to keepe the field, he withdrew himſelfe into the Citie of *Nineue*; which, till new aides that he ſent for ſhould come, hee thought eaſily to defend; it hauing beene prophecied, that *Niniue* ſhould neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemie to the Towne. Of the greatneſſe and ſtrength of *Niniue*, enough hath beene ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus*. It was ſo well victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailes ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and ſlaine *Salamenus*) was faine to lye two whole yeeres before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force thoſe wals, which were a hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Charriots in front to paſſe vpon the rampire. But that which he could not doe in two yeeres, the Riuer of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high ſwolne with raines, it not only drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe twentie furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, eyther terrified with the accompliſhment of the olde Oracle, or ſeeing no meanes of reſiſtance left, ſhutting vp himſelfe into his Palace, with his wiues, Eunuches and all his treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith hee and they were together conſumed. *Strabo* ſpeakes of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a Citie of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that Citie and *Tharſus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate *Strabo l. 9.*

and

and drinke,and make merry, encouraging other, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example,testifie that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue beseeming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end;saying that *Arbaces*,when hee first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly hee slew him with a dagger. But the more generall consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a *Greeke* Writer, that liued in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be knowne.

Diod.Sic.l.2 c.7

Concerning the Princes which raigned in *Assyria*; from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleeue that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied, in offensiue or else defensiue armes;yet for the most part of them I doe better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were ouerpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthie of memory. Whatsoeuer they did; that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is verie true; *Silence and oblivion hath oppressed them.*

Diod.l.2.c.6.

Theophilus Antiochenus l.2.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of VZZIA.

§. I.

The prosperitie of VZZIA, *and of* IEROBOAM *the second, who raigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes after the death of* IEROBOAM. *Of* ZACHARIA, SALLVM, MENAHEM *and* PEKAHIA.

VZZIA, who is also called *Azaria* the sonne of *Iotham*, was made King of *Iuda*, when he was sixteene yeeres old, in the seuen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioas* King of *Israel*. Hee serued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built *Eloth*, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Iuda*. Hee ouercame the *Philistims*, of whose Townes hee dismantled some, and built others in sundrie parts of their Territories. Also hee got the mastrie ouer some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous warres, wherein (as *Iosphus* rehearseth his acts) he beganne with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded vnto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seuen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand sixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the King prepared *shields, and speares, and helmets*,and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policie to vse the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre *the Princes and all the Charriots.*

2.Chron.26.14.

2.Chron.21.9.

As the victories of *Vzzia* were farre more important, than the atchieuements of

of all that had raigned in *Iuda*, ſince the time of *Dauid*; ſo were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not ſuperior to any of theirs that had beene Kings betweene him and *Salomon*. For beſides that great conqueſts are wont to repay the charges of Warre with triple intereſt, he had the skill to vſe, as well as the happineſſe to get. Hee turned his Lands to the beſt vſe, keeping Ploughmen and Dreſſers of Vines, in grounds conuenient to ſuch huſbandry. In other places hee had Cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great ſtore, hauing wonne ſo much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had aboundance of waſte ground ſeruing for paſturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardſmen, hee built Towres in the wilderneſſe. He alſo digged many Ciſternes or Ponds. *Ioſephus* cals them Water-courſes; but in ſuch drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the moſt likely places. If by theſe Towres hee ſo commanded the water, that none could without his conſent, releeue themſelues therewith; queſtionleſſe he tooke the onely courſe, by which he might ſecurely hold the Lordſhip ouer all the Wilderneſſe; it being hardly paſſable, by reaſon of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vſe of Trauailers.

Beſides all this coſt, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of ſundrie Townes among the *Philiſtims*; hee repaired the wall of *Ieruſalem*, which *Ioas* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towres, whereof ſome were an hundred and fiftie Cubits high.

The State of *Iſrael* did neuer ſo flouriſh, as at this time, ſince the diuiſion of the twelue Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as *Vzzia* preuailed in the South, ſo (if not more) *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Ioas*, King of the tenne Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories, againſt the *Syrians*, he wanne the Royall Citie of *Damaſcus*, and he wanne *Hamath*, with all the Countrie thereabout *from the entring of Hamath, vnto the Sea of the Wilderneſſe*, that is (as the moſt expound it) vnto the vaſt deſerts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was vndiſcouered. So the bounds of *Iſrael* in thoſe parts, were in the time of this *Ieroboam*, the ſame (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the Raigne of *Dauid*. 2.*Reg*.14.25.28.

But it was not for the pietie of *Ieroboam*, that hee thriued ſo well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compaſſion which the Lord had on *Iſrael*, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſſe of warre, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, vnder the feet of thoſe, whom they had ſo cruelly oppreſſed. The line of *Iehu*, to which God had promiſed the Kingdome of *Iſrael vnto the fourth generation*, was now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefits, as it had beene at the beginning. But the ſinne of *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Nebat*, was held ſo precious, that neither the Kingdome it ſelfe, giuen to him by God, was able to draw *Iehu* from that politike Idolatrie; nor the miſery falling vpon him and his poſteritie, to bring them to a better courſe of Religion; nor yet, at the laſt, this great proſperitie, of *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Ioas*, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promiſe of God, made vnto *Iehu*, that his ſonnes, *vnto the fourth generation*, ſhould ſit on the throne of *Iſrael*, was not enlarged; but, being almoſt expired, gaue warning of the approching end, by an accident (ſo ſtrange, that wee, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gheſſe at the occaſions) forgoing the laſt acompliſhment. 2.*Reg*.10.13.

When *Ieroboam* the Sonne of *Ioas*, after a victorious raigne of one and fortie yeeres, had ended his life, it ſeemes in all reaſon that *Zacharia* his Son, ſhould forthwith haue beene admitted, to raigne in his ſtead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten ſuch a luſtre, by the immediate ſucceſſion of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne paſſed by election, muſt needes haue appeared baſe; and the vertue of the laſt King, hauing beene ſo great, as might well ſerue to lay the foundation of a new houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the alreadie confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twentie yeeres

yeeres did passe, before *Zacharia* the Sonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vniforme consent, receiued as King. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue beene wanting, vpon which, the wisedome of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the Armie (who afterwardes slew one another, so fast, that in fourteene yeeres there raigned fiue Kings) did now by head-strong violence, rent the Kingdome asunder, holding each what hee could, and eyther despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; vntill, after many yeeres, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quietly to the sonne of *Ieroboam*. That this *Anarchie* lasted almost three and twentie yeeres, we find by the difference of time, betweene the fifteenth yeere of *Vzzia*, which was the last of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his seuen and twentieth concurring with the first of *Vzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Vzzia*, in the last sixe moneths whereof, *Zacharia* raigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed that by supposing *Ieroboam* to haue raigned with his father eleuen yeeres, doe cut off the *interregnum* in *Iuda* (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abbridge this *Anarchie*, that was before the Raigne of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leaue it twelue yeeres long: which is time sufficient to proue, that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes was no lesse distempered, than as is alreadie noted. But I choose rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes raigning abroad in the World, than this doubtfull conjecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fiftie yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Raigne, vnto his own, which was it selfe indeed so long, that hee may well seeme to haue begunne it very yong: for I doe not thinke, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer raigne, and with a longer life, than he did his seruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of *Israel* was voide, before the raigne of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to be said of his Raigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himselfe a worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to iustifie the judgement of God, whereby he was slaine. He was the last of *Iehu's* house, being (inclusiuely) the first of that line; which may haue beene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophecie hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant giuen to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had beene giuen to *Iehu*, for the slaughter of *Iehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* house.

Zacharia hauing beene sixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who raigned after him, *the space of a moneth in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not find; saue onely that he was a Traytour, and the sonne of one *Iabesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now, when al other Competitors were sitten downe, thought easily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong partie: for *Tiphsah* or *Thapsa*, and the Coast thereof euen from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem*, his enemie and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* receiued the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menahem* who raigned in his place.

2. King. 15. 13.

Menahem the sonne of *Gadi*, raigned after *Sallum* tenne yeeres. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: For hee not onely destroyed *Tiphsah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript vp all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this crueltie beene vsed in reuenge of *Zacharias* death, it is like that hee would haue beene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crowne when it was first due. But in performing that office,

office, there was vſed ſuch long deliberation, that wee may plainely diſcouer Ambition, Diſdaine, and other priuate paſſions, to haue beene the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeemes) in the beginning of his Raigne; *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the Land of *Iſrael*; whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſiluer, leauied vpon all the ſubſtantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Iſraelite* purchaſed, not only the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) hauing either inuited *Pul* thither, or (if he came vncalled) ſought to vſe his helpe, in depoſing this ill beloued King. *Ioſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his Raigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeeres, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Sonne, occupied his roome. *Ioſ. ant. l. 9. c. 11.*

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtorie is ſhort: for hee raigned only two yeeres; at the end whereof, he was ſlaine by *Peka*, the Sonne of *Remalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the Crowne of *Iſrael*, as, in time comming, another mans Treaſon againſt himſelfe ſhall be. There needs no more to be ſaid of *Menahem*, and his Sonne, ſaue that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as wee finde in *Ioſephus*) like to his Father in crueltie. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* King, who firſt opened vnto thoſe Northerne Nations the way into *Paleſtina*, it will ſhortly follow in order of the Storie, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome, *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that wee relate the end of *Vzzia's* life, who out-liued the happineſſe wherein we left him. *Ioſ. ibid.*

§. II.

The end of VZZIA *his Raigne and life.*

AS the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Prieſt, was the meane, to preſerue the linage of *Dauid*, in the perſon of *Ioas*; ſo it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the Crowne of *Iuda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazia*, had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is ſaid of *Vzzia*, That *hee ſought God in the dayes of* ZECHARIA *(which vnderſtood the viſions of God) and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.* *2. Chron. 26. 5.*

But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted vp to his deſtruction: for hee trangreſſed againſt the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incenſe, vpon the Altar of incenſe. *V. 16.* Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authoritie, by medling in the Prieſts office, whoſe power had in euery extremitie beene ſo helpefull to the Kings of *Iuda*, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, ſhould haue held backe *Vzzia* from incroching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had beene ſilent in this caſe, and not forbidden it. Howſoeuer the King forgot his dutie, the Prieſts remembred theirs, and God forgat not to aſſiſt them. *Azaria* the high Prieſt interrupted the Kings purpoſe, and gaue him to vnderſtand, how little to his honour it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the ſonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* foureſcoure other Prieſts, valiant men, but their valour was ſhewed only in aſſiſting the high Prieſt, when (according to his dutie) hee reprehended the Kings preſumption. This was enough, the reſt God himſelfe performed. Wee find in *Ioſephus*, that the King had apparelled himſelfe in Prieſtly habit, and that hee threatned *Azarias* and his Companions, to puniſh them with death, vnleſſe they would be quiet. *Ioſephus*, indeed, inlargeth the Storie, by inſerting a great Earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs, till it reſted againſt another Hill, ſtopping vp the high-wayes, and ſpoyling the Kings Garden in the paſſage. With this Earth-quake, he ſayth, that the roofe of the Temple did *Ioſ. ant. l. 9. c. 11.*

cleaue, and that a Sunne-beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue beene true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they doe much misse-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the daies of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seuen and thirtie yeeres before *Vzzia*; so that *Iotham* the Sonne of *Vzzia*, which supplyed his Fathers place in gouernment of the Land, should, by this accompt, haue beene then vnborne: for hee was but fiue and twentie yeeres old, when hee beganne to raigne as King. Therefore, thus farre only wee haue assurance; that *while* VZZIA *was wroth with the Priests, the leprosie rose vp in his forehead, before the Priests.* Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to liue in a house by himselfe, vntill he dyed; the rule ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne, and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon him selfe the stile of King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument a-part from the rest, because he was a Leper.

2. *Chron.*26.20.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of VZZIA; *and of Princes then ruling in Ægypt, and in some other Countries.*

IN the time of *Vzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Ioel*, *Amos*, *Obadia*, and *Ionas*. It is not indeed set downe, when *Ioel*, or *Obadia*, did prophecie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to bee ranged (according to S. *Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be iudged contemporarie with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of these fiue was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painefully beene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquitie of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Ionas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; & therefore is like to haue prophecied in the dayes of *Ioas*, whileſt the affliction of *Israel* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason, vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose dayes *Niniue* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

2. *Chron.*c.14. v.25.26.

In the Raigne of *Vzzia* likewise it was, that *Esai*, the first of the foure great Prophets, beganne to see his visions. This difference of *greater and lesser* Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as S. *Augustine* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esai* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much written; or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is reiected, who thinke him to haue beene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liued; but for the excellencie, both of his stile, and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole Historie of our Sauiour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that hee might as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; hauing written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* sayth) *one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Historie of matters alreadie past.*

Aug. de ciui. Dei l.18. c.19.

Hier. in præf. super Esaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Ægypt*, and the ninth yeere of his Raigne, by our computation

tion (whereof in due place we will giue reaſon) was current, when *Vzzia* tooke poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aſychis* followed in the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, vnto him ſucceeded *Anyſis*; and theſe two occupied that Crowne ſix yeeres. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthopian*, became King of *Ægypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres, whereof the tenne firſt ranne along with the laſt of *Vzzia* his Raigne and life. Of theſe and other *Ægyptian* Kings, more ſhall be ſpoken, when their affaires ſhall come to be intermedled with the buſineſſe of *Iuda*.

In *Athens*, the two laſt yeeres of *Ariphron* his twentie, the ſeuen and twentieth of *Theſpeius*, the twentieth of *Agamneſtor*, and threethe firſt of *Æſchylus* his three and twentie, made euen with the two and fiftie of *Vzzia*: as likewiſe did in *Alba* the laſt ſeuen of *Siluius Auentinus* his ſeuen and thirtie, together with the three and twentie of *Siluius Procas*, and two and twentie the firſt of *Syluius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* beganne his new Kingdome, in the firſt of *Vzzia*, wherein, after eight and twentie yeeres, his Sonne *Oſarmus* ſucceeded him, and raigned thirtie yeeres. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuiſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, betweene him and others, when they had oppreſſed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vſe more particular diſcourſe, that we may not wander in too great vncertaintie in the Storie of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, who haue alreadie found the way into *Paleſtina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IIII.

Of the Aſſyrian Kings, deſcending from PHVL: *and whether* PHVL *and* BELOSVS *were one perſon; or heads of ſundrie Families, that raigned a-part in Niniue and Babylon.*

BY that which hath formerly beene ſhewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparant, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the reſt of the Confederates did not only ſubmit themſelues in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to bee judged by him; receiuing by his authoritie ſentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The firſt example of this his power, was ſhewne vpon *Beloſus* the *Babylonian*, by whoſe eſpeciall aduice and helpe, *Arbaces* himſelfe was become ſo great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exerciſed in ſo tyrannicall manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, eyther to the Princes that had aſſiſted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of *Beloſus*, he vſed the counſaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne Grace; allowing him to hold, not only the Citie and Prouince of *Babylon*, but alſo thoſe treaſures, for embezeling whereof his life had beene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the reſt of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retayning (as it appeares) only the Soueraignetie to himſelfe, which to vſe immoderately hee did naturally abhorre. Hee is ſaid, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* againſt *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of tranſferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promiſe, hee deſtroyed the Citie of *Niniue*; permitting the Citizens neuertheleſſe to take and carrie away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyned with him, as the *Perſians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his ſide, by the allurement of libertie; which he himſelfe ſo greatly loued, that by ſlacking too much the reines of his owne Soueraigetie, he did more harme to the generall eſtate of *Media*, than the pleaſure of the freedome, which it enioyed, could recompence. For both the Territorie of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanaſſar* (or perhaps by ſome of his Progenitors) whom wee finde, in the Scriptures, to haue held ſome Townes of the

Medes, and the ciuill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselues were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the first of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that gouernment, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourescore yeeres, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, and teare away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Niniue*, and subuersion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honour; who may seeme at that time to haue kept the *Assyrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were set at libertie; but in consideration of the Kings themselues, who raigning afterwardes in *Babylon*, and *Niniue*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their Historie is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the obiections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthie man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neyther shall it be needfull to set downe a-part the seuerall authorities and arguments of sundrie men adding somewhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without feare to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but meerely led by those reasons which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as currant, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palæstina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authours with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally, that hee raigned eight and fortie yeeres, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat phalasar* his Sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* preuailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proofe, could not be gainsaid: for that Authour (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoeuer *Annius* his Authors deserue to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, justifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authours, and repugnant vnto no Historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Belosus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Captaines were with gouernements: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to haue *Assyria* it selfe, the chiefe Country of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least apparence is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should bee committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their owne wals and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Niniue* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe, from aspiring to recouer the Soueraignty, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seat of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage* and dissolue the Corporation, or Bodie politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Townes were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed ouer-

dangerous

dangerous euen to *Rome* it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or foure yeeres had erected their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* haue beene (of whose deseruings, or entermedling, or indeed of whose very name, wee find no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall part of the Empire fell, eyther by generall consent in diuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belosus*; whose neere Neighbourhood gaue him opportunitie (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to seize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belosus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and siluer that had beene in the Palace of *Niniue*. And questionlesse to restore such a Citie as *Niniue*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such meanes as *Belosus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belosus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Tull. contra Rullum, or. 2.

Herodot. li. 1.

Besides all this, had *Pul* beene a distinct person from *Belosus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not haue beene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootie afarre off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was he same whom prophane writers haue called *Belosus*, *Beleses*, and *Belestis*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that hee, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the Sonne of *Astyages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple vtterly remooued. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palæstina*: so that *Belosus*, hauing settled his affaires in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroach vpon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may find euery one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who inuaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belosus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, meerely for the loue of *Belosus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belosus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adjoyning to their barraine quarters, might yeerely doe them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to haue quiet passage through their borders, but their vtmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loued not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broyles among the tenne Tribes; whereby, as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie Neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recouered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the Coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neyther was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations diuided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good termes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinitie; the memorie whereof was auaileable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the Riuer came ouer willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belosus* had good reason to looke into those parts; what a King raigning so farre off as *Niniue*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

Iosep. ant. l. 10. cap. 12.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldæans* into *Palæstina*, it may bee doubted, lest it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath beene said of the long Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes.

For if the Crowne of *Israel* were worne by no man in three and twentie yeeres, then is it likely that *Belosus* was eyther vnwilling to stirre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was faireſt, and firſt diſcouered. This might haue compelled thoſe, who alone were not ſtrong enough, to ſeeke after helpe from ſome Prince that lay further off; and ſo the opinion of thoſe that diſtinguiſh *Phul* from *Belosus*, would be ſomewhat confirmed. On the other ſide, if we ſay, that *Belosus* did paſſe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, as ſoone as hee found likelihood of making a proſperous journey, then may it ſeeme that the *inter-regnum* in *Israel* was not ſo long as we haue made it: for three and twentie yeeres leiſure would haue afforded better opportunitie, which ought not to haue beene loſt.

For anſwere hereunto, we are to conſider, what *Oroſius* and *Euſebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mightie, betweene the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an errour of *Oroſius*, where he ſuppoſeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldæans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein hee and *Euſebius* doe concurre, that the authoritie of *Arbaces* did reſtraine the ambition, which by his abſence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull only of it ſelfe. Now, though ſome haue conjectured that all *Aſſyria* was giuen to *Belosus* (as an ouerplus, beſides the Prouince of *Babylon*, which was his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in regard of his high deſeruings, yet the opinion more commonly receiued is, that hee did only encroch vpon that Prouince by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himſelfe. Seeing therefore, that there paſſed but twelue yeeres betweene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Raigne; manifeſt it is, that the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, and ſettling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Belosus* occupyed, beſides the reſtauration of *Niniue*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his Raigne, if perhaps he liued to ſee it finiſhed in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather ſerue to proue that *Phul* and *Belosus* were one perſon; foraſmuch as the iourney of *Phul* againſt *Israel* was not made vntill *Belosus* could find leiſure; and the time of aduantage which *Belosus* did let ſlip, argued his buſineſſe in ſome other quarter, namely in that Prouince of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may bee ſaid, that he who conquered *Aſſyria*, and performed ſomewhat vpon a Countrie ſo farre diſtant as *Palæſtina*, was likely to haue beene, at leaſt, named in ſome Hiſtorie, or, if not himſelfe, yet his Countrey to haue beene ſpoken of for thoſe victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Authour, neyther doth any Writer, ſacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatſoeuer of the *Aſſyrians*, done in thoſe times; whereas of *Belosus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, wee find good Record.

Surely, that great ſlaughter of ſo many thouſand *Aſſyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and vnfortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine and vtter deſolation of *Niniue*, muſt needes haue ſo weakened the ſtate of *Aſſyria*, that it could not in thirtie yeeres ſpace be able to inuade *Palæſtina*, which the ancient Kings, raigning in *Niniue*, had, in all their greatneſſe, forborne to attempt. Yet theſe afflictions, diſabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Belosus* to ſubdue it; who hauing once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (eſpecially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpoſition of that Countrey, ſecure of the *Scythinns*, and other warlike Nations on that ſide, might very well turne Southward, and trie his fortune in thoſe Kingdomes; whereinto ciuill diſſention of the inhabitants, and the bordering enuie of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damaſco*, friends and Couſins to the *Chaldæans* and *Meſopotamians*, did inuite him. For theſe, and the other before alledged reaſons, it may be concluded, That what is ſaid of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderſtood of *Belosus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*,

nezzar, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaſhaſht*, and *Ahaſhuereſh*, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the ſame, whom prophane Hiſtorians, by names better knowne in their own Countries, haue called *Nabopollaſſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath beene written of olde, nor neede to trouble our ſelues and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once granted; other things, of more importance, will of themſelues eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherin are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the Aſtronomicall obſeruations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſis* were that *Phul* which inuaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſteritie raigned both in *Niniue* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aſar*, from whom *Salmanaſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeeke *Nabonaſſar*, the *Babylonian* King, among theſe Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then *Salmanaſar*, who is knowne to haue raigned in thoſe yeeres, which *Ptolomey* the Mathematician hath aſſigned vnto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodach*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintaine the contrarie part, will not bee ſatisfied with ſuch coniectures. They lay hold vpon the concluſion, and by ſhaking that into pieces, hope to ouerthrow all the premiſſes, vpon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar*, that raigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* Kings, then is it manifeſt, that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeuerall Kings. This conſequence is ſo plaine, that it needs no confirmation. To proue that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworne to hold the contrarie. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proued by his name, which is meerely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſars* name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*. It is likewiſe proued by the Aſtronomicall obſeruations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, doe ſhew, that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolomie* drawes that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefely in *Eſay* his propheſie, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the ſonne of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the ſonne of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other then *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*. *Eſay* 39. 1.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* & *Salmanaſſar*, which in *Greeke* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinitie therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carried captiue ſome part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the *Prouince* of *Babylon* *Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his raigne ouer *Babylon* in the ſixt yeere of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* tooke *Samaria*; therefore, if *Salmanaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Ioſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of coniectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more neceſſarie inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul Beloſus*, for the prouing that *Phul* and

Beloſus

Beloſus were not ſundrie Kings; *Ioſeph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painefull men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might haue wonne the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, giuen ſuch offence, that men refuſed thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A ſhort anſwere.

For mine owne part, howſoeuer I beleeue nothing that *Annius* his *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtampe affirmes, in reſpect of their bare authoritie; yet am I not ſo ſqueamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of theſe good fellowes alleaged in it: I haue (ſomewhat peraduenture too often) alreadie ſpoken my minde of *Annius* his Authors: neuertheleſſe, I may ſay here againe, that where other Hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeake not enough, there may we without ſhame borrow of theſe, as much as agrees with that little which elſewhere we finde, and ſerueth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are thoſe honeſt and painefull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meaning, if I miſtake him not; good ſilly fellowes) who ſet downe the *Aſſyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords alſo of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Beloſus*, and *Salmanaſſar* for *Nabonaſſar*, ſuch Writers as a man ſhould bee aſhamed or vnwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though diſliking him in generall) *Gerard Mercator* is not ſo ſlight a Chronologer, that hee ſhould be laughed out of doores, with the name of an honeſt meaning fellow.

But I will not make compariſons betweene *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and ſee whether they be of ſuch force, as cannot either be reſiſted or auoided. It will eaſily be granted, that *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*; that hee was not King of *Aſſyria*, ſome men doubt whether *Scaligers* reaſons be enough to proue. For though *Nabonaſſar* be a *Chaldaan* name, and *Salmanaſſar* an *Aſſyrian*; yet what hinders vs from beleeuing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two ſeuerall names? That Aſtronomie flouriſhed among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to proue *Nabonaſſar* either an Aſtrologer, or a *Chaldaan*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himſelfe calls them, *Prophetas neſcio quos, qui* NABONASSARVM *Aſtronomum fuiſſe in ſomnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their ſleepe haue dreamt of* NABONASSAR, *that he was an Aſtrologer*.

Scal. Canon. l. 3.

Whether *Nabonaſſar* were an Aſtrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negatiue. But as his being Lord ouer the *Chaldaans*, doth not proue him to haue beene learned in their ſciences; ſo doth it not proue him, not to haue beene alſo King of *Aſſyria*. The Emperor *Charles* the fift, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spaine*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subiects of the Low Countries, then were any that I read of then liuing in *Spaine*, if *Spaine* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Poſteritie will not vſe this as an argument, to proue that *Spaine* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanaſſar* or *Nabonaſſar*, did vſe the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Schollers: but it ſeemes, that hee and his poſteritie, by giuing themſelues wholly to the more warlike Nation, loſt the richer, out of which they firſt iſſued; as likewiſe King *Philip* loſt partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the Netherlands, by ſuch a courſe. As for the two vnanſwerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me thinks none other than anſweres to ſomewhat that is or might be alleaged on the contrarie ſide) one of them which is drawne from the vnlike ſound and writing of thoſe names, *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will diſpute; for it is not likeneſſe of ſound, but agreement of time, and many circumſtances elſe, that muſt take away the diſtinction of perſons: the other likewiſe may be granted; which is, that *Salmanaſſar* might be Lord of ſome places in the Prouince of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it ſelfe: this indeede might bee ſo, and it might be otherwiſe.

Hitherto

Hitherto there is nothing ſaue conjecture againſt conjecture. But in that which is alleaged out of the Prophet *Eſai*, concerning *Merodach* the Sonne of *Baladan*; and in that which is ſaid of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the Succeſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, and his beginning to raigne in the ſixt yeere of *Hezekia*, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be anſwered in haſt. I will therefore deferre the handling of theſe objections, vntill I meete with their ſubject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*; wherein *Merodach* liued & was King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a ſcruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here ſatisfie him; that how ſtrong ſoeuer this argument may ſeeme, *Scaliger* himſelfe did liue to retract it, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the Sonne of *Nabonaſſar*, he had beene deceiued.

Nowtherefore let vs conſider, in what ſort they haue faſhioned their Storie, who taking *Pul* to be a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus* or *Beleſis*, haue in like ſort, as was neceſſarie, diſtinguiſhed their off-ſpring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Aſarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I muſt firſt confeſſe mine owne want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into ſome ſuch order, as might preſent vnto vs the bodie of this Hiſtorie, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, whom I haue ſeene, that ſince *Ioſeph Scaliger* deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of ſome one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Caluiſius* himſelfe, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not beene carefull to giue vs notice, how long *Beleſus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulaſſar*, did raigne, (perhaps becauſe he found it not expreſſed in *Scaliger*) but is content to ſet downe *Baladan*, for the ſame perſon with *Nabonaſſar*, which *Scaliger* himſelfe reuoked. In this caſe therefore I muſt lay downe the plot of theſe deuided Kingdomes, in ſuch ſort as I finde it contriued by *Auguſtinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I haue ſeene, ſets downe the ſucceſſion, continuance, and acts, of thoſe that raigned in *Aſſyria* after *Sardanapalus*, diſtinguiſhing them from *Beloſus*, and his Poſteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whoſe Annales were printed the laſt yeere; he appeares to me a man of curious induſtrie, ſound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning thoſe *Proteſtant* Writers, by whoſe Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his workes by inſerting ſomewhat of theirs. But in this buſineſſe he hath openly profeſſed to follow *Scaliger*, whoſe helpe, without wrong or diſhonour to himſelfe, hee hath both vſed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not ſpare to doe right vnto *Torniellus*; but confeſſe my ſelfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and wiſh that his Annales had ſooner come to light; for that as hee hath much confirmed mee in ſome things, ſo would hee haue inſtructed and emboldened mee, to write more fully and leſſe timorouſly in other things, which now I haue not leiſure to reuiſe. Particularly in that coniecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared leſt it had ouer-haſtily paſſed out of my hand, and beene expoſed to other mens conſtructions) of the foure Kings that inuaded the Vallie of *Siddim*, and were ſlaine by *Abraham*, I finde him aduenturing, as I haue done, to ſay, that they may probably be thought to haue been ſome pettie Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers notwithſtanding. But now let vs conſider how he hath ordered theſe laſt *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. C. 1. §. 13.

After the deſtruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the moſt mightie, ſought to get all to himſelfe, but was oppoſed by *Beloſus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Aſſyria*, ſided with *Beloſus*, and they two preuailed ſo farre, that finally *Arbaces* was content to ſhare the Empire with them, making ſuch a diuiſion thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, betweene *Octauian*, *Anthonie*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the reſt, as matter of certainetie) that *Arbaces* made himſelfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the ſeate

of

of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Beloſus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Aſſyria*. But in ſhort ſpace, that is, in foure yeeres, it came to paſſe, by the juſt judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Beloſus* rebelled againſt *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done againſt *Sardanapalus*, and in ſtead of being his Viceroyes, made themſelues abſolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Torniellus* himſelfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Hiſtories. Why he did make and publiſh the former ſuppoſition, reſoluing to hold the later, I ſhall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to gueſſe. Hauing thus deuiſed, how *Phul* and *Beloſus* might, at the firſt, attaine to be Kings, hee orders their time, and their ſucceſſors, in this manner.

Foure yeeres after *Arbaces*, *Phul* beginnes to raigne, and continues eight and fortie yeeres. *Theglatphaleſar* (whoſe name, and the names of other Princes, I write diuerſly, according as the Authors whom I haue in hand are pleaſed to diuerſifie them) ſucceeding vnto *Phul*, raigned three and twentie. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and raigned tenne. After him *Senacharib* raigned ſeuen: and when hee was ſlaine, *Aſarhaddon* his ſonne tenne yeeres; in whom that Line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Aſſyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for ſo it had beene more likely) *Beloſus* vſurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight yeeres; at the leaſt threeſcore and eight yeeres did paſſe, before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) hee thinkes to be *Baladan*, are aſſigned ſixe and twentie yeeres: then, two and fiftie to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twentie to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly, one and twenty to *Nabolaſſar*, the father of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the originall of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly ſay, That the conjectures of other men, who giue all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more neerely reſembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Torniellus* would haue conceiued two different wayes, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adhæres to the later of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Hiſtorians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the ſuddaine King of *Aſſyria*; or to giue him ſo noble a Prouince, as would, of it ſelfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing moſt vnlikely to haue happened, vnleſſe his deſerts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to ſo high a reward. And for this cauſe (as I take it) hath hee deuiſed the meanes, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of ſo great a ſhare in the Empire. If this were a true or probable ſuppoſition, then would a new doubt ariſe, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betweene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Hiſtorians? yea, why this Diuiſion it ſelfe, and the ciuile Warres that cauſed it, were neuer heard of. Queſtionleſſe, the interuerting of ſome Treaſures by *Beloſus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre leſſe note. Therefore I doe not ſee, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoided; but that either wee muſt confeſſe, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue beene exceeding his merits, or elſe his merits, and name withall, to haue beene ſtrangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring ſuch a ſequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Beloſus* againſt *Arbaces*, it was almoſt impoſſible for the *Aſſyrians* to recouer ſuch ſtrength in foure yeeres, as might ſerue to hold out in rebellion: for *Beloſus*, it was needleſſe to rebell, conſidering, that *Arbaces* did not ſeeke to moleſt him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer-great fauourer of libertie) euen the *Medes*, that were vnder his owne Gouernment, to doe what they lifted.

But it is now fit that wee peruſe the Catalogue of theſe Kings: not paſſing through them all (for ſome will require a large diſcourſe in their owne times) but ſpea-

ſpeaking of their order and time in generall. If it bee ſo vnlawfull to thinke, that ſome of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well in his) may bee true, eſpecially ſuch, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood, why then is it ſaid, that *Phul* did raigne in *Aſſyria* eight and fortie yeeres? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painefull and judicious Writers haue found this number of yeeres, to agree fitly with the courſe of things in Hiſtory: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the puniſhment of *Annius* his forgerie (as queſtionleſſe he is often guiltie of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probabilitie, hee be not beleeued for his owne ſake; though for our owne ſakes we make vſe of his boldneſſe, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing elſe being offered) wee are vnwilling our ſelues to be Authors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Herein we ſhall haue this commoditie, that wee may without bluſhing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, againſt whom wee ſhall be ſure to finde friends that will take our part.

The raignes of *Theglathalaſar* and *Salmanaſſar* did reach, by *Annius* his meaſure, to the length of fiue and twentie yeeres the one, and ſeuenteene the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and ſeuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his owne computation; vſing the libertie whereof I ſpake laſt: for that any Author, ſaue our good *Metaſthenes*, or thoſe that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of theſe did raigne, it is more then I haue yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Aſarhaddon*, *Torniellus* giues the ſame length of raigne, which is found in *Metaſthenes*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate ſo much vnto themſelues, as may well bee allowed vnto a man ſo judicious as is *Torniellus*: yet could I wiſh, that he had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius*, in this buſineſſe, wherein he himſelfe hath choſen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to ſay, as elſe he muſt haue done, almoſt nothing.

The like libertie we finde that he hath vſed in meaſuring the raignes of the *Chaldeans*; filling vp all the ſpace betweene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonaſſar*, with the threeſcore and eight yeeres of *Beloſus*. In this reſpect it was, perhaps, that hee thought *Beloſus* might haue begunne his raigne ſomewhat later then *Phul*: for threeſcore and eight yeeres would ſeeme a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he tooke poſſeſſion of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by ſhortning his raigne, ſeeing his life reacheth to the end of ſuch a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein hee was a priuate man, enough for a long liuer? Indeede, eight and fortie yeeres had beene ſomewhat of the moſt, conſidering that hee ſeemes by the Storie to haue been little leſſe, at ſuch time as hee joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twentie yeeres did vvell deſerue that note (which *Torniellus* aduiſedly giues) that if his raigne extended not ſo farre, then the raigne of ſuch as came after him, occupied the middle time, vnto *Nabonaſſar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldneſſe of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modeſtie of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calviſius*, in forbearing to ſet downe as warrantable, ſuch things as depend only vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, muſt be deſcribed in Hiſtorie, as Geographers in their Maps deſcribe thoſe Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true diſcouerie, that is, either by leauing ſome part blanke, or by inſerting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of loade-ſtone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riuers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrarie to truth. Yet indeede the ignorance growing from diſtance of place, allowes not ſuch libertie to a Deſcriber, as that which ariſeth from the remedileſſe obliuion of conſuming time. For it is true that the Poet ſaith;

——Neq; feruidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæq; sole Niues,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Nautæ.

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subiect Regions can fence,
And keepe the greedie Marchant thence.
The subtile Shipmen way will find,
Storme neuer so the Seas with winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe serue only to mislead such discouerers as rashly beleeue them; drawing vpon the publishers, eyther some angry curses, or well deserued scorne; but to keepe their own credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretie jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthie *Spanish* Gentleman, who had beene employed by his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which me thought, might haue done eyther benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wiues Island*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one Countrey for her; that she, in imagination, might haue an Island of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselues to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copie of an ancient Author could bee found, shewing (if wee haue it not alreadie) the perfect truth of these vncertainties? would it be more shame to haue beleeued in the meane while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to haue beleeued nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit, which we giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to bee giuen to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion bee more probable, and more agreeable to approued Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing moreouer gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacuuius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senatours of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senatours vp within the State-house, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercie; obtayning thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonaltie had both pronounced him worthie of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hastie; for as fast as euery name was read, all the Towne cryed, Let him dye: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the Person, or baseneſse of his condition, or insufficiencie of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered, to be rejected: so that finding the worse and lesse choise, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFter this diuiſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, followes the inſtauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the raigne of the ſame King *Vzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth yeare. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that theſe games were eſtabliſhed by *Iphitus*, in the firſt of *Iotham*: yet is not that opinion ſo generall, but that Authors, waightie enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting thoſe things vnto the ſacred Hiſtorie, which are found in prophane Authors, wee ſhould not bee too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to thoſe workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that ſetting in due order theſe beginnings of accompts, we ioyne them to matters of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, where occaſion requires.

Theſe *Olympian* games and exerciſes of actiuitie, were firſt inſtituted by *Hercules*, who meaſured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the ſtature and likely ſtrength of *Hercules* his bodie. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwiſe *Piſa*, neere vnto *Elis*; where alſo *Iupiters* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Græcians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*. Theſe games were exerciſed from euery fourth yeare compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponneſus*, neere the Riuer *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, theſe meetings were diſcontinued for many yeares, till *Iphitus* by aduice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-eſtabliſhed them, *Lycurgus* the Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Græcians*, till the raigne of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: other thinke that they were diſſolued vnder *Conſtantine* the Great. *Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1 ex Plut. Plut. out of Hermippus.*

From this inſtitution, *Varro* accompted the *Græcian* times, and their ſtories, to be certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet *Plinie* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the raigne of *Cyrus*, who beganne in the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Euſebius* out of *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whoſe time the ſeuen wiſe *Græcians* flouriſhed. For *Solon* had ſpeech with *Cræſus*, and *Cræſus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*. *Plin. l. 36. c. 4.*

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of theſe *Olympiads*, namely, to ſet them in the true yeare of the World, and the raigne of ſuch and ſuch Kings: but ſeeing they all differ in the firſt accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly jumpe in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril againſt *Iulian*, and *Didymus*, beginne the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Oſias*, or *Azariah*.

Euſebius, who is contrarie to himſelfe in this reckoning, accompts with thoſe that finde the firſt *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundreth and ſixth yeere after *Troy*, yet he telleth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeare of *Vzzia*, which is (as I finde it) two yeares later. *Euſeb. de Præp. Euang. l. 10. c. 3.*

Eratoſthenes placeth the firſt *Olympiad* foure hundred and ſeuen yeares after *Troy*, reckoning the yeares that paſſed betweene; to whom *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere. *Eratoſth. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.*

The diſtance betweene the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy*, to the deſcent of *Hercules* his Poſteritie into *Peloponneſus*, were foureſcore yeares; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threeſcore yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his gouernement in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the firſt *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the firſt yeare of the firſt *Olympiad* is not included.

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue beene in the foure hundreth and eight yeare current after *Troy*, we may reckon backe to the taking of that Citie, setting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the *Olympiads*, must teach vs how to finde when they began.

To this good vse, we haue the ensuing yeares, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided, by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourescore and seuenteen yeares; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and fortie yeares; forwards to the victorie of *Lysander*, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirtie foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, fiue and thirtie; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to foure hundred fiftie and three yeares; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth yeare of *Vzziah*, we haue arguments, grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his raigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomicall calculation of sundrie Eclipses of the Sunne, as of that which happened, when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Armie to inuade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his raigne as King, before hee was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first yeere of the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he raigned thirtie yeeres; they who giue him but twentie nine yeeres of raigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) beginne a yeere later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first yeere of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexanders* death, serues well to leade vs back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obseruations doe. For if we reckon vpwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* beganne his raigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first yeere of the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, vnto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirtie yeeres compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchie, which lasted but seuen yeeres, we finde compleat two hundred and seuen yeeres, which was the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Tull. de Diu. l. 1. Iust. l. 1. Euseb. de Prep. Euang. l. 10. c. 3. & de dem. Euang. l. 8. c. 2.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeere of *Cyrus* his Monarchie (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth yeere from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seuentie yeeres, of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*; manifest it is, that wee must reckon backe those seuentie yeeres, and one hundred threescore and ten yeeres more, the last which passed vnder the Kings of *Iuda*, to finde the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzzia*, as wee haue already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples sake, that which was seene when *Xerxes* mustered his Armie at *Sardis*, in the two hundreth threescore and seuenth yeere of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*; leades vs backe vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threescore and ten yeeres, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem*; and so vpwards through the raignes of the last Kings of *Iuda*, to the one and fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* beganne.

To

To tell the great ſolemnitie of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay, that all bodily exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as Running, Wraſtling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Maſtrie in thoſe feates, whereof there was good vſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exerciſes, that ſerued onely for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired Orators, Poets, Muſicians, and all that thought themſelues excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour, of hauing plaied the beſt part.

The *Eleans* were Preſidents of thoſe Games; whoſe juſtice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the rewards giuen to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oliue, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeene his three Sonnes crowned for their ſeuerall victories in thoſe games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, DIAGORAS, *non enim in cælum aſcenſurus es*; that is; *Die*, DIAGORAS, *For thou ſhalt not clime vp to heauen*: as if there could bee no greater happineſſe on earth, than what alreadie had befallen him. In the like ſenſe *Horace* ſpeakes of theſe Victors, calling them,

Quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cæleſtes. *Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode 2.*

Such as like heauenly weights doe come
With an Elæan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the ſongs of Poets, that ſo highly extolled them, which had wonne theſe *Olympian* prizes; but euen graue Hiſtorians thought it a matter worthie of their noting. Such was (as *Tullie* counts it) the vanitie of the *Greekes*, that they eſteemed it almoſt as great an honor, to haue wonne the victorie at Running or Wraſtling in thoſe games, as to haue triumphed in *Rome* for ſome famous victorie, or conqueſt of a Prouince. *Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.*

That theſe *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, which doth anſwere to our *Iune*; and what meanes they vſed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I haue ſhewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Iuda*, and leaue the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I ſhall meete in more ſerious emploiments, when the *Perſian* quarrells draw the bodie of this Hiſtorie into the coaſts of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*.

§. VI.

Of IOTHAM *and his Contemporaries.*

IOTHAM the Sonne of *Vzziah*, when hee was fiue and twentie yeeres old, and in the ſecond of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, was anointed King in *Ieruſalem*, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threeſcore cubits vpright, and therefore called *Ophel*: beſides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Iuda*, and in the Forreſts, Towers, and Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Siluer an hundreth talents, and of Wheate and Barly two thouſand meaſures: hee raigned ſixe and twentie yeeres: of whom *Ioſephus* giues this teſtimonie: *Eiuſmodi vero* *2. Kings 15. 33.*

Princeps hic fuit, vt nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: vt qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo iustè præfuerit, vrbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, vt vniuersum regnum hostibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domestitis autem eius incolis atque ciuibus fœlix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit; This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worshipped God so religiously, hee gouerned his men so righteously, hee was so prouident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplifie it, that by his vertue and proweſſe hee made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happie.

This is all that I finde of *Iotham:* his raigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelesteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeere to yeere. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

Teglathphalassar, or *Tiglathpeleser*, the sonne of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time inuaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his Master *Pekaiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition hee tooke most of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galile*, with those of *Gilead*, ouer *Iordan*, and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglath* raigned fiue and twentie yeeres, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* findes, that with his sonne *Salmanassar* he raigned yet two yeeres longer: which yeeres I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* beginnes with his single raigne, but reckon them to *Tighlath Phulassar* himselfe, who therewith raigned seuen and twentie yeeres:

2. *Kings* 15.

Æschylus, the sonne of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled fiue and twentie yeeres. *Alcamenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*: but therin surely *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witnesse the contrarie. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and raigned threescore yeeres, and out-liued the *Messeniack* Warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion.

Paus. l. 3.

At this time liued *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Niniue*; which succeeded (saith *Iosephus*) a hundred and fifteene yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medidus* raigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of ACHAZ *and his Contemporaries.*

ACHAS, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the seuenteenth yeere of *Peka*, the sonne of *Remalia*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers raigne, who began in the second of the same *Peka*, and raigned sixteene, but not complete yeeres. This *Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. Hee made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his sonne for sacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calfe, set vp not farre from *Ierusalem*, in a Valley shaddowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vsed for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the ende the pitifull cries of the children might

2. *King.* 16. 1.
2. *Chron.* 28.

might not be heard: which vnnaturall, cruell, and deuilliſh Oblation, *Ieremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible ſinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was alſo practiſed elſewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Iudæa*, diuers Authors witneſſe; as *Virgil* in the ſecond of his *Æneids*, — *Sanguine placaſtis, &c.* and *Silius*, — *Poſcere cade Deos.* *Saturne* is ſaid to haue brought this cuſtome into *Italie*, beſides the caſting of many ſoules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in ſtead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men ſhould be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill alſo taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, in ſo much, that when their Citie was beſieged, and in diſtreſſe, the Prieſt made them beleeue, that becauſe they had ſpared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to bee offered, that therefore *Saturne* had ſtirred vp, and ſtrengthened their Enemies againſt them: whereupon they preſently cauſed two hundred of the nobleſt youths of their Citie to be ſlaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appeaſe him: who beſides theſe forenamed Nations had inſtructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Meſſene*, of *Galatia*, with the *Maſſagets*, and others, in theſe his ſeruices: Further, as if hee were not content to deſtroy the ſoules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Deuill vnder this fearefull ſeruitude, in which he alſo holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

C.7.19.32.

Euſeb. de Præp. Euang. l.6. Dion. l.1. Diod. l.20.

Acoſt. de Hiſt. nat. & mor. Ind.

For the wickedneſſe of this King *Ahaz*, God ſtirred vp *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*; and *Pekah* the Sonne of *Remaliah*, King of *Iſrael* againſt him, who inuaded *Iudæa*, and beſieged *Ieruſalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſt himſelfe of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and caſt the *Iewes* out of it, and *Pekah* ſlaughtered in one day an hundred and twentie thouſand *Iudæans*, of the ableſt of the Kingdome, at which time *Maaſeiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was alſo ſlaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Gouernour of his houſe: and *Elcanath* the ſecond perſon vnto the King. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counſell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and deliuered backe againe.

2.Chron.28.6.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North; ſo the *Edomites* and the *Philiſtims*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudæa*, entred vpon them from the South; and tooke *Bethſemes*, *Aialon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, ſlew many people, and carried away many priſoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* ſaw himſelfe enuironed on all ſides, and that his Idolls and dead gods gaue him no comfort, hee ſent to the *Aſſyrian Tiglathpileſer*, to deſire ſome aide from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſiluer and gold both of the Temple, and Kings Houſe.

2.Chron. 28.

2.King 16.

Tiglathpileſer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that roſe in *Paleſtina*. His Father hauing lately made himſelfe from a Prouinciall Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Iudæa*, inuited by *Menahem*, King of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly hatkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the aduantage. As for *Belochus* himſelfe, he was content to aſſigne ſome other time for going through with this enterpriſe: becauſe (as I haue ſaid before) he was not firmely ſettled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, hauing now, with the treaſures of *Ieruſalem*, prepared his Armie, firſt inuaded the Territorie of *Damaſcus*, wanne the Citie, and killed *Rezin*, the laſt of the race of the *Adads*, who beganne with *Dauid*, and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus* *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, ſent it to *Vriah* the Prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Ieruſalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglath* poſſeſt all *Baſan*, and the reſt

beyond *Iordan*, which belonged to the Tribe of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the Riuer, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, inuaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdome of *Israel*, and made them his Vassalls. And notwithstanding that he was inuited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he possest himselfe of the greater part of *Iuda*, and as it seemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he reuolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was inuaded by *Senacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeere of his raigne hee died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*.

With *Ahaz* liued *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who gouerned fortie yeeres, 10
Euseb. in Chron. saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* finde *Anticarmus* in stead of this *Medidus*, to haue beene *Sosarmus* his Successour, to whom they giue fiftie yeeres.

Tiglath Phileser held the Kingdome of *Assyria*, all the raigne of *Ahaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Sonne may seeme to haue raigned with him some part of the time.
2. Kings 28.16. For we finde that *Ahaz* did *send vnto the Kings of* ASHVR *to helpe him*. The *Geneua* note saies, that these Kings of *Assur* were *Teglath Pileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that hee or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his Sonne, who raigned with his Father, as 20
hath beene said before: though how long hee raigned with his Father, it bee hard to define.

At this time beganne the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirtie yeeres after
Plut. in vita Soli. *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning farre later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen euery yeere, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their aduice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* euer since the fiftith yeere of *Vzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Gouernours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) 30
succeeded his Father *Æschylus*, and was the last of these Gouernors: he ruled only two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Gouernors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burghomaster*, or Gouernor of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke beginnes, in the first yeere of the eight *Olympiad*. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnasseus* in the first of the seuenth *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines* gouerned about three hundred yeere by the *Syluij*, of the race of *Æneas*, tooke ende the same *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome*, being 40
laied by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eight yeere of the same King. *Codoman* builds it the eleuenth of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I think he should, others somewhat later, and in the raigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the sixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeere of the seuenth: who seeme not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best accompt.

50

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italie, and foundation of Rome in the time of AHAS.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.

AND here to ſpeake of the more ancient times of *Italie*, and what Nations poſſeſt it before the arriuall of *Æneas*, the place may ſeeme to inuite vs: the rather becauſe much fabulous matter hath beene mixed with the truth of thoſe elder plantations. *Italie* before the fall of *Troy*, was knowne to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as firſt *Heſperia*, then *Auſonia*, the one name ariſing of the Seate, the other of the *Auſones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was alſo *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnaſſæus* thinks to haue been the firſt, that brought a Colonie of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italie* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* ſpeakes thus. *Halicar. l. 1.*

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque vbere glebæ:
Oenotrij coluêre viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greekes Heſperia* name,
Ancient, and ſtrong, of much fertilitie.
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by late ages of Poſteritie,
'Tis from a Captaines name called *Italie*.

Who this Captaine or King may haue beene, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* ſpeakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued ſo long vpon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the firſt accepted without good cauſe. Therefore to finde out the originall of this name, and the firſt planters of this noble Countrie, *Reineccius* hath made a very painful ſearch, and not improbable conjecture. And firſt of all he grounds vpon that of *Halicarnaſſæus*, who ſpeakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italie*, before the name of *Italie* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Iuſtine*, who ſaith, that *Brunduſium* was a Colonie of the *Ætolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirmes the ſame of *Temeſa* or *Tempſa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italie*: Laſtly, vpon the authoritie of *Plinie*, who ſhewes that the *Italians* did inhabite onely one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouer all. Concerning that which is ſaid of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, who (as hee ſhewes) had one originall, from them hee brings the name of *Italie*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, ſaue that the firſt Letter is caſt away, which in the *Greeke* words *Halicarn. l. 1.* *Iuſt. l. 12.* *Strabo l. 6.* *Plin. l. 3. c. 5.*

words is common, and the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia* an Iſland neere *Italie*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almoſt proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priſcian* the Grammarian teach. Hereunto appertaines that of *Iulian* the Apoſtata, who called the *Greekes*, couſins of the *Latines*. Alſo the common originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Iauan*; and the Fable of *Ianus*, whoſe Image had two faces, looking Eaſt and Weſt, as *Greece* and *Italie* lay, and was ſtamped on Coynes, with a Ship on the other ſide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Iauan*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who ſayling ouer the *Ionian* Sea, that lyes betweene *Ætolia* and the Weſterne parts of *Greece* and *Italie*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reyneccius* thinkes, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of *Beroſus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may ſeeme ſtrengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whileſt hee abode in *Italie* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and ſtronger, eaſily diſproued. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moſes*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the ſonne of *Iauan*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Noah*: which antiquity farre exceedes the name of *Italie*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewiſe *Virgil*, who ſpeakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italie*; but calleth *Electra* and her ſiſter *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* beene one perſon.

As for the authoritie of *Beroſus* in this caſe, wee neede the leſſe to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himſelfe, whoſe conjectures are more to be valued then the dreames wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Beroſus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italie* began long after *Atlas*, it appeares by the Verſes of *Virgil* laſt rehearſed, wherein hee would not haue ſaid, ——— *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixiſſe ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name beene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But ſeeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italie* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the ſame Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pauſanias* teach) then the name of *Italie* began: and ſeeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldneſſe to ſay, that *Italus* was Commander of theſe *Eleans*. For though I remember not, that I haue read of any ſuch *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in *Greeke Aitolus*, was very famous both among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being ſonne of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to deriue the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, then *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgils* authoritie ſtand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italie* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reaſon of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italie* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were moſt famous; the *Hetrurians* hauing held the greateſt part of it vnder their ſubjection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicitie of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, ſubduing all *Italie*, and in few ages whatſoeuer Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Weſterne parts of *Aſia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnaſſaus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) thinke to haue beene *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as originall, or natiue of the place, which they poſſeſſed: which title the *Arcadians* are knowne in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vſurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; becauſe indeede, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* inforced to forſake their ſeates ſo oft as other *Greekes* were, who dwelt without that halfe Iſland, neither had the *Arcadians* ſo vnſure a dwelling as the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe their Countrie was leſſe fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of acceſſe, and they themſelues (as in ſuch places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of theſe therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, ſtile themſelues *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might bee that the *Arcadians* who dwelt ſomewhat farre from Sea, and are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, ſhould haue beene Authors of new diſcoueries, were a queſtion not eaſie to be anſwered, were it not ſo, that both fruitfulneſſe of children, in which thoſe ages abounded, inforceth the ſuperfluous companie to ſeeke another ſeat, and that ſome expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as eſpecially that of *Euander*, into the ſame parts of *Italie*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelaſgi*, an ancient Nation, who ſometimes gaue name to al *Grecce*: but their antiquities are long ſince dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glorie ſuch in *Italie*, as could long ſuſtaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in ſhort ſpace accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Auſones*, *Aurunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following diſturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to ſome ciuilitie; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Auguſtine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercutius*, and ſay, that hee taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, becauſe he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Iupiter*, it is a queſtionleſſe fable. For as in Heatheniſh ſuperſtition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; ſo in the truth of Hiſtorie, it is well knowne, that no King raigning in thoſe parts was ſo mightie, that it ſhould be hard to finde one Countrie or an other, wherein a man might be ſafe from his purſuit. And yet, as moſt fables and poeticall fictions, were occaſioned by ſome ancient truth, which either by ambiguitie of ſpeech or ſome alluſion, they did maimedly and darkly expreſſe (for ſo they fained a paſſage ouer a Riuer in Hell, becauſe death is a paſſage to another life, and becauſe this paſſage is hatefull, lamentable, and painefull, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Paine: ſo alſo becauſe men are ſtonie-hearted, and becauſe the *Greeke* λαὸς people, and χᾶις ſtones, are neere in ſound, therefore they fained in the time of *Deucalion* ſtones conuerted into men, as at other times men into ſtones) in like manner it may

See lib. 1. cap. 6. §. 1. & ſeq.

be

be, that the originall of *Saturnes* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old opi-
Acts 17.23. nion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted
Esay 45.15. in the *Acts*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *Tu Deus abdens te*. For it can not be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also haue this very signification, if it bee deriued (as some thinke) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not, but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, were the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. *in agro Elattico*; *in the Elattian Territorie*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a Citie which the *Æolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidæmis*, or (according to the *Greeke* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neere sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greeke* Letter (*D*) hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing onely in the strength or weakenesse of vtterance, which is found betweene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elæus*, the Hauen *Eleas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the Cities *Eleus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians*, had their originall from *Cethim*, it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriuing the *Sabines* from him) giue the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elateia*) bee named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Eurypilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Auge*, the Daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*, was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what euill might befall themselues by the *Greekes*, if the affaires of *Troy* should goe ill) passed into that part of *Italie*, where the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memorie of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Ladie, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*: That this name of *Elatus* may haue been taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sonnes of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gaue name to the Countrie: and betweene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Againe, the name *Latinus*, hauing a deriuatiue sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofe, considering that it is not easie to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probabilitie among these disagreeing Authors, which haue written the originals of *Latium*.

§. III.

§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines vntill ÆNEAS *his comming.*

THe Kings which raigned in *Latium* before the arriual of *Æneas*, were, *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembred, saue what is mentioned alreadie, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them Κρόνος, or some other, stiled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein hee liued, may very well admit him to haue beene the same: but the names of * *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which hee taught the people, but rather the soile which they laied on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to haue growne from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or diuination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Sonne of *Picus*, raigned after his Father. Hee gaue to *Euander* the *Arcadian* (who hauing slaine by mischance his Father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italie*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; shee was held a Propheteesse, and highly commended for her chastitie; which praise in her must needs haue beene much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being meerely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any child, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, saue only that *Virgil* giues vnto him *Latinus* as his Sonne, by a Nymph, called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, saue onely that her abode was about the Riuer *Liris* neere *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Sonne of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Vlysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the second, of whom hee saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetij*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the Sonne of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a sonne of the same name. This *Latinus* hauing obtained the succession in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heire *Lauinia*, to *Turnus* the sonne of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata Latinus* his Wife.

But when *Æneas* arriued in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might bee imbarked according to the rate which *Thucydides* allowes to the Vessells then vsed, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Troian*, and moued with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*, who incensed herewith, sought to auenge himselfe by warre: which was soone ended with his owne death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were shee an *Italian*, shee could not haue borne a Daughter marriageable at the arriuall of *Æneas*; vnlesse we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italie*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Sonne, who serued in the last yeere of the *Troian* Warre. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinkes withall, that *Lauinia* was borne

* *Ezekiel* often cals the Idols of the heathen *deos stercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Euangelist wee reade for *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus Stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturne* became the name of an Idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercutius* should sticke vnto him. *Aeneid.* 7.

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

borne before *Telephus* came into *Italie*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Haliearnassæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might bee deriued from the *Greeke* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloued, or deare, was the name by which the High Priest called euery Virgin, whom hee tooke to serue as a Nunne of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, howsoeuer *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lauinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrie, was established in that race: wherin it continued vntill it was ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

§. IIII.

Of ÆNEAS, *and of the Kings and Gouernours of Alba.*

ÆNEAS himselfe being of the royall bloud of *Troy*, had the commaund of the *Dardanians*: hee was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his wife *Creusa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, hee had a sonne called *Ascanius*; whose surname vvas *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) beene surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* vvas dead, his wife *Lauinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a sonne, called therevpon *Syluius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because hee was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lauinia* was so euill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vsing her as a Queene, did foster her young sonne, his halfe-brother *Syluius*. Yet afterwards, whether to auoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Lauinium*, which *Æneas* had built, and called after his new wiues name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein raigned. The time of his raigne was, according to some, eight and twentie yeeres: *Virgil* giues him thirtie; others fiue and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his decease, there arose contention betweene *Syluius*, the sonne of *Æneas*, and *Iulus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lauinia*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Syluius Posthumus*, whose posteritie were afterward called *Syluij*.

The raigne of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans raigne, I finde thus set downe.

1.	*Syluius Posthumus.*	29	
2.	*Syluius Æneas.*	31	
3.	*Syluius Latinus.*	50	
4.	*Syluius Alba.*	39	
5.	*Syluius Atis.*	26	
6.	*Syluius Capys.*	28	
7.	*Syluius Capetus.*	13	yeares.
8.	*Syluius Tiberinus.*	8	
9.	*Syluius Agrippa.*	41	
10.	*Syluius Alladius.*	19	
11.	*Syluius Auentinus.*	37	
12.	*Syluius Procas.*	23	
13.	*Syluius Amulius.*	44	

Syluius Numitor.

Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.

Romulus. Remus.

The

The moſt of theſe Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthie of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium:* who ſtanding much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Priſci Latini.* Of *Tiberinus* ſome thinke that the Riuer *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula:* but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the comming of *Æneas* into *Italie.* The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwiſe. *Iulus*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Euſebius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus*; who leauing *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome.* *Numitor*, the elder ſonne of *Procas*, was depriued of the Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whom alſo his ſonne *Ægeſthus* was ſlaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Veſta*, that thereby the iſſue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But ſhe conceiued two ſonnes, eyther by her vncle *Amulius*, as ſome thinke; or by *Mars*, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by ſome man of warre. Both the children their vncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Law; which ſo ordained, when the Veſtall Virgins brake their chaſtitie. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerued, who afterward reuenged the crueltie of their vncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long hee raigned, I find not, neyther is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of *Italie*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to liue in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Syluius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magiſtrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of the *Romanes*, making Warre vpon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrendred the Eſtate of *Alba* vnto the *Romanes*, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the ſucceſſe of three men of each ſide, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatij*, the Champions of the *Romanes*, preuailed againſt the *Curiatij*, Champions of the *Albanes.* After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romanes* to ſuch an ouerthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deale with *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſehood, obtained the victorie, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, cauſing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and ſo torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among which were the *Iulij*: of whom *C. Iulius Ceſar* being deſcended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full aſſembly of the *Romanes*, then gouerned by a free Eſtate of the People: but by his rare induſtrie, valour, and judgement, obtained the Soueraignetie of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelfe and his poſteritie; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was ſo reuiued, that ſeldome, if euer, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glorie.

§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of ROMVLVS *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which deuoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that raigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betweene *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in peeces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to bee described in one place, hauing beene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calphurnius Piso, Sempronius*, and others, seeke to deriue the *Romans* from *Ianus*: but *Herodotus, Marsylus*, and many others of equall credit, giue the *Grecians* for their ancestors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Booke; CAECILIVS *rerum Romanorum Scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam a Græcis esse conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo instituto* HERCVLI *rem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque* EVANDRI *venerantur Romani*; CAECILIVS (saith he) *a Romane Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greekes, because the Romanes, after Greekish fashion, by ancient Ordinance doe sacrifice to* HERCVLES: *the Romanes also worship the mother of* EVANDER. *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus* remembers many founders of that Citie: as *Romanus* the sonne of *Vlysses* and *Circe*; *Romus* the sonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who draue the *Tuscans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* bestowes the honour of building *Rome* vpon *Euander*, saying; That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* giues the denomination to a captiue Ladie, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Febrù*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse Saint *Augustine* in his third Booke *de Ciuitate Dei*. But *Liuie* will haue it to be the worke of *Romulus*, euen from the foundation: of whom and his consorts *Iuuenal* to a *Roman* Citizen vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verses:

Attamen vt longe repetas, longeq; reuoluas
Maiorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or else, that Ile forbeare.
meaning eyther a Shepheard, or a Theefe.

Strab. l. 5. fol. 159

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preseruation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* was supposed to be his father; that he was nurst by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Faustula*, a Shepheards wife. The same vnnaturall nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* sayth, it is like enough that *Amulius* came couered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to mee that hee might haue two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other to satisfie his appetite, because shee was faire and goodly. For shee being made a Nunne of the Goddesse *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Meroueë*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauchet* sayes, *Let them beleeue it that list*; *Il le croira qui voudra:*

Fauchet. fol. 114

also

also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poeticall inuentions: but to answere these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatrie, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made, by protesting to bee forced by more then humane power: so did *Oenone* confesse to *Paris*, that shee had beene rauished by *Apollo*. And *Anchyses* boasted that hee had knowne *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with childe by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the God of battell, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was ouercome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Merouée* might fancie a Sea-Captaine to be gotten with yong by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a bastard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurst by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfes, *quæ nunc* (sayth HALICARNASSAEVS) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *Which are now by an honester name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his Father *Mars*, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that *Æneas* vanished away by the Riuer *Numicus*: but thereof *Liuie* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion, that the storme was the furie of the Senatours, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authours agree, that there was an vnnaturall darkenesse, both at his birth and at his death, and that hee might bee slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlikely. For the Emperour *Anastasius* was slaine with lightning, so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Carus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilest he lodged with his Armie vpon the Riuer *Tigris*, was there slaine with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of warre, and by violence destroyed. And that he dyed by violence (which destinie followed most of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*: who was but the seuenth King after him: who when hee had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that hee should not bee buried, for (said he) *Romulus* himselfe dyed and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassæus* end this dispute; whose words are these: *They* (sayth he) *who draw neerest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his crueltie in punishments of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was rauished, whether by some man, or by a God, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth couered with darkenesse like vnto night, and that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth containe (besides what is here alreadie spoken of him) the conquest of a few myles which had soone beene forgotten, if the *Roman* greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man hee was, very strong of bodie, patient of trauell, and temperate in dyet, as forbearing the vse of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect reuenge of the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He raigned seuen and thirtie yeeres: first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single, till he was slaine, as is alreadie shewed: after which time the Soueraigntie fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him vnknowne, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For hauing long beene sole Gouernesse till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwardes, when as the *Greeke* Emperour was crushed by forraine enemies, and the *Latines* dispoyled of Imperiall power, she fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the

Sword, & therewith victorious to excessiue magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driuen from luxurie to defensiue armes, and therein hauing bin vnfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Crosiers staffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whose raigne in *Iurie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laied.

CHAP. XXV.

Of EZEKIA, *and his Contemporaries:*

§. I.

Of the beginning of EZECHIAS, *and of the agreeing of* PTOLOMIES, NABONASSAR, NABOPOLASSAR *and* MARDOCEMPADVS, *with the historie of the Bible.*

AS the first yeere of *Ahaz* his Raigne was confounded with the last of his father *Iotham*, so was the later end of his sixteene yeeres taken vp in the three first of *Ezekias* his Sonne. This appeares by the Raigne of *Hosea*, ouer *Israel*, which beganne in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his foureteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekia*; so it followes, that *Ezekia* beganne to raigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeere of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* beganne, and so the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may haue beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* beganne his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeere of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the meanes how to disioyne the first of *Hezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one yeere later, of which yeere, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many dayes. But seeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, may not be remoued out of their places; it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

2. *King.* 8. 13. *In the foureteenth of* EZEKIA, SENACHERIB inuading *Iuda*, and the Countries adjoyning, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroke from Heauen, fled home, and was slaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeeres to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had alreadie raigned fourteene of his nine and twentie: and the same yeere was that miracle seene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day which answered vnto the twentie fifth of *April*, in the *Iulian* yeere, being then Thursday. I haue not seene any workes of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessarie that he produce some record of obseruation made at such a time. Howsoeuer it bee, the fifteenth yeere of *Ezekia* is agreed vpon; and therefore wee may not alter the first.

3. *Chron.* 28. 27. As for that saying, which is vsuall in the like cases, that AHAZ *slept with his Fathers, and* EZEKIA *his Sonne raigned in his stead*, it doth no more proue that *Ezekia* raigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iehosaphat*,

Saphat, and succession of *Iehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to raigne whilest his Father liued, we haue alreadie said enough.

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we finde, that his very beginning testified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his vnfortunate and vngracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sonnes proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeere and first moneth of his raigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderstood as the beginning of his sole gouernement; we plainely finde it to haue beene his first worke, that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut vp, cleansed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices, and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had beene for many yeeres neglected, and brake downe the brasen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it *Nehushtan*, which signifieth a lumpe of brasse. He did also celebrate the Passe-ouer with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to *Ierusalem*, to this feast. But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekia* to scorne. 2.*Chro.*29.*v.*3. 2.*Chron.*30. 2.*Kings*18.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the *Ægyptian* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekia* his raigne, *Salmanassar* the Sonne of *Tiglath*, the Sonne of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Soe* King of *Ægypt*, against him, inuaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third yeare (after the Inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Sonne of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Niniue*, in whose Seates and Places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom wee finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of Historie. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we finde in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldæan* Kings, diuersitie of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, who raigned in the time of *Ahaz*, and *Ezekia*, Kings of *Iuda*, and of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and wheras *Ptolomie* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he liued; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it bee shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that hee was the same, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact calculations of sundrie good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betweene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seuen hundred fortie and sixe yeares: at which distance of time the raigne of *Salmanassar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* alleageth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomie*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures cal *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Hezekia*, King of *Iuda*. So that if wee reckon backwards to the difference of time, betweene *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall finde it the same which is betweene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabo-*

nassar. Likewise *Functius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the deuastation of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnessar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirtie and three yeeres: the selfe-same distance of time is found in *Ptolomie*, betweene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolomie* seemes to differ from this accompt, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeeres, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, wee are to vnderstand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth yeere of his raigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeeres added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of *Ptolomie*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twentie and seuen yeeres. Now if wee adde to these one hundred twentie seuen, the thirteene ensuing of *Nabuchadnessars* yeeres, before the Citie and Temple were destroied, we haue the summe of one hundred and fortie yeeres. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that *Ptolomie* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twentie and two yeeres, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authoritie of any Historie; and therefore I thinke it follie to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall obseruations doe so throughly concurre.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, whereby he proued *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to haue beene this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to loose a word or two in giuing the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obseruations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolomie* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the raigne of *Mardocempadus*; the second yeere of whose raigne is, according to *Ptolomie*, concurrent in part with the twentie seuen of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which hee calculates, being in the second yeare of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twentie seuen yeeres, seuenteene daies, and eleuen houres: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noone the first day of the *Ægyptian* moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twentie sixt of *Februarie*; and this Eclipse being fiftie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *Februarie*; so that the difference of time betweene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomie*, according to the *Ægyptian* yeeres. But how does this proue, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successor, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleeue *Mardocempadus* to haue beene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne; hee might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countrie-man *Lidyate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who followes *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Caluisius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*: I haue taken the paines to search, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or succession of these two. Yet cannot I finde in the *Almageſt* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduerse to *Scaliger*; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this businesse) any sentence more neerely prouing the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was Father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the as neere succession of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to haue beene Sonne, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confessor*. This considered, wee may safely goe on with our accompt from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will

Ptol. Almag. l.4.c.8.

be

be driuen from our booke, when they finde ſomething in it, agreeing with *Annius*, foraſmuch as theſe Kings mentioned in Scriptures, raigned in *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria*, in thoſe very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomie* are aſſigned to *Beloſus*, *Nabonaſſar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the reſt: no good Hiſtorie naming any others, that raigned there in thoſe ages, and all Aſtronomicall obſeruations, fitly concurring, with the yeeres that are attributed to theſe, or numbred from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of Iudæa from SENNACHERIB.

WHen *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſonne *Sennacherib* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeere of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch Tribute as was agreed on, at ſuch time as *Teglath*, the Grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanaſſar*, inuited by *Ahaz*, inuaded *Rezen* King of *Damaſcus*, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which *Iſrael* had vndertaken againſt him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it ſeemes) a purpoſe to inuade *Ægypt*, ſent one part of his Armie to lie before *Ieruſalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of ſiluer, and thirty talents of gold: wherewith he preſented *Sennacherib*, now ſet downe before *Lachis* in *Iudæa*, yet vnder the colour of better aſſurance, & to force the King of *Iudæa* to deliuer hoſtages, the *Aſſyrian* enuironed *Ieruſalem* with a groſſe Armie, and hauing his Sword in his hand, thought it the fitteſt time to write his owne conditions. 2. *Kin.* 18. 21.

Ezechias directed his three greateſt Counſellers, to parlie with *Rabſaces*, ouer the Wall; and to receiue his demands: who vſed three principall arguments to perſwade the people to yeeld themſelues to his Maſter *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretarie, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeake vnto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Iewiſh*, yet hee with a more loud voice directed his ſpeech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the firſt, hee made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a ſhort time, be inforced to eate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether diſabled the King of *Ægypt*, from whom the *Iudæans* hoped for ſuccour; and compared him to a broken ſtaffe, on which whoſoeuer leaneth, pierceth his owne hand: Thirdly, that the gods who ſhould helpe them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by ſome) the braſen Serpent, which had beene preſerued euer ſince *Moſes* time: and withall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations: whom, notwithſtanding any power of theirs, his Maſter had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himſelfe, in whom they truſted, hee perſwaded them by no meanes to relie on him; for he would deceiue them. But finding the people ſilent (for ſo the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vnderſtood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Armie, hee himſelfe left the *Aſſyrian* forces in charge to others, and ſought *Sennacherib* at *Lebna* in *Iudæa*, either to informe him of their reſolution in *Ieruſalem*, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of *Terhaca* the *Arabian*. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly aduiſed, and partly threatned to ſubmit himſelfe: vſing the ſame blaſphemous outrage againſt the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezechias* ſending thoſe Counſellers to the Prophet *Eſay*, which had lately beene ſent to *Rabſaces*, receiued from him comfort, and aſſurance, that this Heathen Idolater ſhould not preuaile; againſt whom the King alſo beſought aide from Almightie God, repeating the moſt inſolent and blaſphemous parts of *Sennacheribs* letter, before the 2. *Kings* 18. 21.

Altar

2. *Kings* 19. Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. *That the King of* ASHVR *had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no Gods, but the worke of mans hands, euen wood and stone, &c.*

The reason that moued *Sennacherib* to desire to possesse himself in haste of *Ierusalem*, was, that he might thereinto haue retraited his Armie, which was departed, as it seemeth, from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Ægypt*, for feare of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, speake but of the affaires of the *Iewes* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Iosephus*, and S. *Hierome*, together with *Herodo-*

Herod. l. 2. p. 69. *tus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria*: which he might justly doe, because *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* ouer *Iordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petræa* adjoyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Ægypt*, to be *Vulcans* Priest, and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacheribs* returne from *Pelusium* in *Ægypt*, which hee also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him:

Ios. ant. l. 10. c. 1. but the approch of *Terhaca*, remembred by *Iosephus* and *Berosus*, was the more vrgent. S. *Hierome* vpon the seuen and thirtie of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also

Her. Euterp. l. 1. in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Iosephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lie, reports *Senacheribs* retrait in these words. *Pugnasse autem* SENACHERIB *Regem Assyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, iamq; extructis aggeribus, vrbi capiendæ, venisse* TARACHAM *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & vna nocte iuxta Ierusalem, centum octoginta quinq; millia exercitus Assyrij pestilentia corruisse narrat* HERODOTVS: *& plenissimè* BEROSVS *Chaldaicæ scriptor Historiæ, quorum fides de proprijs libris petenda est*; *That* SENACHERIB *King of the Assyrians fought against the Ægyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie,* TARHACAS *King of the Æthiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night, neere Ierusalem, one hundred eightie fiue thousand of the Assyrian Armie perished by pestilence; of these things (saith* HIEROME) *HERODOTVS *reports: and more at large* BEROSVS *a writer of Chaldean Storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne bookes.*

* To wit in part, for *Herodotus* mentioneth nothing, neither of *Tarhaca*, nor of *Ierusalem*, nor of the Armie there.

Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the *Assyrian* Armie was in this manner: *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirle-winde and a tempest, and a flame of deuouring fire.* But *Iosephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, SENNACHERIBVS *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello*

Esai 29. 6. *Ios. ant. l. 10 c. 1.* *reuertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem sub* RABSACIS *Imperio reliquerat peste diuinitus immissâ deletum, primâ nocte posteaquam Vrbem oppugnare cœperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Vbi paulo post per insidias Seniorum, è filijs suis,* ADRAMELECHI, *&* SELENNARI, *vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur* ARASCI; *quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis & in Armeniam fugientibus,* ASARACOLDAS *minor filius in Regnum successit*; SENNACHERIB (saith IOSEPHVS) *returning from the Ægyptian warre, found there his Armie, which he had left vnder the command of* RABSACES, *destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begunne to assault the Towne: one hundred foure score and fiue thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. With which destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome; to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes,* ADRAMELECH *and* SELENNAR *or* SHAREZER, *he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to* ARASCES, *or* NESROCH: *whom he especially worshipped. These his sonnes being for their parricide chased away by the people: and flying into Armenia,* ASARACOLDAS *his yonger sonne succeeded*

Selennar otherwise *Sharezer*, who slew him, as he was praying to *Nesroe* his god. 2. *Kin.* 19.

2. *Kin.* 19. 37. *Esdra.* 1. 6. 4 *v.* 2.

ded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his raigne sent new troupes out of *Assyria* and *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grandfather *Salmanassar*. What this *Nesroch* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positiuely. It is certaine, that *Venus Vrania* was worshipped by the *Assyrians*; and so was *Iupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonne had to murther him; but the *Lyr.* most likely is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tells vs, That it was fiftie fiue dayes after *Senacheribs* returne, ere he was murthered by his sonnes; during which time he slew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Nineue*, till the most just God turned the Sword against his owne brest.

§. III.

Of EZEKIAS *his sickneße and recouerie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.*

AFter this maruellous deliuerie, *Ezekias* sickened, and was told by *Isaiah*, that he must die: but after hee had besought God with teares for his deliuerie, *Isaiah*, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recouerie after three dayes, and a prolongation of his life for fifteene yeeres. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrarie way, and *2. King. 20.* went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despaire that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *Dauid*, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Botch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wise-men of *Chaldea* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure hee had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who told him; *The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoeuer thy fathers haue layed vp in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel*; nothing shall bee left, saith the Lord. *Esay 39.* It may seeme strange, how *Ezekia* should haue got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeere before. But the spoile of the same *Senacherib* his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made *Ezekia* richer vpon the suddaine then euer he had beene: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekia* had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life, he died, hauing raigned nine and twentie yeeres. One onely offensiue Warre he made, which was against the *Philistims* with good successe. Among his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus*) hee *Eccl. 48.* deuised to bring water to *Ierusalem*.

In two respects they say that hee offended God: the one, that hee rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that hee so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbeare to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued *Ezekias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recouerie of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemie. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, vsurped that State himselfe, in the last yeere of that King, and held it by strong hand against his sonne *Assarhaddon*; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength,

by

by the moleſtation of his brothers. This aduantage *Merodach* eſpied, and remembring, that their anceſtor *Phul Belochus* had ſet his owne maſter *Sardanapalus* beſides the cuſhion, thought it as lawfull for himſelfe to take the opportunitie which this Kings weakeneſſe did offer, as it had beene for *Belochus* to make vſe of the others wickedneſſe: and ſo, finding himſelfe beloued of the *Babylonians*, and ſufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and preuailed. The aſſertion of this hiſtorie is made by the ſame arguments that were vſed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here againe rehearſe. So of this new Race, which cut a-ſunder the Line of *Ninus*, there vvere onely fiue Kings.

Phul Belochus.	who raigned	48.	yeeres.
Tiglath Philaſſar.		27.	
Salmanaſſar.		10.	
Senacherib.		7.	
Aſſarhaddon.		10.	

But foraſmuch as the laſt yeere of *Salmanaſſar* was alſo the firſt of *Senacherib* his ſonne, we reckon the time, wherein the houſe of *Phul* held the *Aſſyrian* Kingdome, to haue beene an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the laſt fiue and twentie vvere ſpent with *Ezekia*, vnder *Salmanaſſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſſarhaddon*.

§. IIII.

The Kings that were in Media during the raigne of EZEKIA: *Of the difference found betweene ſundrie Authors, in rehearſing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of* EZEKIA: *of* CANDAVLES, GYGES, *and the Kings deſcended from* HERCVLES.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, raigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that varietie of names, by which theſe Kings were called in ſeuerall Hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeeme more than indeede they were; or whether the ſonnes raigning with the fathers, haue cauſed not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned *Media*, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themſelues, of *Cteſias* and *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, haue beene faultie, as neither of theſe two Authors is ouer-highly commended of truſtineſſe: ſo it is, that the names, number, and length of raigne, are all very diuerſly reported of theſe *Median* Kings, that followed *Arbaces*: Therefore it neede not ſeeme ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe Writers that varie from *Euſebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will onely here ſet downe the roll of Kings that raigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundrie Authors haue deliuered it.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* orders them and their raignes thus:

Arbaces.	who raigned	28.	yeeres.
Mandanes.		50.	
Soſarmon.		30.	
Articarmin.		50.	
Arbianes.		22.	
Artæus.		40.	
Attines.		22.	
Aſtybarus, with his ſonne *Apanda.*		20.	
Apanda alone.		30.	
Darius with *Cyrus.*		36.	

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome litte variation, that he might not ſeeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

Arbaces.	who raigned	28.	yeares.
Mandanes.		50.	
Soſarmus.		30.	
Artycas.		50.	
Arbianes.		22.	
Arſaus.		40.	
Artynes.		22.	
Artabanus.		40.	
Aſtybara.	the continuance of theſe two he doth not mention.		
Aſtyages.			

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile theſe Catalogues, and to make them alſo agree with *Euſebius*. But foraſmuch as it ſeemes to mee an impoſſible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of theſe forgotten times, by conjectures founded vpon *Cteſias* and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burthen vpon *Euſebius*, who liued in an age better furniſhed than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, raigned in this order.

Arbaces.	raigned	28.	yeeres.
Soſarmus.		30.	
Medidus.		40.	
Cardiceas.		15.	
Deioces.		54.	
Phraortes.		24.	
Cyaxares.		32.	
Aſtyages.		38.	

Theſe names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retaine; but adde vnto theſe, *Cyaxares* the ſonne of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting downe the length of a Kings raigne, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure firſt that were choſen Gouernours of *Athens* for ten yeeres; that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I heare nothing, ſaue that *Rome* was built in his firſt yeere; of which perhaps himſelfe did not heare. Of the ſecond and third I finde only the names. The fourth made himſelfe knowne by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of crueltie, that hee ſhewed vpon his owne Daughter. For hee finding that ſhee had offended in vnchaſtitie, cauſed her to be lockt vp with an Horſe, giuing to neither of them any foode: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappie Woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt King, and Founder of that Citie *Romulus*, did raigne both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the laſt King, ruled in the ſame age.

This

This Region was first called *Meonia*. *Lydus* the sonne of *Atys* raigning in it, gaue the name of *Lydia*, if wee beleeue such authoritie as wee finde. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argon*, who came of *Alceus* the sonne of *Hercules*, by *Iardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclidæ* continued raigning fiftie fiue yeeres (in which two and twentie Generations passed) the sonne continually succeeding the father. *Candaules* the sonne of *Myrsus* was the last of his race, who doated so much vpon the beautie of his owne Wife, that hee could not bee content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the sonne of *Dascylus*, to behold her naked bodie; and placed the vnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bed-ward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queene perceiued *Gyges* at his going forth, and vnderstanding the matter, tooke it in such high disdaine, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings follie with treason. So *Gyges*, being brought againe into the same chamber by the Queene, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of *Lydia*. He raigned thirtie eight yeeres, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one yeere before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his sonne *Ardys* raigned nine and fortie yeeres; then *Sadyattes*, twelue; *Halyattes*, fiftie seuen; and finally *Cræsus*, the sonne of *Halyattes*, fourteene yeeres: who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Cræsus* his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned seuerall Countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Mysians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argiues*; and from the *Argiues*, the *Macedonians*; as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusanes*: besides many great and famous, though priuate, Families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that raigned in *Lydia*, I haue not troubled my selfe to take notice in the times of their seuerall raignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the follie of this last King *Candaules*.

(***)

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that raigned in Ægypt, betweene the deliuerance of ISRAEL *from thence, and the raigne of* EZEKIA *in Iuda, when Ægypt and Iuda made a league against the Assyrians.*

§. I.

That many names of Ægyptian Kings, found in Historie, are like to haue belonged only to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of WILLIAM *of Tyre his Historie of the holy Warre.*

THE emulation and quarrells arising in these times, betweene the mightie Kingdomes of *Ægypt* and *Assyria*, doe require our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in *Ægypt*, and setting downe briefly the state of that Countrie, which had continued long a flowrishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Assyria* for the Mastrie. Of *Cham* the sonne of *Noah*, who first planted that Countrie, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that raigned there, vntill the *Israelites* were thence deliuered, more hath beene said a'readie than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such coniectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Ægyptian Dynasties*, must heere againe helpe me. For it may truely be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to haue raigned in *Ægypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Ioseph* was, and such as were the *Soldanes* in later ages. Therefore, I will not onely forbeare to seeke after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of *Ægyptian* Priests, deliuering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will saue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeares of their raignes, and other circumstances, prouing them to haue beene Kings in deede, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to giue vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth affoord. First therefore, wee ought not to beleeue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For wee know, that from *Abraham*, our *Sauiour Christ* was remoued onely fortie two descents, which makes it euident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire, there could not haue passed away twice as many successions in *Ægypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, haue raigned longer than fortie yeeres. It followes that we should square the number of the *Ægyptian* Kings in some euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the rest, whose names we finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy warre, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enow, of such as might be thought to haue raigned in *Ægypt*, being none other

then Regents or Viceroies. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselues with turning ouer many Authors.

When *Elhadech* the *Caliph* ruled in *Ægypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtile man, made himselfe *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was *Soldan* before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrell to *Amalricke* King of *Ierusalem*; and sustained, with little losse, an inuasion, which *Amalricke* made vpon *Ægypt*. Hereupon hee grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his partie good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Ægypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Army of his *Turkes*, vnder the command of *Syracon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victorie was *Dargans*; but hee enioyed it not: for in few daies after, hee was slaine by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recouer his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the Kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gaue little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilest he might haue the profit of it, and enioy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) doe neerely touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syracon* with his *Turkes*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Ægypt*, will not now be entreated there to leaue him, and quietly goe their way home. They seize vpon the Towne of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arriuall of more companie from *Damasco*, for the conquest of al *Ægypt*. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them; much lesse to repell the *Turkish* Armie, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almaricke* of *Ierusalem*, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aide, and so driues out the *Turkes*. Of al this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his owne game.

A greater mischiefe ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syracon*, Captaine of the *Turkes* that had beene in *Ægypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of *Ægypt*, each of them claiming as heire to *Mahomet*, that false prophet, the Soueraignetie ouer all that were of the *Saracen* Law) and tells him the weakenesse of the *Ægyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best meanes for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Ægypt*, with the Westerne parts, vnder the subiection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and ioyfully entertained; all the Easterne Prouinces are vp in Armes; and *Syracon*, with a mightie power, descendeth into *Ægypt*. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that with all his forces he hasteth into *Ægypt*: well knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from ioyning all vnder one head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiuing the faithful care of the *Christians* his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behoued him: for by their admirable valour, he finally draue the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victorie was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concernes our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue beene King in title only, who medled so little in the Gouernment? The *Soldan*, finding that the *Christians* (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, vpon condition, that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* cals it a Tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Ierusalem* should receiue out of *Ægypt*, for this behouefull assistance. But the *Christians* vnderstanding that the *Soldan* (how much soeuer he tooke vpon him) was subiect to an higher Lord, would make no bargaine of such importance, with any other than

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the *Caliph* himselfe. Hereupon *Hugh* Earle of *Cæsarea*, and a Knight of the Templars, are sent vnto *Elhadech*, to ratifie the couenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*; where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Æthiopians*, which with al diligence, did reuerence vnto the *Soldan*, as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the grauitie of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with embossed works, curious pauements, fish-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many sorts of strange Birds, vnknown in these parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the East *Indies*, which then were vndiscouered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his *Eunuches* conueighed them into other Courts within these; as farre excelling the former, as the former did surpasse ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how, the further they entred, the more high state they found, and cause of maruaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrot these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliphs* owne lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded, where entring the presence, the *Soldan* hauing twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he ware about his neck, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curtaine, behinde which the *Caliph* sate. Presently the trauerse, wrought with Gold and pearles was opened, and the *Caliph* himselfe discouered, sitting with great Maiestie on a throne of gold, hauing very few of his most inward seruants and *Eunuches* about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Almericke*, desiring the *Caliph* himselfe to ratifie them, in presence of the *Embassadors*. The *Caliph* answered, That he would throughly performe all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargaine; which the *Ægyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnes condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Cæsarea* saw that the *Caliph* gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect. SIR, *Truth* seekes no holes to hide it selfe; Princes, that will hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly, and sincerely; Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargaines with your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Maiestie of such a Prince to yeelde so farre. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Seruants) hee vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the couenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this *Caliph* and his *Sultan*, we may discerne the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his *Viceroy*: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, vsing all Royal power, making warre and peace; entertaining, and expelling Armies of strangers; yea making the Land of *Ægypt* tributarie to a forraine Prince. What greater authoritie was giuen to *Ioseph*, when *Pharaoh* said vnto him, *Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings Throne will I bee aboue thee, Behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Ægypt?*

I doe not commend this forme of Gouernement; neither can I approoue the coniecture of mine Author, where hee thinks, that the *Ægyptians*, euer since

Iosephs time, haue felt the burden of that seruitude, which hee brought vpon them, when he bought them, and their Lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his iudgement good; that he affirmes this manner of the *Ægyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his sonne *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to please their owne appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Countrie affoorded, were indeede sufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Ægyptians* held their Princes, gaue them securitie, whereby they might the better trust their officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes gouerning *Ægypt*, is set downe by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*; who liued in the same age; was, in few yeeres after, Chancellour of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earle of *Cæsarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remaines, that wee bee not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleeue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Ægyptians* haue honored with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we finde by circumstance, likely to haue raigned in that Countrie; after whom it followes that we should make enquirie.

§. II.

Of ACHERRES; *whether he were* VCHOREVS *that was the eighth from* OSYMANDYAS, *of* OSYMANDYAS *and his Tombe.*

IN this businesse I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Annius* would doe good seruice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly bee suspected. I will therefore hold my selfe contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities remoued so farre out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not beene silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, vnto the raigne of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the *Greeks* call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Ægyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and giue to euerie one the same length of raigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chenchres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seemes to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* coniectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the distance betweene them was more then eight generations. *Mercator* iudgeth *Osymandyas* to haue beene the husband of *Acencheres*, *Orus* the second his Daughter; thinking that *Manethon*

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(cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wiues, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wiues right. As for *Vchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greeke* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Ægyptian* name, belonging also to *Vchoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vexe my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Ægyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Armie with the siege of a Towne, the captiuitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Ægyptians* said to denote the conquest of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others iudge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue beene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of *Ægypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whilest yet they were not so ambitious, as euery one to haue his owne particular monument, striuing therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statuaes, therein placed, by the Warres, the iudgement Seate, the receiuing of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Reuennues, and plentie of all Cattaile and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the seuerall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of *Osymandyas* was this inscription. *I am* OSYMANDYAS *King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceede some of my workes.* Let them, that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those wordes, *Or where I lie*, it should seeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose body was preserued among the *Hebrewes*, to be buried in the Land of *Canaan*, and this emptie Monument might King *Orus*, who out-liued him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royall Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plentie of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this coniecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his encrease of honor. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Bassaes* are called, that is, Great aboue the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, betweene the times of *Ioseph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that raigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne coniecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to inferre any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well bee, that *Memphis* was built by some such King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant vnto the *Caliph Elcain*, who hauing to his Masters vse, conquered *Ægypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not farre from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistresse, though he himselfe were a *Dalmatian* slaue. *Iohn Leo Hist. Afric. l. 1. & l. 8.*

§. III.

of CHERRES, ARMEVS, RAMESSES, *and* AMENOPHIS. *Of* MYRIS, *and the Lake that beares his name.*

WHen *Acherres* had raigned eight yeeres, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the Kingdome fifteene yeeres: then raigned *Armeus* fiue yeeres, and after him *Rameſſes*, threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie vnderſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greekes*, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Ægypt* by his Brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom vpon ſeeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his Brothers fiftie Sonnes, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that onely *Hypermneſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſaue her husband *Lynceus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie ſiſters, when they died, were enioyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking Veſſell with water.

The raigne of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; and *Rameſſes*, *Ægyptus*; is more then *Reineccius* beleeues: hee rather takes *Armeus* to haue beene *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can eaſily beleeue, that he which fled out of *Ægypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the *Soldan Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo doe I not finde how in ſo ſhort a raigne, as fiue yeeres, a worke of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his wiues being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is vncertaine, and of whoſe raignes we haue no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great workes are not enough to prooue them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*, ſeeing that greater deedes or more abſolute, then were thoſe of *Ioſeph*, who bought all the people of *Ægypt* as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countrie Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet downe the length of their raignes, whom we finde to haue followed one another in order of ſucceſſion; but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſixe hundred furlongs in compaſſe, and fiftie fadomes deepe. It ſerued to receiue the waters of *Nilus*, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrie; and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent fiftie talents; but the Lake it ſelfe defraied that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed vpon Fiſh taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wife to buy ſweet ointments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middeſt of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchers of *Myris* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; hauing on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I finde not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet is it very great. The yeeres of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* diuided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould haue raigned one yeere and odde moneths of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſonne *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortie yeares. Some giue him only nineteene yeeres; and *Mercator* thinkes him to haue beene the

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King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I haue already ſpoken in the firſt Booke.

§. IIII.

Of the Kings that raigned in the Dynaſtie of the Larthes.

SETHOSIS, or *Zethus*, raigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie fiue yeeres. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that ancient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the World was not ſuch in theſe times, that ſo great an expedition, as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could haue beene either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now beene performed, as any man will perceiue, if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and conſider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King beganne the *Dinaſtie* of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to haue had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Ægypt*) and to haue ſignified as much as *Imperator* or *Generall*. The Warres in which theſe Kings were Generalls, I take to haue beene againſt the *Æthiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of *Paleſtina*, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they trauailed ouer the deſart ſands, on the other hand; to ſeeke matter of conqueſt, in the poore Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generalls (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Fiue only had that title; and the laſt of theſe tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Roman* Emperors were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt vnſuteable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his Succeſſors forbeare the name.

Here it may be objected, that the *Dynaſties* (as appeares by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the gouernement themſelues; and that therefore I am deceiued in aſcribing ſo much vnto the Viceroies. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends only vpon conjecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroies, might bee great enough, though ſome few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For ſo we finde in *Iohn Leo*, that the *Soldan* of *Ægypt* (after ſuch time as the *Soldan Saladine*, murdering the *Caliph*, got the Soueraignetie to himſelfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authoritie to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almoſt as great, as the *Soldans* owne. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the *Soldans* forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, ſpend of the *Soldans* Treaſure. So might the Office of the Viceroies continue, though the Kings themſelues, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſſe of that ſecond place. As for the names of the *Dynaſties*, it skills not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*, or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many thinke, that the ſeuenteenth *Dynaſtie* was called of the Sheep-heards, becauſe *Ioſeph* gouerned in part therof; or from the Kings themſelues that raigned; as this was ſaid to be of the *Larthes* or *Generalls*. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or *Generals*, yet was it not without Kings, foraſmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Seſac*, raigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs now returne to the buſineſſe which we left. *Iohn Leo, l. 8.*

Ramſes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſixe yeeres. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I haue ſpoken in the firſt Bookes. I finde nothing worth rehearſall of this *Ramſes*, or of *Amenophis*, and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which raigned fortie, the later ſixe and twentie

yeeres.

yeeres. Wherefore it may well bee, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditarie.

Thuoris, the last of the *Larthes*, raigned only seuen yeeres; yet is hee thought to haue beene that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That hee tooke *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I neede say no more in refutation of this, then that the time of *Thuoris* his raigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greeke* Writers in this businesse, or in other such matters, may seeme to be vnder-Officers: for such only are like to haue had their residencie about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coast, where *Menelaus* arriued.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, That he could foretell things to come, and that hee could change himselfe into all shapes: whereby is signified his craftie head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Seale-fishes, for belike he was some vnder-Officer to the Admirall, hauing charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remphes, the Sonne of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinitus*, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his couetousnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Theefe, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleeue what he list. How long this King raigned I know not, nor thinke that either hee, or his Father, did raigne at all.

§. V.

Of Ægyptian Kings whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Ægypt, according to CEDRENVS. *Of* VAPHRES *and* SESAC.

MAny other names of *Ægyptian* Kings, are found scattered heere and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* deliuers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Phisicion that liued vnder him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be Iseland; and that he consulted with the Deuill, or (which is all one) with *Serephis*, desiring to know, who before him had beene, or after him should be so mightie as himselfe. The answere or confession of the Deuill was remarkable; which I finde Englished in the translation of *Plessis* his worke, *Of the trueneſſe of Christian Religion*. The *Greeke* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

> First GOD, and next THE WORD, and then THE SPRITE,
> Which three be ONE, and joyne in ONE all three:
> Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile wight,
> The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I should haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of inuocation which *Thulis* vsed, and that clause, of his giuing name to the Iland: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceiued; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seemes

to

to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of raigne. Indeede the very name of that Booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breede suspition of some imposture: but the Frierly stuffe that hee alledgeth out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that he was a man both deuout, and of good judgement, in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of olde *Ægyptian* Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the censure to others.

The first King of *Ægypt* that he sets downe, is *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Cham*. After him hee findes many of a new race, deriuing their pedegree thus: *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*; and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three sonnes; *Picus*, surnamed *Iupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his father out of *Assyria* into *Italie*, raigned in his stead thirtie yeeres, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Iuno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his sonne: after which *Belus*, who raigned onely two yeeres, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to visite his olde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forthwith resigned the Kingdome to him. *Picus Iupiter* raigned in *Italie* threescore and two yeeres, had threescore and tenne Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*. The principall of *Iupiters* sonnes were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: hee raigned in *Italie*, after his father, fiue and thirtie yeeres: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Ægypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeeres. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* raigned in *Aegypt* foure yeeres and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, raigned twentie yeeres and a halfe. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Thules*, of whome we spake before: the length of their seuerall raignes is not set downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesostris* King twentie yeeres. His successor was *Pharao*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeeres, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are said to haue raigned in *Aegypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whome I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these alreadie rehearsed, then of negligence, in omitting such as might haue beene added.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*; and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, leade vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but wee are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. *Clem. Strom. l. 1* These giue vs not the length of his raigne; but we know, that he liued in the times of *Dauid* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, tooke *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gaue it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his sonne did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wiues and Concubines, besides this *Aegyptian* Princesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath beene written that I finde of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his raigne, which must haue beene sixe and twentie yeeres, if he were that *Smendis* with whome *Eusebius* beginnes the one and twentieth *Dynastie*.

Euseb. de Præp. Euang. l. 9. c. 4.

1. King. 9. 16. & 11. v. 18, 19, &c.

Now forasmuch as it would serue to no great purpose, that wee knew the length of *Sesac* his raigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeere of *Iehoiakim*, King of *Iuda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slaine, I reckon vpwards the yeeres of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which acommpt, the first yeere of *Sesac* is found, concurrent with

with the twentieth of *Salomons* raigne, and the twentie sixt of *Sesac* with the fift of *Rehoboam:* wherein *Sesac* spoyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, then *Ioas* the *Israelite* and *Crassus* the *Romane* did; who, after him, spoyled the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

To fill vp the time betweene *Sesac* and *Neco*, I haue rather taken those Kings that I find in the *Greeke* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are deliuered by *Eusebius*, wee finde no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, saue onely of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue beene a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Aethiopians*, which got the Kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet *Esay*, that the Councellors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch, that they said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Sonne of the Wise, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which ouerthrowes the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Iuda*. For though it please him well to see how the raignes of *Iosias* and *Neco* meete by his computation, yet this indeede marres all; the raigne of *Iosias* being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting, to compare the raignes of the Kings of *Iuda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Ioram*, King of *Israel*, is made to raigne three yeeres after *Ahazia* of *Iuda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezekia* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, haue their beginnings placed in some other yeere of their collateralls than the Scriptures haue determined.

Esai.19.11.

§. VI.

Of CHEMMIS, CHEOPS, CEPHRENES, *and other Kings recited by* HERODOTVS *and* DIODORVS SICVLVS, *which raigned betweene the times of* REHOBOAM *and* EZEKIA.

FOllowing therefore the *Greeke* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. Hee raigned fiftie yeeres, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accompted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome vpwards narrower and narrower to the toppe. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of seuen akers euery way, and was aboue sixe akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeeres, without complaining of any injurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the raigne of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* liued, are indeede a thousand yeeres; which giues the better likelyhod vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers testifie, that they haue seene them yet standing.

Diodor.l.1. Herod.l.2.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his sonne *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might bee *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to haue beene brethren; but the length of their raignes may argue the later to haue beene sonne to the former: for *Cheops* raigned fiftie yeeres; *Cephrenes* fiftie sixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had beene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had ouer-laboured themselues in erecting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes, for those that raised them; but

but the malice of the *Ægyptians* is said to haue cast out their bodies; and to haue called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: otherwise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might bee, that they, who had not power to auoide the like slaueric, laid vpon them by the yonger brother, or sonne, should haue power or leisure to take such reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting mony, did prostitute her, and that shee, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that stood in the middest of the other three. Belike shee was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raising a Monument, with the superfluitie of her Fathers prouisions.

Mycerinus, the sonne of *Cephrenes*, raigned after his Father sixe yeeres. He would haue built as his foregoers did, but preuented by death, finished not what hee had begunne. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of sixe yeeres only, because of this his deuotion; *For* (said the Oracle) *Ægypt should haue beene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts, but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou liue but sixe yeeres.* It is very strange, that the Gods should bee offended with a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countrie impious, when the people were desirous to serue them; or that they hauing so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the Gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were *Aegyptian* Gods. The true GOD was, doubtlesse, more offended with the restitution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether *Chemmis* did not learne somewhat at *Ierusalem*, in the last yeere of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to those that followed him, the vanitie of his *Aegyptian* superstition? Sure it is that his raigne, and the raignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happie, than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both daies and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into daies, and so doubled the time appointed: a seruice more pleasing to the Deuill, than the restitution of Idolatrie durst then seeme, when it could speede no better. I finde in *Reinecctus* fiftie yeeres assigned to this King; which I verily beleeue to haue beene some errour of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other such ouer-sights: for I know no Author that giues him so many yeeres, and *Reineccius* himselfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next vnto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speakes no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his Predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued iustice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kinde: *Eusebius* reckons foure and fortie yeeres of his raigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Aethiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Asychis*; who made a sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paied. This *Asychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blinde man, before the *Aethiopian*. The raignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Aegyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betweene *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but sixe yeeres; and so long doth *Functius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two Kings, betweene them both, did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnprobable,

bable, that the raignes of two Kings should haue beene so soone spent; he may doe it by taking some yeeres from *Sethon* or *Psammeticus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breede a manifest inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his raigne, must haue beene in *the fift of* REHOBOAM; as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow sixe yeeres only to these two Kings, than to loose the witnesse of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speake of *Senacheribs* warre: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Aegypt*. I will not therefore adde yeeres vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeeres, wee shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Senacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Aegyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet sixe yeeres further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Psammeticus* his raigne) into the yeeres of *Rehoboam*.

1.*King*.14.25. 2.*Chron*.12.v.2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Aethiopian*, who tooke the Kingdome from *Amyrtis*, it is agreed by the most, that he raigned fiftie yeeres. He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their seruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vse than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a League with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Aegyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserue the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Aegypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar*, and *Salmanassar*, hauing eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the raigne of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his raigne beganne in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himselfe did make the first entrance into *Palæstina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe subdued people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was so faint, that *Senacheribs* Embassador compared the *Aegyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reede. Such indeede had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekia* might haue found it, had hee not beene supported by the stronger staffe of Him, that rules all Nations with a rod of yron. It appeares by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Iuda*, of the *Ægyptian* forces, *for Charrets and Horse-men*; but this power, what soeuer it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Ægypt* it selfe, which *So* left vnto *Sethon* his successor, hauing now fulfilled the fiftie yeeres of his raigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Aegyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Countrie, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*, because it was often signified vnto him in his dreames, by the God which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his raigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he slew all the Priests in *Ægypt*; which rather than to doe, he resigned his Kingdome. Surely, these *Ægyptian* gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their Seruants, and inuited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Ægyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should haue fained this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuice of the fearefull old man, who seeing his Realme in danger of an inuasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himself into *Æthiopia*, where he had beene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Æthiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Armie against *Senacherib*, when hee

2.*King*.18.24.

meant

meant to inuade *Ægypt*, within two or three yeeres after? But I will not trouble my ſelfe with ſuch enquirie. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeede an *Æthiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharaohs* houſe) but onely ſo ſurnamed for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the Kingdome from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and milde forme of his Gouernement; his holding the Kingdome ſo long without an Armie; and many other circumſtances argue no leſſe. But whether finally hee betooke to a priuate life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and ſpeake of *Sethon* his next Succeſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his hauing beene King.

§. VII.

Of SETHON *who raigned with* EZEKIA, *and ſided with him againſt* SENNACHERIB.

THe firſt yeere of *Sethons* raigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Aſſyria* and *Ægypt*, being then ingaged in a Warre, the iſſue whereof was to determine, whether of them ſhould rule or ſerue. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of warre; the *Ægyptian* better prouiſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian*, more Subjects; the *Ægyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Aſſur*, manie that were *Ægyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them againſt his owne great Enemie, preferred the friendſhip of ſo neere and mightie a Neighbour, before the ſeruice of a terrible, yet farre remoued King. But herein was great difference, betweene *Ezekia* and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his eſpeciall confidence in God, held that courſe of policie, which hee thought moſt likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrie: the multitude of *Iudæa*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Ægyptian* league promiſed, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not neede to feare any more of thoſe iniuries, which they had ſuffered by the *Aſſyrians*, and ſo became forgetfull of God, *taking counſaile but not of him.* The Prophet *Eſay* complained much of this preſumption; giuing the people of *Iuda* to vnderſtand, That *the Ægyptians were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not Spirit*; that God himſelfe ſhould defend *Iſrael* vpon repentance, and that ASSVR *ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man.* As for the *Aegyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) *they are vanitie, and they ſhall helpe in vaine, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill.* *Eſay* 30.1. *Eſay* 31.v.3. & 8. *Eſay* 30.7.

According to the Prophets words it came to paſſe. For in the treatie of Confederacie that was *held at Zoan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was giuen to the *Iewes*, by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Charets, that they did *not looke* (as *Eſay* ſaith) *vnto the holy one of Iſrael, nor ſeeke vnto the Lord. But he yet is wiſeſt.* *Eſay* 3.4. *Eſay* 31.1,2.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Armie, and wakened them out of theſe dreames; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as neere as hee was, did ſeeme farre off, being vnreadie, when his helpe was moſt needfull. It may ſeeme that he purpoſed, rather to make *Paleſtina* than *Ægypt* the ſtage, whereon this great Warre ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Iewes*, weakening one another, ſhould yeeld vnto him a faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with monie; for he ſent Horſes and Camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom

Esay 30.6. *Esay* calleth *a people that cannot profit.* These *Arabians* did not profit indeede; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*,) all the strong Cities of *Iuda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Ierusalem* it selfe, which were in sore distresse, till the sword of God, and not of Man, defeated
Esay 31.9. the *Assyrian*, who did goe, *for feare, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineue*, where he was slaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Ægypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in defence of him and their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcans* Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by dreame promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him, which were crafts-men, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelusium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of *Sennacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bowes, quiuers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to flie away in all haste, finding themselues disarmed. In memorie hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set vp in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription: *Let him, that b holds me, serue God.* Such was the relation of the *Ægyptian* Priests, wherein how farre they swarued from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their owne King, it may easily be perceiued. It seemes that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen downe, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbeare to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Iewes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof euery child could haue told, how much falsehood had beene mingled with the truth.

We finde this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Sennacherib* King of the *Assyrians*, and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians* or peraduenture some borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Ægypt*, and was miraculously driuen home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did vnto his Priest; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Priest) that he took his god now in so good a moode. For within three or foure yeeres before this, all the Priests in *Ægypt* should haue beene slaine, if a merciful King had not spared their liues, as it were halfe against the gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to serue as an example, that might stirre vp the *Ægyptians* to pietie, seeing that their deuotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent *Sennacherib* himselfe, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Ægyptian* manner of expressing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by meanes which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed vpon this vngodly King, was indeede a very good motiue to pietie. But the embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might giue occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon*, finding himselfe in danger, did call vpon his gods, that is, vpon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom hee had most deuotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like neede: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Iewes* (euen such of them as most were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue beene ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, *in the Charets of Ægypt, be-*
Esay 31.1. *cause they were many, and in the Horse-men, because they were very strong*; had it beene told them, that *Sethon*, in stead of sending those Horse-men and Charets, was beseeching *Vulcan*, to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were *Ægyptian* gods) addressing his praiers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoeuer it was, doubtlesse

lesse the prophecie of *Esay* tooke effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor doe them good, but shall bee a shame and also a reproch.* Such is commonly the issue of humane wisedome, when resting secure vpon prouision that it selfe hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to haue beene set downe by *Eusebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twentie yeeres which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the Raigne of *Sethon*. These haue well obserued, that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Ægypt*, but as a friend to that Countrie, or at least an enemie to *Senacherib*, in the war last spoken of the *Æthiopians* (as they are englished) ouer which hee raigned, being indeede *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they thinke, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka*, is placed in the roome of *Sethon*, and therefore giue to *Sethon* the twentie yeeres of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his Raigne ouer *Ægypt*, by *Eusebius* his accompt, after the death of *Senacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first yeere of *Manasses* King of *Iuda*. Therefore he, or his yeeres, haue no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* raigned; *Functius* peremptorily, citing no Authour, nor alleaging reason for it, sets him downe thirtie three yeers; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my selfe at the first, for measuring the Raignes of these *Ægyptian* Kings. The yeeres which passed from the fift of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, I so diuide among the *Ægyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom hee is found, the rest is to be conferred vpon him whose length of Raigne is vncertaine; that is, vpon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirtie three yeeres, that are set downe by *Functius*, to agree very neerely, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethons* Raigne; therefore I conforme my owne reckoning to his, though I could be content to haue it one yeere lesse. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arriue at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this Historie will shortly bring me, the *Ægyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Iuda*, to which is meete that I returne.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of MANASSE *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickednesse of MANASSES. *His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.*

MANASSE, the Sonne of *Ezekias*, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the prosperitie which followed him, set vp, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Deuill was by the *Heathen* worshipped. Besides, hee himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the hoste of Heauen, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Deuill *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhennon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Deuills.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent bloud, as *Ierusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the Kings race, and as the *Iewes* affirme, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of *Siloe* to be sawne in sunder, with a woodden saw, in the eightieth yere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous then hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. *Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captaines of the Hoste of the Kings of* ASHVR, *which tooke* MANASSE, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to Babel*: Where after he had lien twentie yeere as a captiue, and dispoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his heartie repentance and continuall praier, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the *Assyrians* heart to deliuer him.

Iust. Martyr.
Cedrenus c. 91.
Glycas pag 275.
Tertull. de Pat.

2. *Chron.* 33. 11.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, becausse he loued his father *Ezechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his libertie and estate. After which, and when hee was againe established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuillish Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erection, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed theron. He repaired a great part of *Ierusalem*: and dyed after the long raigne of fiftie fiue yeeres. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a case of yron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fedde with bread of branne and water, which men may beleeue as it shall please their fancies.

§. II.

Of troubles in Ægypt following the death of SETHON. *The raigne of* PSAMMITICVS.

THat the wickednesse of King *Manasses* was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needes beleeue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous of enlarging his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Iuda*. For the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Iuda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill dissension, and after two yeeres, ill amended by a diuision of the gouernment betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these, eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere *Anarchie*, that was in *Ægypt*, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, betweene the raignes of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocratie*, or twelue Gouernours, immediately before *Psammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissension seemes to haue beene the vncertainetie of title to that Kingdome (for that the Crowne of *Ægypt* passed by succession of bloud, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not settled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraignetie.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeeres, in good seeming agreement, which to preserue, they made straite couenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drinke-offering, in *Vulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this vnitie lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neere vnto the Lake of *Mœris*; a worke so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beheld it, affirmes) no words could giue it commendation, answerable to the statelinesse of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downe that vnperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but thinke enough to say, that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the faireſt workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to haue beene the worke of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a King which liued fiue generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the Warre of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith hee) *Dædalus* tooke the patterne of that which hee made for *Minos* in *Creete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to haue beene *Annemenes*, which raigned immediately before *Tkuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon*, and others, that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the storie of *Amasis*, & *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethons Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Actisanes*, and that *Annemenes* should bee *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture; the times which wee now handle, are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*; *Actisanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of these twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Actisanes* gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offendors;

Ioſ. cont. App. l. 1.

offendors; ſo likewiſe was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actiſanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (ſauing *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the ſame worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing neerer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleeued the Prieſts, might bee a part of the *Ægyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boaſting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Hals, Parlours, and other circumſtances remembred by *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of theſe twelue Princes. But I haſten to their end.

At a ſolemne feaſt in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Prieſt, forgetting himſelfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cups. Hereupon *Pſammiticus*, who ſtanding laſt, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith ſupplyed the want. This cauſed all the reſt to remember the Oracle, and to ſuſpect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon ſet purpoſe, or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but, being jealous of their eſtate, they baniſhed him into the mariſh Countries by the Sea ſide. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleeue to haue beene none other: In the reſt *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, ſaying, that *Pſammiticus* hyred Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aide he vanquiſhed his Companions, and made himſelfe ſole King.

The yeeres of his raigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Euſebius*, fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, giues fortie foure yeeres to his ſingle raigne, and ten to his ruling, joyntly with the Princes before ſpoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for hee cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to haue beene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouernours, muſt be thought to haue liued vnto extreme old age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine yeeres. I therefore yeeld rather to *Euſebius*; but will not aduenture to cut fiue yeeres from the *Ariſtocratie*: though peraduenture *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelue, but ſucceeded (either by election, or as next of bloud) into the place of ſome Prince that dyed, and was ten yeeres companion in that gouernement.

Another ſcruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeeres of theſe *Aegyptians*, as we finde them ſet downe, are more by one, than ſerue to fill vp the time, betweene the fift of *Reboboam*, and the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one yeere from *Sethons* raigne; that was of vncertaine length; or elſe (which I had rather doe; becauſe *Funccius* may haue followed better authoritie than I know, or than himſelfe alleageth, in giuing to *Sethon* a time ſo neerely agreeing with the truth) wee muſt confound the laſt yeere of one raigne, with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no man can ſuppoſe, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet downe in Chronologicall tables, raigned preciſely ſo many yeeres as are aſcribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the ſurpluſage of one mans time, ſupplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the laſt yeere of thoſe fifteene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himſelfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Ægypt*, who entertained any ſtrait amitie with the *Greekes*; that hee retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom hee gaue large rewards and poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Ægyptian* Souldiers, by beſtowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whileſt his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this diſgrace it is ſaid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſooke their naturall

Countrie

Countrie of *Ægypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Meſſages, nor by the King himſelfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when hee told them of their Countrie, their Wiues, and Children, they anſwered, that their weapons ſhould get them a Countrie, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is alſo reported of him, That he cauſed two Infants to be brought vp in ſuch ſort, as they might not heare any word ſpoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that nature would teach the children to ſpeake that language, which men ſpake at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the children cried, *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to ſignifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, ſerued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Goropius Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker*, ſignifies (as Baker in Engliſh) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Goropius* his works, may finde enough of this kinde, to perſwade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs vſed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confuſion of languages at *Babel*; the name it ſelfe of *Babel*, being alſo *Dutch* and giuen by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they beganne to babble, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt vpon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his acts was the ſiege of *Azotus* in *Palæſtina*, about which he ſpent nine and twentie yeeres. Neuer haue wee heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carried it at the laſt. This Towne of *Azotus* had beene wonne by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Senacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, releeued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

§. III.

What reference theſe Ægyptian matters might haue to the impriſonment and enlargement of MANASSES. *In what part of his raigne* MANASSES *was taken priſoner.*

WEre it certainely knowne, in what yeere of his raigne *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner, and how long it was before hee obtained libertie; I thinke wee ſhould finde theſe *Ægyptian* troubles to haue beene no ſmall occaſion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God ſo diſpoſing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended onely their owne buſineſſe, fulfilled onely his high pleaſure. For either the ciuill warres in *Ægypt* that followed vpon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelue peeces; or the warre betweene *Pſammiticus* and his Colleagues; or the expedition of *Pſammiticus* into *Syria*, and the ſiege of *Azotus*, might miniſter vnto the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or ſuch neceſſitie of ſending an Armie into thoſe parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make ſure worke with the King of *Iuda*. The ſame occaſions ſufficed alſo, to procure the delinerie of *Manaſſes*, after he was taken. For hee was taken (as *Ioſephus* hath it) by ſubtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrie, but only waſte it. So that the *Iewes*, hauing learned wit, by the ill ſucceſſe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect, in making their bargaine vpon ſuch another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Aegyptian* matters preſented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Iuda* could affoord, had no reaſon, to ſpend his forces, in purſuing a ſmall conqueſt, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby hee ſhould compell his mightieſt enemies to come to ſome good agree-

ment;

ment; when by quitting his present aduantage ouer the *Iewes*, hee might make his way the fairer into *Ægypt*.

Now concerning the yeere of *Manasses* his raigne, wherein hee was taken prisoner; or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are silent, and *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I finde cited by *Torniellus* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinkes that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirmes, that it was in his twentie seuenth yeere; the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* vpon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was fortie yeeres an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeeres after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is vpheld by *Torniellus*, who reiects the second, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleaged by *Torniellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinall*, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before hee gaue his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his sinnes, *it is not like that hee should haue continued, as hee did*, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *workes of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelue yeeres old; though it were granted that hee continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi*) vntill he was but fifteene yeeres from death. Touching the second; howsoeuer it be a fearefull thing, to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sinnes, which are not forsaken before the age of two and fiftie yeeres, shall bee punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in this wickednesse, than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimhi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of Kings, the euill which *Manasses* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life, the storie of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. *Concerning the rest of the acts of* MANASSES, *and all that he did, and his sinne that hee sinned, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda?* The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Iehoiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this vpon Iuda, that hee might put them out of his sight, for the sinnes of* MANASSE, *according to all that hee did, and for the innocent bloud that hee shed (for he filled Ierusalem with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Whoso considers well these places, may finde small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier then fifteene yeeres before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seuen yeeres old, he repented, and becomming a new man, liued in the feare of God fortie yeeres after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth can not be discouered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeeres of ciuill dissension in *Ægypt*, fourteene or fifteene yeeres following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignetie: the warre of *Psammiticus* against his Associates: and foure and twentie yeeres, of the nine and twentie, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his raigne (after the first fifteene yeeres) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countrie. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fifteenth of

2. *Kings* 21.17.

2. *Kin.* 24.3, 4.

Manasses

Manaſſes, was the laſt yeere of *Sethon* in *Ægypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his raigne, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeuen and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelue Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twentie third of *Pſammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſonne of *Merodach* in *Babylon*: but which of theſe was the yeere of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbeare to ſhew mine opinion, leſt I ſhould thereby ſeeme to draw all matters ouer violently to mine owne computation.

This was the firſt great maſtrie that the *Babylonians* had of the Kingdome of *Iuda*. For though *Achaz* promiſed Tribute to *Salmanaſſar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that hee hoped to ſtay *Sennacheribs* enterpriſe againſt him, by preſenting him with three hundred talents of ſiluer, and thirtie of gold, beſides the plate which couered the doores and pillars of the Temple. 2. *Kings* 18.

But *Manaſſes* being preſſed with greater neceſſitie, could refuſe no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impoſe vpon him; among which it ſeemes, that this was one, (which was indeede a point of ſeruitude) that hee might not hold peace with the *Ægyptians*, whileſt they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appeares not onely by his fortifying with men of warre all the ſtrong Cities of *Iuda* after his returne (which was rather againſt *Pſammiticus*, whoſe partie hee had forſaken, than againſt the *Babylonian*, with whom hee had thenceforth no more controuerſie) but likewiſe by that oppoſition, which *Ioſias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulaſſar*, which had beene againſt all reaſon and policie, if it had not beene his dutie by couenant. Of this I will ſpeake more in conuenient place.

†. IIII.

Of the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian Warres, which were in the raignes of EZEKIA, *and* MANASSES *Kings of Iuda.*

NOw concerning ſuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about theſe times of *Manaſſes*, the moſt remarkeable were the *Meſſenian* Warres; which happening in this age, and being the greateſt action performed in *Greece*, betweene the *Troian* and *Perſian* Warres, deſerue not to be paſſed ouer with ſilence.

The firſt *Meſſenian* Warre beganne and ended in the daies of *Ezekias*; the ſecond in the raigne of *Manaſſes*: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our Hiſtorie, I haue thought it beſt, to rehearſe them both in this place. Other introduction is needleſſe, than to ſay, that the poſteritie of *Hercules*, driuing the iſſue of *Pelops*, and the *Achæans*, out of their ſeates, diuided their lands betweene themſelues, and erected the Kingdomes of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Meſſene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and ſought one anothers ruine with bloudie Warres; whereof theſe *Meſſenian* were the greateſt.

The pretended grounds of the *Meſenian* Warre, are ſcarce worth remembrance; they were ſo ſleight. Ambition was the true cauſe of it; wherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo tranſported, that any thing ſerued them as a colour, to accompliſh their greedie deſires. Yet other matter was alleaged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* had ſlaine many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magiſtrates of *Sparta* deſiring to haue him yeelded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The *Meſſenians* on the other ſide, excuſed *Polychares*, for that he was growne frantick, through injuries receiued from *Euaphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euaphnes* had bargained to giue paſture to the Cattell of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receiue part of the increaſe:

but

but not contented with the gaine appointed, hee sold the Cattaile, and Slaues that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stollen. Whileſt the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confeſſed all, and promiſed large amends; which to receiue, he carried the Sonne of *Polychares* home with him; but hauing him at home, hee villanouſly ſlew him. Wherefore, the *Lacedæmonians* hauing refuſed, after long ſute made by the wretched Father, to doe him right againſt this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell, out of thoſe things, which hee did in that madneſſe, whereinto they themſelues had caſt him. So ſaid the *Meſſenians*, & further offered to put the matter to compromiſe, or to ſtand vnto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counſaile of *Greece*, or to any other faire courſe. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great deſire to occupy the faire Countrie of *Meſſene*, that lay cloſe by them, were not content with ſuch allegations. They thought it enough, to haue ſome ſhew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old injuries, and ſo without ſending any defiance, ſecretly tooke an oath, to hold warre with *Meſſene*, till they had maſtered it: which done, they ſeized vpon *Amphia*, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few eſcaping.

Hereupon the *Meſſenians* tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious battaile was fought betweene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victorie. The *Meſſenians* did ſtrongly encampe themſelues; The *Lacedæmonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre beganne in the ſecond yere of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the firſt of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, hauing laſted twentie yeeres. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedæmonians* waſting the inland parts of *Meſſene*; and the *Meſſenians*, the Sea-coaſt of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both ſides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians*, *Argiues*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Meſſene*; the *Spartans* had, beſides many Subjects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a ſecond, third, and fourth battaile were fought, with as great obſtinacie as the firſt; ſauing that, in the fourth battaile, the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was ſtil vncertaine, though in one of them the *Meſſenians* loſt *Euphaes* their King, in whoſe ſtead they choſe *Ariſtodemus*.

Many yeeres were ſpent, ere all this bloud was ſhed; for peſtilent diſeaſes, and want of monie to entertaine Souldiers, cauſed the Warre to linger. And for the ſame reaſons, did the *Meſſenians* forſake all their inland Townes, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountaine with a Towne vpon it, able to endure more, than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as ſome Authors tell vs, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo obſtinate, in this Warre, becauſe of their vow, that hauing abſented themſelues ten yeeres from *Sparta*, their wiues ſent them word, that their Citie would grow vnpeopled, by reaſon that no children had beene borne them in all that time: Whereupon they ſent back all their ableſt yong men, promiſcuouſly to accompanie the yong women, who got ſo many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* referres the begetting of theſe *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceſſe of this *Meſſenian* Warre, when the Deuill in an Oracle had aduiſed the *Meſſenians* to ſacrifice a Virgin of the ſtock of **Ægyptus*, that ſo they might be victorious againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lyciſcus*, *Epibolus* the Prieſt, willing to ſaue her, ſaid, ſhee was only a foſtered child, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciſcus*: which anſwere giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciſcus* ſecretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Ariſtodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a yong Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwiſe he could not preuaile, ſaid openly that ſhee was no Virgin, but that he had defloured

Strabo. l.6.
Oroſ. l.1.c.21.

Diod l.15.

* This *Aegyptus* was the yongeſt Sonne of *Creſphon* by *Merope*, the daughter of *Cypſelus* King of *Arcadia*: of which *Creſphon* the chiefe nobilitie of the *Meſſenians* was propagated.

floured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to diſproue the Louers ſlander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterward falling, by other ſuperſtitions, into deſpaire of preuailing againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſlew himſelfe, to the great hurt of his Countrie, which he loued moſt dearely. For after his death the *Meſſenians* loſt their courage, and finding themſelues diſtreſſed by many wants, eſpecially of victuals, they craued peace; which they obtained vnder moſt rigorous conditions. Halfe the yeerely fruits of their Land they were bound to ſend vnto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wiues, to make ſolemne lamentations, at the death of euery *Spartan* King; they were alſo ſworne to liue in true ſubjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was giuen to the *Aſmæi*, and ſuch as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon ſo vneuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeeres it continued (the *Meſſenians* not finding how to help themſelues) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able yong men, that were growne vp in the roome of thoſe *Meſſenians*, whom the former Warre had conſumed, beganne to conſider their owne ſtrength and multitude, thinking themſelues equall to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore ſcorning to ſerue ſuch Maſters, as had againſt all right, oppreſſed their Fathers. The chiefe of theſe was *Ariſtomenes*, a noble Gentleman, of the houſe of *Æpytus*; who perceiuing the vniforme deſires of his Countrie-men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore ſounding the affections of the *Argiues*, and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly anſwerable to his purpoſe, began open warre vpon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth yere of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians*, haſted to quench the fire before it ſhould grow too hot, with ſuch forces as they could raiſe of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their Enemies, ere any ſuccour were lent them. So a ſtrong battaile was fought betweene them, and a doubtfull; ſaue that the *Meſſenians* were pleaſed with the iſſue, foraſmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equalls. Particularly, the valour of *Ariſtomenes* appeared ſuch in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King: but he, refuſing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeere another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better prouided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and ſome other friends to helpe: the *Meſſenians* had the *Argiues*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This alſo was a long and bloudie fight; but *Ariſtomenes* did ſo behaue himſelfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of ſuch importance was this victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* beganne to bethinke themſelues, of making ſome good agreement. But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, reenforced their Spirits with his Verſes. After this, *Ariſtomenes* tooke by ſurpriſe a Towne in *Laconia*, and vanquiſhed in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did ſet vpon him, in hope to haue recouered the bootie.

But all theſe victories of *Ariſtomenes* periſhed, in the loſſe of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or ſurely the profit, fell vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treaſon of *Ariſtocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with mony, fled away, and left the *Meſſenians* expoſed to a cruell butcherie. The loſſe was ſo great, that together with *Andania* their principal Citie, al the towns in *Meſſene*, ſtanding too farre from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not bee ſafe abroad, was conueied, into a place of ſafetie. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious worke, that held them eleuen yeeres. For beſides that *Era* it ſelfe was a ſtrong peece, *Ariſtomenes* with three hundred ſtout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the ſiege. Hee waſted all the fields of *Meſſene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking

king

king away Corne, Wine, Cattaile, and all prouiſions, neceſſarie for his owne people; the Slaues and houſhold ſtuffe he changed into monie, ſuffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedie this miſchiefe the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Meſſene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their owne Countrie, ſhould bee tilled or huſbanded; which bred a great tumult among priuate men, that were almoſt vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeaſed this vproare with pleaſing Songs. But *Ariſtomenes* grew ſo bold, that he not onely ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Townes, ſurpriſed, and ſackt *Amycle*, and finally cauſed the enemies to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing theſe and other ſeruices, thrice *Ariſtomenes* was taken priſoner; yet ſtill hee eſcaped. One eſcape of his deſerues to bee remembred, as a thing very ſtrange and maruailous. Hee had with too much courage aduentured to ſet vpon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vp ſenſeleſſe, and carried away priſoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Caue into which the *Spartans* vſed to caſt head-long, ſuch as were condemned to die for the greateſt offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariſtomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the reſt of theſe poore men dyed with their falls; *Ariſtomenes* (howſoeuer it came to paſſe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be impriſoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while hee perceiued by ſome ſmall glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the toppe) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead bodie. Hereupon hee bethought himſelfe, that this beaſt muſt needs know ſome way, to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, ſaued himſelfe from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, hee followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too ſtrait for him; and then diſmiſſed it. The Foxe being looſe, ranne through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Ariſtomenes* delue ſo long with his nailes, that at laſt he clawed out his paſſage. When ſome fugitiues of *Meſſene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Ariſtomenes* was returned home, their tale ſounded alike, as if they had ſaid, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedæmonians* in the ſiege of *Era*, were cut in peeces, their Captaines ſlaine, and their Campe taken; then was it eaſily beleeued, that *Ariſtomenes* was aliue indeede.

Thus eleuen yeeres paſſed whileſt the enemies houering about *Era*, ſaw no likelihood of getting it; and *Ariſtomenes* with ſmall forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the laſt, a ſlaue, that had fled from *Sparta*, betraied the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdneſſe the wife of a *Meſſenian*, and was entertained by her, when her huſband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the huſband came home vnlooked for, whileſt the Adulterer was within. The Woman hidde her Paramour, and made good countenance to her huſband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned ſo ſoone. He told her, that the ſtorme of foule weather was ſuch, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations, and that himſelfe had done as the reſt did; as for *Ariſtomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroad; neither was it to bee feared, that the enemies would ſtirre, in ſuch a darke-rainie-night, as this was. The ſlaue that heard theſe tidings, roſe vp ſecretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Campe with the newes. There hee found *Emperamus* his Maſter, commanding in the Kings abſence. To him hee vttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was preſently taken; and the extreme darkeneſſe, together with the noiſe of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was ſpent in moſt cruell fight; one part being incited, by neere hope of

ending

ending a long worke; the other inraged by meere deſperation. The great aduantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenſed partly by the aſſiſtance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of ſeruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowneſſe of the ſtreets and other paſſages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continuall toile; their enemies fought in courſe, refreſhing themſelues with meat and ſleepe, and then returning ſupplyed the places of their wearie fellowes, with freſh Companies. *Ariſtomenes* therefore, perceiuing that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing beene three daies, and three nights, vexed with all miſeries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger, and thirſt, beſides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker ſort, whom he compaſſed round with armed men, and ſo attempted to breake out through the midſt of the enemies. *Emperamas* Generall of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, cauſed his Souldiers to giue an open way, leauing a faire paſſage to theſe deſperate madmen. So they iſſued forth, and arriued ſafe in *Arcadia*, where they were moſt louingly entertained.

Vpon the firſt bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themſelues to the reſcue: but *Ariſtocrates* their falſe hearted King, ſaid it was too late, for that all was alreadie loſt. When *Ariſtomenes* had placed his followers in ſafetie, he choſe out fiue hundred the luſtieſt of his men, with whom he reſolued to march in all ſecret haſte vnto *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town ſecure, and ill manured, the people being runne forth to the ſpoile of *Meſſene*. In this enterpriſe, if he ſped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recouer their owne, by reſtitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worſt that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to ioyne with him; but *Ariſtocrates* marred all, by ſending ſpeedie aduertiſement hereof, to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epiſtle which *Anaxander* ſent backe to *Ariſtocrates*, was intercepted, by ſome that miſtruſted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falſehood, which being publiſhed in open aſſembly, the *Arcadians* ſtoned him to death, and caſting foorth his body vnburied, erected a monument of his treacherie, with a note: That the Periurer cannot deceiue God.

Of *Ariſtomenes* no more is remaining to be ſaid, than that committing his people to the charge of his ſonne *Gorgus* and other ſufficient Gouernours, who ſhould plant them in ſome new ſeat abroad, he reſolued himſelfe to make abode in thoſe parts, hoping to finde the *Lacedæmonians* worke at home. His daughters hee beſtowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who raigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marrie the daughter of the beſt man in *Greece*. Finally *Ariſtomenes* went with his daughters to *Rhodes*, whence he purpoſed to haue trauailed vnto *Ardys* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death preuented him at *Rhodes*, where hee was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* were inuited by *Anaxilas* (whoſe great Grandfather was a *Meſſenian* and went into *Italie* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italie*, to take his part againſt the *Zanclæans* in *Sicilie*, on the other ſide of the Straights. They did ſo; and winning the Towne of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, which name it keepes to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* warre ended in the firſt yeere of the twentie eight Olympiade. Long after which time, the reſt of that Nation, who ſtaying at home ſerued the *Lacedæmonians*, found meanes to rebell; but were ſoone vanquiſhed, and being driuen to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewiſe, after few ages they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Countrimen into *Italie* and *Sicilie*; ſome of them went into *Africa*, where they choſe vnto themſelues a ſeat.

It is verie strange, that during two hundred and foure score yeeres, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and loue of their forsaken Countrie, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third yeere of the hundred and second Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, reuoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore vnto them their old possession, and helpe them in building a faire Citie; which, by the name of the Prouince, was called *Messene*, and was held by them euer after, in despight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they neuer from thenceforth stood in feare.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while MANASSES *raigned. Whether* DEIOCES *the Mede were that* ARPHAXAD *which is mentioned in the Booke of* IVDITH. *Of the historie of* IVDITH.

ARDYS King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as raigning shortly after the *Messenian* warre. *Ardys* succeeding vnto his father *Gyges*, beganne his raigne of nine and fortie yeeres, in the second of the fiue and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steppes of his father, who encroaching vpon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* wanne *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his raigne, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their owne Countrie by the *Scythians*, ouerranne a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driuen out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wanne the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardys*; whose long raigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeere of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was sixe yeeres after the *Messenian* warre ended; the same being the last yeere of *Manasses* his raigne ouer *Iuda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of these fiue and fiftie yeeres in which *Manasses* raigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people so much licence, as caused euery one to desire the wholesome seueritie of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldome gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiestie, which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportiments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and seuerely administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. Hee cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne wel his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliuers, that *Deioces* was the first who raigned in *Media*.

Herod. lib. 1.

This

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he ſhould be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the ſtorie of *Iudith*, as alſo *Ben Merodach*, by the ſame accompt, ſhould bee *Nabuchodonoſor* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was ſlaine, and *Holophernes* ſent to worke wonders, vpon *Phud* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the laſt yeere of *Deioces* to haue beene the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwiſe, ſome earlier in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, ſome later, in the raigne of *Nabulaſſar*, who is alſo called *Nabuchodonoſor*.

In fitting this Booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour beene ſpent with ill ſucceſſe. The raignes of *Cambyſes*, *Darius*, *Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue beene ſought into; but affoord no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, haue beene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, choſen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing beſt with the ſtorie; though others herein cannot (I ſpeake of ſuch as faine would) agree with him. Whileſt *Cambyſes* raigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the ſtorie of *Iudith*, is found ſtanding and dedicated. The other two *Perſian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes* are acknowledged to haue been very fauourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonoſor*, whoſe part they refuſed to take, and who ſent to deſtroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath ſome conueniences, aptly fitting this Hiſtorie; & aboue al, the opinion of a few Ancient writers (without whoſe iudgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) hauing placed this argument in the *Perſian* Monarchie, inclines the matter to the Raigne of this vaine-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the buſineſſe. Manifeſt it is, and granted, that in the time of this Hiſtorie, there muſt be a returne from captiuitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Ioacim* High Prieſt; and a long peace, of threeſcore and ten yeeres or thereabout, enſuing. All theſe were to bee among the *Iewes*. Likewiſe on the other ſide, we muſt finde a King that raigned in *Niniue*, eighteene yeeres at the leaſt; that vanquiſhed and ſlew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Iewes* refuſed to aſſiſt; one that ſought to bee generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded, all temples, of ſuch as were accounted gods, to be deſtroyed; one whoſe Viceroy or Captaine Generall knew not the Iewiſh Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all theſe circumſtances; the Prieſthood of *Ioacim*, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manaſſes* before the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of *Xerxes*; the reſt of circumſtances requiſite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the *Iewes*, and deſolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe deciſion of this controuerſie is, *That the Booke of Iudith is not Canonicall.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was poſſible in ſo deſperate a caſe. For he ſuppoſeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps reſtored and reedified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly beene built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonoſor* might be another. This granted; he addes, that from the twelfth yeere to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that is fiue or ſixe yeeres, the abſence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Gracian* expedition (which he ſuppoſeth to haue beene ſo long) might giue occaſion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonoſor* hauing vanquiſhed and ſlaine *Arphaxad*, might then ſeek to make himſelfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he ſent forth vnder *Holofernes*. So ſhould the *Iewes* haue done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and reſiſting one that rebelled againſt him; as alſo the other circumſtances rehearſed before, be well applyed to the argument. For in theſe times, the affaires of *Iurie* were agreeable to the Hiſtorie of *Iudith*, and ſuch a King as this ſuppoſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, might well enough bee ignorant of the *Iewes*, and as proud as we ſhall need to thinke him. But the ſilence of all Hiſtorics, takes away

beliefe, from this coniecture: and the ſuppoſition it ſelfe is very hard, that a rebell, whoſe King was abroad, with an Armie conſiſting of ſeuenteene hundred thouſand men, ſhould preſume ſo farre, vpon the ſtrength of twelue hundred thouſand foot, and twelue thouſand Archers on horſebacke, as to thinke that hee might doe what he liſt, yea that there was none other God then himſelfe. It is indeed eaſie to find enough that might be ſaid againſt this deuice of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any neceſſitie, of holding the booke of *Iudith*, to bee Canonicall, I would rather chooſe to lay aſide all regard of prophane Hiſtories, and build ſome defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it ſelfe. That *Iudith* liued vnder none of the *Perſian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe workes I haue not read, but finde him cited by *Torniellus*) hath prooued by many arguments. That ſhee liued not in the Raigne of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath prooued very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meere fantaſie, it is ſo plaine that it needs no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truly ſay, that they, which haue contended about the time of this Hiſtorie, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelues (like naked men in a ſtony field) haue chaſed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

Iudith c. 2. ver. 23. & 25. Surely, to find out *the borders of* IAPHETH, *which were towards the South, and ouer againſt Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done Chronologers. But I will not buſie my ſelfe herewith; hauing already ſo farre digreſſed, in ſhewing who liued not with *Manaſſes*, that I think it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearſe what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in theſe times.

THE firſt yeere of *Manaſſes* was the laſt of *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one yeere the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* choſen; a peaceable man and ſeeming verie religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to ſome good ciuilitie, and a more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with ſuperſtition; as perſwading them, that he had familiarite with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which hee deliuered vnto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all theſe deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better then meere deluſions that ſerued onely as rudiments to bring the Sauage multitude of theeues and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by *Romulus*, to ſome forme of milder diſcipline, then their boyſterous and wilde natures was otherwiſe apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his graue, almoſt ſixe hundred yeeres after his death, wherein the Superſtition taught by himſelfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in Greeke and Latine letters, which ſaid, That *Numa Pompilius* the ſonne of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being vtterly conſumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped

vp

vp in two bundels of wax; of his owne conſtitutions ſeuen, and other ſeuen of Phyloſophie. They were not onely vncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The Pretour of the Citie deſiring to haue a ſight of theſe Bookes, when hee perceiued whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliuer them back to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemne oath that they were againſt the Religion then in vſe. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to bee openly burnt. It ſeemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himſelfe vnto wiſer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene ſo fooliſh as to beleeue the Doctrine wherein he inſtructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyſon wherewith hee had infected *Rome*, when he ſate in his Throne, had not left working, when hee miniſtred the Antidote out of his graue. Had theſe Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cæſar*, when the miſt of ignorance was ſomewhat better diſcuſſed; likely it is that they had not onely eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peraduenture generall) effect. Being as it was, they ſerued as a confutation, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inueterate.

Numa raigned three and fortie yeeres in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King was choſen, in the ſix and fortieth of *Manaſſes*, and raigned two and thirtie yeeres, buſied, for the moſt part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Thuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethinke themſelues of a courſe, whereby without effuſion of ſo much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might bee decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twinnes borne at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſayes that they were Coſen Germans) of equall yeeres and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeuerall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatij*, Champions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them firſt loſt their liues. The three *Curatij* that fought for *Alba* (as *Liuie* tels it) were all aliue, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their oppoſites were ſlaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts, could not follow him with equall ſpeede, to follow him at ſuch diſtance one from another, that returning vpon them, he ſlue them, as it had beene in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could ioyne together and ſet vpon him all at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling verie particularly, what wounds were giuen and taken, and ſaying, that firſt one of the *Horatij* was ſlaine, then one of the *Curatij*, then a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſeuer one from the other as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* Hiſtorie, both in regard of the action it ſelfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, againſt *Alba*, and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediately become ſubiect vnto her owne Colonie, and was ſhortly after, vpon ſome treacherous dealing of their Gouernour, vtterly razed, the people being remoued vnto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The ſtrong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had beene chiefe, became ere long dependant vpon *Rome*, though not ſubiect vnto it, and diuers pettie States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbeare to rehearſe (as being the works of ſundrie ages, and few of them remarkeable conſidered apart by themſelues) vntill ſuch time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, ſhall grow to bee the maine ſubiect of this Hiſtorie.

The ſeuenth yeere of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the firſt of *Manaſſes*. Alſo the three laſt Gouernours for tenne yeeres, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the ſame Kings time. Of theſe I find onely names, *Leocrates*, *Apſander*, and *Erixias*. After *Erixias* yeerely Rulers were elected.

These Gouernours for tenne yeeres, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortned, and from tearme of life reduced vnto tenne yeeres; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to liue priuate men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronological table, following this worke, doth set them. For he not onely professeth himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the yeeres of the *Greeks*, how they did answere vnto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Historie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first yere of the seuenth Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeere of *Charops* his gouernement in *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. & 45.

In the Raigne of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to haue had Asses eares, held the Kingdome of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deuised of him; especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meanes he had like to haue beene starued (his meat and drinke being subiect to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from his miserable facultie, by causing him to wash himselfe in the Riuer *Pactolus*, the streame whereof hath euer since, forsooth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is said hee died by drinking Buls bloud; being inuaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obserued the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesians*, or, (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians* hauing obtayned some power by Sea, founded *Macieratis* a Citie on the East of *Ægypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seemes to haue assisted them, who vsed all meanes of drawing the *Greekes* into *Ægypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in *Ægypt* by force.

Plut. & Euseb.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracusa* in *Sicily*, a Citie in after-times exceeding famous.

The Citie of *Nicomedia* sometime * *Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* natiue of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus* according to *Pausanias* liued about this time.

* Whence in *Strabo* there is *sinus Astacenus* a part of Propontis where this Citie standeth. *Paus. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strabo l. 6.*

About these times also was *Croton* founded vpon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracusa*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age and banished *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*: where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Iustine* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time *Manasse* yet liuing, the Citie *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Vmbri*, now *Vrbin* in *Italie*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, ouer against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were vpbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is said to haue beene done in the fiue and fiftie yeeres of *Manasses*: that which hath alreadie beene told is enough: the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referring onely *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

Iustin. l. 3. Paus. l. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of MANASSES *to the destruction of Ierusalem.*

§. I.

of AMMON *and* IOSIAS.

MMON the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked then was his Father before his conuersion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatrie: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne seruants against him: who slew him after he had raigned two yeeres: *Philo*, *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* giue him tenne yeeres, following the Septuagint. 2.*King*.21. 2.*Chron*.33.

Iosias succeeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a childe of eight yeeres old. Hee beganne to seeke after the God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yeere he purged *Iuda* and *Ierusalem from the high places, and the groues, and the carued and molten Images: and they brake downe in his sight the Altars of* BAALIM: He caused all the Images as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graues that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. Hee also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Iosias* it was prophecied in the time of *Ieroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child should be borne vnto the house of *Dauid*, *Iosias* by name, and vpon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incenses vpon thee: a prophecie very remarkeable. 2.*King*.22. 2.*Chron*.34. 1.*King*.13.

In the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomie*, or, of the Law, which hee sent to the King: which when hee had caused to bee read before him, and considered of the seuere commaundements therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that obserue them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commaunded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Propheteſſe *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words. *Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring euill vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, euen all the curses that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of Iuda, because they haue forsaken mee, and burnt incense to other Gods.* Onely for the King himselfe, because he was a louer of God and of his Lawes, it was promised that this euill should not fall on *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* in his dayes, but that hee himselfe should inherit his graue in peace. 2.*Chron*.34.24. 2.*King*.22.15. 2.*Chron*.34.

Iosias assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to bee read vnto them, made a couenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Beniamin* to doe the like, promising thereby to obserue the Lawes and commaundements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Iosias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto those Countries,

Countries, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victorie of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did vse the aduantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the Kingdome of *Israel*, as hee was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himselfe vnable to deale with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine and twentie yeeres) did giue vnto *Manasses*, together with his libertie, as much in *Israel* as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of *Iuda* had so long held with those of *Ægypt*, by casting a bone betweene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendship of the *Iewes*, which had beene lost by iniuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisoment, *put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of Iuda*; it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making *Ierusalem* it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather beleeue, that he, hauing already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himselfe against the *Ægyptians*, whose side hee had forsaken, than that hee trauailed in making such prouisions, onely for his minds sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly tearmes, as required not only a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when *Pharao Neco* King of *Ægypt* passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the Riuer of *Euphrates*.

2. *Chron.* 33. 14.

The last yeere of *Iosias* his raigne it was, when as *Neco* the sonne of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerfull Armie towardes the border of *Iudæa*, determining to passe that way being the neerest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that Riuer, about *Carchemish* or *Cercusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this; *Diocletian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done) or perhaps to inuade *Syria* it selfe. For it seemeth that the trauaile of *Psammiticus* had not beene idlely consumed about that one Towne of *Azotus*, but had put the *Ægyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

2. *Chron.* 35. 20.

Neither was the industrie of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had beene, in pursuing the warre against *Babel*. In which warre, two things may greatly haue auailed the *Ægyptians*, and aduanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinarie valour of the mercenarie *Greekes*, that were farre better Souldiers than *Ægypt* could of it selfe afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more conuenient shall be noted. At the present it seemes, that either some preparation of the *Chaldæans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disabilitie of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of *Ægypt*, into the Countries bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* ascended with a mighty Armie.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, hauing his Territorie set in the mid way betweene both, so as the one could not inuade the other, but that they must of necessitie tread vpon the very face and body of his Countrie; Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadors, leaue to passe along by *Iudæa*, protesting that hee

2. *Chron.* 35.

directed

directed himselfe against the *Assyrians* onely, without all harmefull purpose against *Iosias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Ægypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Ægypt*, was vtterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian*, so rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell vpon *Iuda* in the thirteenth and foureteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, whilest that good King and his people relied vpon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proofe, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the helpe of the *Ægyptians*, who (neere neighbours though they were) were alwayes vnready; when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seeke, to haue the *Iewes* renew their ancient league with him, but onely craued that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime betweene him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Armie, as did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar*, vpon his owne borders, left vnto the *Iewes*, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleeue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vp onely by politike respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himselfe bound in faith & honour, to doe his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crowne; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as hee held in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Iuda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Ægyptians* what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemie.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrarie to the aduice of *Ieremie* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of *Ieremie*, nor can finde reason to beleeue. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to aske the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing hee might beleeue that an enterprise grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulnesse due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednesse of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from harkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood betweene them and their punishment, should now bee taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue enterance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauying all the strength hee could make, neere vnto *Megiddo*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Necho*: and there he receiued the stroke of death, which lingring about him till hee came to *Ierusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Iuda*, especially of *Ieremie* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof into his booke of Lamentations. *Lament. c. 4. v. 20.*

§. II.

Of PHARAO NECO *that fought with* IOSIAS: *Of* IEHOAHAZ *and* IEHOIAKIM *Kings of Iuda.*

OF these warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tels vs of this King, that hee went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of *Nilus* into the Red sea. It should haue reached aboue a hundred miles in length, and beene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middest of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toilesome businesse twelue hundred thousand *Ægyptians*; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoeuer it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leauied a great Armie, wherewith hee marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition he vsed the seruice, as well of his Nauie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, saue onely this victorie against *Iosias*, where *Herodotus* cals the place *Magdolus*, and the *Iewes Syrians*; which is a small errour, seeing that *Iudæa* was a Prouince of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to haue beene the same place (though diuersly named) in which this battaile was fought. After this, *Necus* tooke the Citie of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Iosephus* witnesseth.

Ios. Ant. Iud. l. 10. cap. 7.

Herod. l. 4.

Particularly we finde, that the *Phœnicians*, one of the most powerfull Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting saile from the gulfe of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the Coast, whereon they both landed, as neede required, and sowed corne for their sustenance, in that long voyage which lasted three yeeres. This was the first nauigation about *Africa*, wherein that great *Cape*, now called, *Of good hope*, was discouered; which after was forgotten, vntill *Vasco de Gama* the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the straights of *Gybraltar*, hauing *Africke* still on the right hand: but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not farre from the same straights, leaue *Africke* on the Larboord, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not beleeue, how the Sunne in this journie was on their right hand, that is, on the Northside of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the obseruation then made hereof, makes mee the better to beleeue, that such a Voyage was indeede performed.

But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what hee did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of *Iuda*, while the *Ægyptians* were busie at *Carchemish*, had made *Iehoahaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Iosias*. The Prophet *Ieremie* cals this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Raigne of *Shallum* King of the tenne Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* raigned but one moneth; *Iehoahaz* no more than three. Hee was not the eldest sonne of *Iosias*: Wherefore it may seeme that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Ægyptian*, as appeares by the sequell. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Iudæa*. This Countrie was now so farre from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came to *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where

Ier. c. 22. v. 32.

2. Kin. c. 34. v. 32.

where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds and carry him priſoner into *Ægypt*, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This Citie of *Riblath*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of *Iuda*, as may bee obſerued in diuers examples. Yet here *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, ſince he could no better vſe it. But how-euer *Iehoiakim* thriued by the bargaine, *Pharao* ſped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any ſtroke ſtricken, which three moneths before was too ſtoute to giue him peace, when he deſired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taske lying vpon his hands, than would permit him to waſt his forces vpon *Iudæa*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſſe at *Megiddo*, and *Carchemiſh*, together with the diſſenſion of the Princes *Ioſias* his ſonnes (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to haue ſtormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what ſhould pleaſe himſelfe. Yet hee did forbeare to make a conqueſt of the Land; perhaps vpon the ſame reaſon, which had made him ſo earneſt, in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Iewes* had ſuffered much, in the *Ægyptians* quarrell, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen to forſake thar party, and joyne with the enemies; to whom if they ſhewed themſelues faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime them; ſeeing they were ſuch a people, as would not vpon euery occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more, than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any hencefforth ſhould lay vpon them: ſo good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuertheleſſe he laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of ſiluer, and one Talent of gold; that ſo he might both reape at the preſent, ſome fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them ſome document in the future, of greater puniſhment then verball anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebell. So hee departed, carrying along with him into *Ægypt* the vnfortunate King *Iehoahaz*, who died in his Captiuitie.

The raigne of *Iehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers laſt yeere; otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiakim*, his ſucceſſour, did raigne tenne whole yeeres; whereas the Scriptures giue him eleuen, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather caſt the three moneths of this ſhort raigne, into the firſt yeere of the brother, than into the fathers laſt; the ſame arguments that ſhall maintaine his opinion, will alſo proue the matter to bee vnworthy of diſputation; and ſo I leaue it.

Iehoiakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Ægyptian*, as hauing receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesſe of theſe laſt Kings, being expreſſed in Scriptures none otherwiſe, than by generall wordes, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the Land, was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſſe of *Ioſias*, but that it ſtill cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, *Yea vnto the chiefe of the Prieſts alſo*; and therefore it was not ſtrange; that the Kings had their part therein. The Royall authoritie was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the Countrie ſtood, in this troubleſome age: the Princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the Kings forbeare to profeſſe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Ægyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent & cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though herein alſo the Princes doe appeare to haue beene inſtigators. This Holy man denounced Gods judgements againſt the Citie and Temple, in like ſort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the ſame age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into *Ægypt*: but ſuch regard was had vnto *Iehoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embaſſadour, and ſent backe to the death; contrary to the cuſtome vſed, both in thoſe

2. *Chron. cap.* 36. *verſ.* 14.

those dayes, and since among all Ciuill Nations of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priuiledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Ieboiakim:* for the *Assyrian* Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeeres, beganne about these times, to roare so lowd vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard vnto *Nilus*, threatning to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the house of *Merodach*, from opposing the *Ægyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Charchemish*, where shortly after this, the glory of *Ægypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not giue attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to loose that Prouince.

MERODACH the sonne of *Baladan*, who taking the aduantage that *Sennacheribs* misaduenture and death, together with the dissension betweene his children presented, made himselfe King of *Babylon*, was eleuen yeeres troubled with a powerfull Enemie *Asarhaddon* the sonne of *Senacherib*, raigning ouer the *Assyrians* in *Niniuie*; from whom whilest he could not any other way diuert his cares, he was faine to omit all businesse in *Syria*, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekia*, some part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not onely set him free, but gaue vnto him some part of *Assyria*, if not (as is commonly but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians*, I wil not here stand to enquire: his long raigne following, and his little entermedling in matters of *Syria*, make it plaine, that he had worke enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Iosephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne *Niniue* it selfe; which we may beleeue; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yeelded vpon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings being of the *Chaldaan* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some thinke that this was the *Assyrian* King, whose Captaines tooke *Manasses* prisoner; but I rather beleeue those that hold the contrarie; for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the *Iewes* were his friends, and the *Ægyptians*, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themselues quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Raigne, or the beginning of his sonne.

Ben Merodach the sonne and successour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is hee named by good consent of Authours, and that speake little of his doings. The length of his Raigne is gathered by inference to haue beene one and twentie yeeres, for somuch remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Raignes (which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner and released him. He sped ill in *Syria*; where *Psammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercinarie *Greekes*, did much preuaile. This may haue beene some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his handes some

part

part more of the Kingdome of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumſtances alleaged before.

Nabulaſſar that raigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſines in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: inſomuch as it may bee thought to haue beene a great negligence or ouer-ſight of *Pſammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupie ſome good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* inuaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Niniue*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remoue by the comming of *Scythians*, who in theſe ages did ouer-flow thoſe parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the Lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*, it is conuenient that I ſpeake in this place; ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, vpon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſonne of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, hauing by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire poſſibilitie of making himſelfe Lord of *Niniue*.

That Citie (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing beene a Soueraigne Ladie, was not forſaken of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelfe ſhee was well enough. *Herod. lib. 1.*

This makes it plaine, that howſoeuer *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperiall ſeat, and made it ſubiect as was the reſt of the Countrie; yet it found the meanes to ſet it ſelfe at libertie: as after this againe he did, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grand-childe.

Sharpe warre, and the very nouelty of ſuddaine violence, vſe to diſmay any State or Countrie, not inured to the like: but cuſtome of danger hardeneth euen thoſe that are vnwarlike. *Niniue* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately raigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the furie, wherewith either Domeſticall tumults betweene the ſonnes of *Senacherib*, or forraigne warre of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſſe wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his iourney againſt it. He and the moſt of his Armie periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps he vnderualued their forces, and brought a leſſe power than was needfull) It is enough, that we may herein beleeue *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the ſonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of warre then his Father, wanne as much of *Aſia* the leſſe, as lay Eaſtward, from the Riuer of *Halys*; he ſought reuenge vpon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his Father, and beſieged *Niniue* it ſelfe, hauing a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather beleeue EVSEBIVS, *That he tooke the Citie, and fulfilled his diſpleaſure vpon it*, than HERODOTVS, *That the Scythian Armie came vpon him whileſt he lay before it*. For where equall authorities are contradictorie (as *Euſebius*, though farre later then *Herodotus*, yet hauing ſeene other Authors, that are now loſt, is to be valued according to his great reading) there doe I hold it beſt, to yeeld vnto the beſt likelihoods.

To thinke that the *Scythians* came vpon *Cyaxares*, whileſt hee lay before *Niniue*, were to accuſe him of greater improuidence, then ought to bee ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that hee was faine to leaue the Towne, when a warre ſo dangerous fell vpon his owne Countrie, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſſe as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the State of the *Chaldaan* and *Aſſyrian* affaires enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there ſet downe as happening about theſe times; of which Booke whoſoeuer was the Authour, hee was ancient enough to know the Storie of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch errour in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe vs to diſtruſt him

in this. As for the Propheſie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine tearme, yet it appeares to haue taken effect, in the finall deſtruction of *Niniue* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conqueſt of *Ægypt*, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will ſpeake in due place. Some that aſcribe more authoritie then the reformed Churches yeelde, to the Booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of neceſſitie, to affirme, that about theſe times *Niniue* was taken; but they attribute (coniecturally) the victorie ouer it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needleſſe coniecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be well conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſonne of *Ben Merodach*, did ſeize vpon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about ſuch time as the Countrie of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* warre ouerwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out readie to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Niniuites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confuſion, this vnthankfull people and their King, rebelled againe, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Raigne of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

§. IIII.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Aſia eight and twentie yeeres.

†. I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I haue ſhewed what impediment was giuen by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled to performe any action of worth vpon the *Ægyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I ſpeake of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grieuouſly afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adiacent, in ſuch wiſe, that part of the trouble redounded euen to the *Ægyptians* themſelues. Of the *Scythian* people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but il agreeing, with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſſe to recite them, for they are farre enough diſtant from the buſineſſe in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may ſeeme very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeeme to make my ſelfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or elſe to bee too forgetfull of my ſelfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, thoſe perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twentie yeeres, he ſaith, that the *Scythians* Raigned in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Countrie from them. Yet he reports a warre betweene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the ſiege of *Niniue*; the ſiege of *Niniue* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tels, how the *Scythians*, hauing vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſſe into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* King of *Ægypt*, who by gifts and entreatie procured them to depart from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, bee true; though not in ſuch order of time, as hee hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* beganne to Raigne: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent halfe of his fortie yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; ſo that he could not, after thoſe *Lydian*

dian warres, Raigne eight and twentie yeeres together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the ſonne of *Pharao Neco*, by name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained coniecture, bee thought to haue beene he that met with the *Scythians*: for he liued with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelfe referres all that buſineſſe of the *Scythian* irruption into *Paleſtina*, to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Neco*, whom hee leaues dead before the Raigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relie vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe then to beleeue him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them downe.

It remaines, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I finde of this expedition ſcattered in diuers places: a worke neceſſarie, for that the greatneſſe of this action was ſuch, as ought not to bee omitted in a generall Hiſtorie; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that haue written thereof, being nothing neere to vniformitie.

I haue noted before, that in the Raigne of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* ouer-ranne that Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the vpper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twentie yeeres, wherein the *Scythians* raigned ouer *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Ægyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, euen in the height of their proſperitie, wee muſt needs allow more then one or two of his laſt yeeres vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Raigne in *Lydia*, being three and twentie yeeres compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaues the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Ægyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt haue receiued ere they could be driuen quite away. To increaſe this difficultie, the victorious Raigne of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For how may we thinke it poſſible, that he ſhould haue aduentured the ſtrength of his Kingdome againſt the *Ægyptians* and *Iewes*, had hee ſtood in daily feare of loſing his owne; to a more mightie Nation, that lay vpon his necke? To ſpeake ſimply as it appeares to me; the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* & *Halyattes* ouer theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Armie, but were the defeatures of ſome troupes, that infeſted their ſeuerall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among theſe, *Nabulaſſar* hauing the like ſucceſſe, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courages of theſe hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore wee may probably annexe the eight and twentie yeres of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſars* Raigne, in compaſſe whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of theſe oppreſſors.

† II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; with the cauſe of their Iournie.

TOuching the expedition it ſelfe, *Herodotus* tels vs, that the *Cimmerians* being driuen out of their Countrie by the *Scythians*, inuaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians* not contented with hauing wonne the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remooued quarters of the world, ſo (as it were by chance) falling vpon *Media* and *Ægypt*, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe people; the *Scythians*, as miſchieuous and fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, and ſome other of his Countrimen, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom

whom their Nation had beene beaten, and *Ionia*, more then once, grieuously ransackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well known, and their manie Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuers Nations, that the malice of the *Greekes* is insufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posteritie of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose reflow did ouerwhelme no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof wee doe now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them*: There wee find it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoeuer distinguished in name, by reason of their diuers Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeede hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose Countrie whether he place in the West, as neer vnto the *Ocean* and boundes of the Earth, Or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and couered with eternall darknesse; certaine it is that he would haue them neere neighbours to Hell: for he had the same quarrell to them, which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would haue made them seeme a kinde of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirmes) to insert into his workes the names of such as liued in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserued. And for this reason it is proued by *Eustathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Countrie. Perhaps that inuasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Eusebius* noteth to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together inuaded *Asia*.

This is certaine, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerij* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often breake into *Greece* and *Asia*; which though it bee not in expresse tearmes written, that they did with ioynt forces, yet seeing they inuaded the selfe same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourney of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the straights of the *Cimmerians*, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the *Scythians* therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entrie into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himselfe acknowledgeth to bee fabulous, doth report them to haue beene Wiues of the *Scythians*, and no lesse warlicke than their Husbands; alleadging the example of that Queene, who is said to haue slaine the great *Persian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carrie their wiues along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those women; the terrible descent of them into *Italie*, when *Marius* the *Roman* ouerthrew them, giues proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; other place will giue mee better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuers Historians to haue belonged vnto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, wee may the better approoue *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neere allies.

Diod. lib. 4. c. 2.

Diod. lib. 2. c. 11.

Now concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appeares to haue beene none other than the sending a Colonie of them forth into *Asia*, with an Armie of *Scythians* to helpe them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this iournie. For the Citie of *Nouogrod* in *Russia* (which Countrie is the same that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruaile though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voiage was that, which the same people made

fiue hundred yeeres and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Armie aboue three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women & children; they wandered ouer many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to haue ſetled themſelues in *Italie*, they diuided their companie, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible battailes by the *Roman* Conſuls. Meere neceſſitie enforced theſe poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard aduentures. For their Countrie, being more fruitfull of men than of ſuſtinance, and ſhut vp on the North ſide with intolerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their ouerſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of poſſeſſion, as hauing title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuill, people had. Their ſturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold and all hardneſſe, gaue them great aduantage ouer ſuch as were accuſtomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluites. Wherefore commonly they preuailed very farre; their next neighbours giuing them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

Plutarch in the life of *Marius*.

†. III.

Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

THE firſt Companie of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leauing on the other ſide, and behinde them, the great Mountaines of *Caucaſus*. Theſe hauing paſſed through the Land of *Cholchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entered the Countrie of *Pontus*, and being arriued in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontorie whereon *Sinope*, a famous Hauen Towne of the *Greekes*, was after built. Here it ſeemes that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt vnſeruiceable of their traine, together with the heauieſt part of their carriages, vnder ſome good gard: as drawing neere to thoſe Regions, in conqueſt whereof they were to trie the vtmoſt hazard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpake euen now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leauing them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerpe* now ſtands, when they drew neere into *Gaule*, vpon which they determined to aduenture themſelues in the purchaſe. From *Synope*, the way vnto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was faire and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountaines or any deepe Riuers to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already paſſed. *Herod. lib. 4.*

What battailes were fought betweene theſe inuaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable ſucceſſe the one or other part wanne and loſt, I finde not written nor am able to coniecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the Capitall Citie of *Lydia*; onely the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerue, that whereas *Herodotus* tels of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this inuaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crœſus* in the times following; all that *Ardis* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſaue burning the *Mileſians* Corne fields, that was done in twelue yeres by *Sadiattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſſe, that he could turne them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeeme, that neither of the two did any thing wor-

worthie of remembrance in thoſe warres, but were glad enough that they did not looſe all.

Certainly, the miſeries of warre are neuer ſo bitter and manie, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their owne ſeates, labour to roote out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſours of another Land, making roome for themſelues, their wiues and children. They that fight for the maſterie, are pacified with tribute, or with ſome ouer ſeruices and acknowledgements, which had they beene yeelded at the firſt, all had beene quiet, and no ſword bloudied. But in theſe migrations, the aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houſes and their goods, euen to the cradles of the ſucking infants. The mercileſſe tearmes of this controuerſie arme both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either winne, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or looſe their liues without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in *Europe* haue felt examples thereof; and the mightie Empire of *Rome* was ouerthrowne by ſuch inuaſions. But our Iſle of *Britaine* can beſt witneſſe the diuerſitie of Conqueſts; hauing by the happie victorie of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuill arts, in exchange of libertie, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* warres, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrarie. For theſe did not ſeeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Countrie, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible crueltie, eradicating all of the *Britiſh* Race, and defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are alſo of the *Cimmerian* bloud) found ſuch end of their enterpriſe, as it may ſeeme that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Aſia*, did arriue vnto. So that by conſidering the proceſſe of the one, we ſhall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Many battailes the *Danes* wonne; yet none of ſuch importance, as ſufficed to make them abſolute Conquerours: Manie the *Saxons* wonne vpon the *Danes*, yet not ſo great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance euen of vtter enmitie, had bred ſuch acquaintance betweene them, as bowing the natures of both theſe people, made the one more plyant vnto the other. So their diſagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no ſmall number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons*, in *England*, where great ſlaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Countrie wide enough to receiue them, as hauing disburthened it ſelfe of many thouſands, that were ſent to ſeeke their graues abroad. And ſuch (as I thinke) was the end of the *Cimmerian* warre in *Lydia*; whereunto though ſome victorie of *Halyattes* may haue haſtened the concluſion, yet the weariſome length of time ſeemes to haue done moſt, in compelling them to deſire of reſt. I know not why I ſhould feare to adde hereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was ſo compounded betweene the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the Riuer of *Halys* ſhould diuide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eaſterne ſide of the Riuer was the Countrie of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians* and other *Scythian* people, whoſe wiues and daughters theſe warlike women are ſuppoſed to haue beene.

And hereunto the quarrell enſuing, betweene *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is ſaid) fought in defence of certaine *Scythians*, vpon whom the *Median* ſought reuenge. And it ſtands with reaſon, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutuall ſlaughters, ſhould haue joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common ſafetie: though otherwiſe it had beene dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdome ſo farre Weſtward, whatſoeuer the pretences might be, of taking reuenge vpon ſuch as had ſpoiled each of their Countries. As for that occaſion of the warre betweene theſe two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little waight,

waight,and leſſe probabilitie. He tels of *Scythians*, that being chaſed out of their Countrie by faction, came vnto *Cyaxares*; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to be inſtructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feate of Archerie. Now it ſo fell out (ſaith he) that theſe *Scythians* vſing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home ſomewhat with them,did neuertheleſſe otherwhiles miſſe of their game,and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dreſſing like Veniſon, they preſented vnto him; which done,they fled vnto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* deliuers, as the ground of a warre that laſted ſixe yeeres betweene the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding theſe Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other refuſing to betray ſuch men as were become his ſuppliants. To this I will ſay no more, than that I ſee no cauſe that might induce the *Scythians*,to betake themſelues to either of theſe Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought ſo much diſpleaſure. Particularly they had reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treacherie that he ſhewed in the maſſacring of their Countrie men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee ſhould ſpeake.

Herod.lib.1.

†. IIII.

The warre of the Scythians in the higher Aſia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their courſe Weſterly, along the ſhores of the *Euxine* Sea: ſo the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* tooke the other way, and hauing the *Caſpian* Sea on their left hand, paſſed betweene it and *Caucaſus* through *Albania*, *Colthene*,and other obſcure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Seruan* and *Georgia*,and ſo they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountered them in Armes; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whileſt *Pſammiticus* raigned in *Ægypt*. If it were in the ſixt yeere of *Nabulaſſars* Raigne ouer *Babylon* (ſuppoſing him to haue raigned fiue and thirtie;otherwiſe we muſt allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twentie yeeres of their Dominion end, one yeere before the great *Nabuchodonoſor* was King; ſo giuing him good leaue to prouide ſecurely, for the inuaſion of *Syria*,which expedition he began while his Father yet liued,as *Ioſephus* out of *Beroſus* relates the Hiſtorie.

Now the *Medes*, deſirous to ſaue themſelues as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no luſt to a ſecond triall of the ſword, refuſed not to vndergoe the burthen of a Tribute,but thought nothing diſhonourable, that would ſerue to remooue theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding ſtill the Countries pleaſanter & better,the further that they marched into the South, did ſuffer themſelues to bee perſwaded, that a little more trauaile,would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied ſo much vpon their owne valour,that they feared no reſiſtance;and being the braueſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt Region. That *Phraortes* perſwaded them into *Ægypt*, I doe not thinke: *Babylon* was neere enough; whither if hee could ſend theſe Locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not reade. But it is well knowne, that his Dominions lay in the middeſt betweene *Media* and *Ægypt*; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of *Aſia* Tributarie; wherefore we may very well beleeue, that they watered their horſes in his Riuers, and that hee alſo was content to giue them prouender.

Pſammiticus hearing of their progreſſe(like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife) tooke

tooke care that they might not looke vpon *Ægypt*; leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detaine them there, than any force or perſwaſion, that hee could vſe, would ſend them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow vpon them, than on his Armie that ſhould keepe them backe. *Ægypt* was rich; and halfe the riches thereof had not beene ill ſpent in ſauing all. Yet *Pſammiticus* tooke the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had beene ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For hee lay cloſe vpon the edge of the Wilderneſſe in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermoſt border of *Paleſtina*: whence hee neuer aduanced to meet with the *Scythians*; but gaue them leaue to feele as much of the ſcalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat vpon them. When they were come as farre as *Aſcalon*, the next Citie to *Gaza*, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heate of a Climate ſo farre different from their owne. *Pſammiticus* had at his backe a vaſt wilderneſſe, ouer the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrarie diſtempers, could ill haue indured to purſue him, through vnknowne wayes, had they fought with him and preuailed: eſpecially the Kingdome of *Ægypt* being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie journie. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Ægyptian* King (beſids that he preſerued his owne Eſtate from a dangerous aduenture, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him) found all his Coſt well repayed in the proceſſe of his wars in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to moleſt him, being more then euer troubled themſelues, with the returne of their oppreſſors. For the *Scythians*, reſoluing now to ſeeke no further, beganne to demaund more than the Tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grieuous exactions, they preſumed to liue at diſcretion vpon the Countrie, taking what they liſted from the Owners; and many times (as it were to ſaue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vſed ouer the higher *Aſia*, that is, ouer the Countrie lying betweene the *Caſpian* and *Red* Seas; and betweene *India* and *Aſia* the leſſe. Happie it was for the poore people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was roome enough for theſe new comers; otherwiſe the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon thoſe priuate men, to whoſe wealth any *Scythian* did beare a fancie, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leauing few aliue, and none able to relieue their fellowes. Yet it ſeemes that the heauieſt burthen lay vpon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull Countrie not farre from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies; there alſo it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their inſolent Rule was taken from them.

Herod. lib. 1. *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, who in this extremitie was no better then a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiuing that his Land lay vnmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, reſolued to proue what might be done by ſtratagem. The managing of the buſineſſe is thus deliuered in briefe; That he, and his *Medes*, feaſted the better part of the *Scythians*; made them drunke; and ſlew them; recouering heereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed vpon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was reuenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelties than euer they had practiſed before. That the *Scythians*, which eſcaped this bloudy feaſt, made any ſtirre in *Media*, I doe not find; neither doe I read that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by inuaſion from *Scythia* in time following.

This

This is the more ſtrange, for that the Armie returning home out of *Media*, was very ſtrong, and encountred with oppoſition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no leſſe then it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuice of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, tooke good effect, with leſſe bloud-ſhed than hath beene ſuppoſed. For if hee ſurpriſed all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſſe in eight and twentie yeeres had ſo well ſettled themſelues, that they were deſirous of reſt, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Countrie; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeake anon) hauing done what they could in the buſineſſe, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home, with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might goe joyne with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or ſeeke their fortunes in other prouinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas *all the Families of the North* are ſaid to haue beene with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be vnderſtood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, vpon hope of gaine, or deſire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become ſubject vnto *Nabulaſſar*: mens loue of their wealth being moſt effectuall, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate libertie. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as euer after, ſo in his firſt beginning of warre, did beate the *Ægyptians*, who in ages foregoing had beene accuſtomed to deale with the *Babylonians* after another faſhion: and this new ſucceſſe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to ſuch addition as this of new forces. *Herod. lib. 4.* *Ier. 25. 9.*

Of the *Scythian* Armie returning out of *Media*, diuers Authours report a Storie, which confirmes mee in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to aſſiſt their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeate, and eſtabliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themſelues in their husbands abſence, became bed-fellowes to their ſlaues. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were only the children of ſlaues, which compounded an Armie (as *Herodotus* would haue it, who tels vs, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens eies) it muſt needs be that they were very Boyes, or elſe that the Women did very little while continue chaſte. Wherefore I rather beleeue that tale as it is told by the *Ruſſes* themſelues, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of Hiſtories, make that report of their Anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet downe, as I finde it, in M^r. *Doctor Fletcher* his exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſſe Common-wealth*. *They vnderſtood by the way, that their Cholopey, or Bond-ſlaues whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their Townes, Lands, Houſes, Wiues, and all. At which newes being ſomewhat amazed; and yet diſdayning the Villanie of their ſeruants, they made the more ſpeed home: and ſo not farre from Nouograd met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon aduiſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed alſo to ſet vpon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe-whips (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their ſeruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onſet. Which ſeemed ſo terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and ſtrooke ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheepe before the Druers. In memorie of this victorie, the Nouogradians euer ſince haue ſtamped their Coine (which they call a Dingoe Nouogradskoy, currant through all Ruſsia) with the figure of a Horſeman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeeme, that all the women of that Countrie, haue fared the worſe euer ſince, in regard of this vniuerſall fault: for ſuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified thoſe ſlaues, curiouſly wrought by her ſelfe, is the firſt preſent that the *Moſcouian* Wife, euen in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhalbe her husband, in token of ſubjection; being well aſſured, to feele it often on her owne loines. But this was a Document vnto the *Scythians*, or rather *Ruſ. Common-w. cap. 4.*

Sarmatians,

Sarmatians (for *Nouograd* stands in the Countrie that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselues any more so long from their Wiues; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set downe of the *Scythian* expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appeares to haue beene a great cause, of the *Ægyptians* preuailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Iudea*, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

§. V.

Of Princes liuing in diuers Countries, in these ages.

HAuing thus farre digressed from the matters of *Iuda*, to auoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of *Ierusalem*. Of the *Ægyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I haue spoken as much, as I thought needfull. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeere of *Iosias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* succeeding, raigned foure and twentie yeeres. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but very rich, preuailed so farre by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, disappointing the sonnes of *Ancus*, ouer whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of *Zedekia*, and Raigned eight and thirtie yeeres. In this time it was, namely, in the second yeere of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedæmonians*, bethinking them how to bee auenged of the *Arcadians*, who gaue succour to the *Messenians* against them in the former warre, entred the Territorie, tooke the Citie of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacida*, made himselfe Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeeres; leauing for successour his sonne *Periander*, one of the seuen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women starke naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue, that the wisedome of the *Greekes* was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Countrie.

In these times also were *Zaleucus*, and *Draco*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italie*, the other in the Citie of *Athens*. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to haue written them with bloud: for hee rewarded euerie small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soone abrogated, and power giuen to *Solon*, by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very milde. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walke abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *vnlesse it were when shee was drunke*; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, vnlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse herselfe vp in immodest brauerie, vnlesse it were to inueigle a louer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his owne sonne had committed adulterie, and was therefore to loose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the yong man (who also lost one) from vtter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth need, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done; in pursuing of actions collaterall to the Historie, for inserting them in their order of time.

time. The *Chaldæans* will ſoone fall vnder the *Perſians*; the *Perſians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greekes*; the *Greekes*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all theſe, as they ſhall ſucceſſiuely preſent themſelues, in their flouriſhing Eſtate; it will be enough to recapitulate the moſt memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minoritie. But in the long ſpace of more than thirteene hundred yeeres, which paſſed betweene *the calling of Abraham*, and the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, we finde little matter, wherein the Hiſtorie of *Iſrael* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neereſt borderers. Yet reade we of many Kingdomes, that in theſe many ages were erected, and throwne downe; as likewiſe, many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elſewhere, though not following one another at any neere diſtance; all which muſt haue beene quite omitted, or elſe reſerued vnto a very vnſeaſonable rehearſall, had they not beene diſpoſed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniencie, may pardon the neceſſitie.

§. VI.

The oppreſſion of Iudæa, and deſtruction of Ieruſalem by the Chaldæans.

NOW to returne to the *Iewiſh* Storie, from whence wee haue ſo farre digreſſed. In the third yeere of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonoſor* the ſecond, his Father yet liuing, entred *Iudæa* with a great Armie, who beſieging and forcing *Ieruſalem*, made *Iehoiakim* his Vaſſall in deſpight of *Neco*, that had eſtabliſhed him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a childe, with *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*. Alſo hee tooke a part of the Church treaſures; but ſtaied not to ſearch them throughly; for *Necho* haſted to the ſuccour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to finde *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Iudæa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no diſpoſition to hazard himſelfe and his Armie, it being Countrie of an euill affection towards him, as alſo farre off from any ſuccour or ſure place of retrait. If he had, as may be ſuppoſed, any great ſtrength of *Scythian* horſemen in his Armie; it was the more wiſely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Countrie, into places that were more euen and temperate. But beſides all theſe reaſons, the death of his father, happening at the ſame time, gaue him iuſt occaſion to returne home, and take poſſeſſion of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the ſecond care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reaſonable good leiſure: for the *Ægyptian* was not ready to follow him ſo farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeere came in; which was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the laſt of *Neco*. In this yeere the *Babylonian* lying vpon the Banke of *Euphrates* (his owne Territorie bounding it on the North-ſide) attended the arriuall of *Necho*. There, after a reſolued contention for victorie, *Necho* was ſlaine, and his Armie remaining forced to ſaue it ſelfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victorie *Nabuchodonoſor* ſo well purſued, as he recouered all *Syria*, and whatſoeuer the *Ægyptians* held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The *Ægyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Iehoiakim* held himſelfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the *Ægyptian*, yet hauing made his peace with the *Chaldæan* the yeere before; who contented with ſuch profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon *Iuda*. But this coole reſeruednesse of *Iehoiakim*, was, on both ſides, taken in ill part. The *Ægyptian* King *Pſammis*, who ſucceeded vnto *Necho*, beganne to thinke vpon reſtoring *Iehoahaz*, taken Priſoner by his Father, and ſetting him vp, as a Domeſtical Enemie, againſt his vngratefull brother.

Againſt

Against all such accidents, the *Iudæan* had prepared the vsuall remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne *Iechonia* King with him long before, in the second yeere of his owne Raigne, when the Boy was but *Eight yeeres olde*. As for this rumour of *Iehoahaz* his returne; the Prophet *Ieremie* foretold, that it should proue idle, saying: *he shall not returne thither, but hee shall die in the place whither they haue led him captiue, and shall see this Land no more.* The *Ægptians* indeed, hauing spent all their Mercinarie forces, and receiued that heauie blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe steele, as offaire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Neco* was not in *Psammis*. *Apries* who raigned after *Psammis*, did once aduenture to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with braue words, telling such friuolous tales, as men, that meane to doe nothing, vse, of their glorious acts forepassed, against *Iosias* and *Iehoahaz*. In this case it was easie for *Iehoiakim* to giue them satisfaction, by letting them vnderstand the sinceritie of his affection towardes them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptorie message to *Iehoiakim*, willing him not to stand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore *Iudæan* lay aside all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would haue him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three yeeres. At this time *Ieremie* the Prophet cried out against the *Iewes*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twentie yeeres exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seuentie yeeres. The same calamitie hee threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Ægyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drinke out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of His furie, whom they had forsaken, and after the seuenty yeeres expired, that the *Babylonians* themselues should taste of the same cup, and be vtterly subuerted by the *Medes*, & the *Iudæans* permitted to return againe into their owne fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Ieremie* seemes to haue beene in the fourth yeere of this *Iehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom hee sent to reade them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings furie, they had first set *Ieremie* at libertie, and aduised him and *Baruch* to hide themselues.

2. *Chron.* 36. 9.

Ier. 22. 11. & 12

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 10. *cap.* 7.

Ier. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51.

Iehoiakim, after he heard a part of it and perceiued the ill newes therein deliuered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Ieremie* caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead body of *Iehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should be none of his seede to sit on the Throne of *Dauid*.

Time thus running on, while *Iehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributarie to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Ægyptian*; the mightie Citie of *Tyre* opposed it selfe against the *Chaldæan* forces; and vpon iust confidence of her owne strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seuenty yeeres was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Ierusalem*, and other Townes and Countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonosor*, haue sure authoritie for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it followes of necessitie, that the siege thereof beganne in the seuenth of his Raigne; as hauing lasted thirteene yeeres.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the seuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third yeere of *Iehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being deliuered

deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had reuolted from him vnto *Pharao Neco*, and sent this Noble Prince, his sonne, with an Armie into *Syria*, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away; who therefore makes mention of the same yeere. The yeere next following, being the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Ieremie* affirmeth in expresse wordes; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered *Ægypt*; and then beganne to raigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeere it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundrie Metals; which did prefigurate the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the comming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of *Tyre*, which beganne in the seuenth of his Raigne. *Dan.c.1.v.1. Ierem.25.1.*

The Citie of *Tyre* couered all the ground of an Island, that was diuided from the maine, by a deep & broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vse them, excelled all other Nations; and euery wind, from one part or other, brought needfull prouisions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuertheleſſe the iudgements of God (denounced against it by *Esay*, *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*,) had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, vndertooke a vast piece of worke; euen to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The Citie of olde *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountaine of *Libanus* neere adioyning that was loaden with *Cedars*, and aboundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeeres were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remayning of *Nabuchodonosors* Peere; and being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seuen moneths ere he could make way into the Citie. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carrie away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to couer a shelue; with much more violence could it ouerturne, and as it were consume, the worke of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; striuing as it were, to fill the emptie belly of this Cormorant; whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the throat of it. Euerie man knowes, God could haue furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vse, eyther miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helpes. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vse the hand of man; euen the hand of man striuing, as may seeme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessiue labour of the *Chaldæans*, *Euerie head was made bald, and euerie shoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not giue ouer till hee was master of the Towne. *Esay 23. Ierem.25. Ezek.26. Ezek.29. Ioseph.Antiq.*

When he was entred vpon this desperate seruice; whether it were so, that some losses receiued, some mutinie in his Armie, or (which is most likely; and so *Iosephus* reports it) some glorious rumours of the *Ægyptians*, gaue courage to his euill willers; *Iehoiakim* renounced his subiection, and beganne to hope for the contrarie of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gaue him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Armie marched directly into *Iudæa*; where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Ægyptians* hauing left him, as it were in a dreame) that he entred *Ierusalem*, and laied hands on *Iehoiakim*: whom hee first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsell, hee caused him to be slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to bee deuoured by beasts and rauenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leauing in his place, *Iehoiakim* or *Iechonias* *Iud.l.10.c.7.*

Iechonias his ſonne; whom after three moneths and ten dayes, *Nabuchodonoſor* remoued, and ſent Priſoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochaus*, and *Ioſedech*, the high Prieſt. The mother of *Iechonias*, together with his ſeruants, *Eunuchs*, and all the ableſt men, and beſt Artificers of the Land, were alſo then carryed away Captiues. This *Iechonias*, following the counſell of *Ieremie* the Prophet, made no reſiſtance, but ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleaſed God, and did that which was beſt for himſelfe; though at the preſent it might ſeeme otherwiſe, to ſuch as conſidered the euill that befell him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby auoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it ſeemes that he was partaker, at leaſt, of his Fathers faults, if not an inſtigator: which was the cauſe, that his ſubmitting himſelfe to Gods pleaſure did not preſerue his Eſtate: for ſo we reade in generall wordes, that *he did euill in the ſight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his ſtead *Nabuchodonoſor* eſtabliſhed *Mathania* his Vncle in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to ſay, as *the Iuſtice of God.* For like as *Neco*, King of *Ægypt*, had formerly diſplaced *Iehoahaz*, after his Father *Ioſias* was ſlaine, and ſet vp *Iehoiakim*, the ſonne of another Mother; ſo *Nabuchodonoſor* ſlue *Iehoiakim*, who depended on the *Ægyptians*, and carrying his ſonne *Iechonias* Priſoner to *Babel*, gaue the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Iehoahaz*, whom *Neco* tooke with him into *Ægypt*. From *Zedechias* hee required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gaue him, and called the liuing God to witneſſe in the ſame, that he would remaine aſſured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

In the firſt yeere of *Zedechias*, *Ieremie* ſaw and expounded the Viſion of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one ſignifying thoſe *Iudæans* that were carried away captiue, the other thoſe that ſtayed, and were deſtroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Ieremie* wrote in a Booke all the euill that ſhould fall vpon *Babylon*, which Book or ſcrole he gaue to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to viſit *Nabuchodonoſor*; willing him firſt to reade it to the Captiue *Iewes*, and then to bind it to a ſtone, and caſt it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing theſe wordes: *Thus ſhall Babel be drowned, and ſhall not riſe from the euill that I will bring vpon her.* This iournie of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to haue beene in way of viſitation, carrying ſome preſents. But I further thinke, that hee had ſome ſuite there to make, which his Lordly Maſter refuſed to grant, and ſent him away diſcontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes ſent Meſſengers to him, inciting him (as it ſeemes) to thoſe vnquiet courſes, from which *Ieremie* dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne neck, others hee ſent vnto the fiue Kings of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by thoſe Meſſengers which came to viſite *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Iuda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they ſhould then poſſeſſe and enioy their owne Countries; if not, they ſhould aſſuredly periſh by the ſword, by fire, and by peſtilence.

Ier.27.

Hee alſo fore-told them, that thoſe Veſſells, which as yet remayned in *Ieruſalem*, ſhould alſo trauaile after the reſt, and at length they ſhould bee reſtored againe.

The ſame yeere *Ananias*, the falſe Prophet, tooke off the woodden Chaine which *Ieremie* ware, in ſigne of the Captiuitie of the *Iewes*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeeres, God would breake the ſtrength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; reſtore *Iechonias*, and all the *Iewes*, with the Veſſells and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all theſe troubles. But *Ieremie* in ſtead of his woodden Yoke ware a Coller of yron: and in ſigne that *Ananias* had giuen a deceitfull and falſe hope to the people, hee fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which ſeized vpon him in the ſecond moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wauered long enough betweene Faith and Paſſion, in the eight yeere of his Raigne he practiſed more ſeriouſly againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, with his Neighbours

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the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promiſed great aides of the *Ægyptians*: in confidence of whoſe reſiſtance, he determined to ſhake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonoſor* had knowledge, hee marched with his Armie in the dead Winter, toward *Ieruſalem*, and beſieged it. *Ieremie* perſwaded *Zedechias* to render the Citie and himſelfe: but being confident of the helpe from *Ægypt*, and being perſwaded by his Counſellors, and falſe Prophets, that it was vnpoſſible that the Kingdome of *Iuda* ſhould bee extirpate, vntill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecie of *Iacob*) hee deſpiſed the wordes of *Ieremie*, and impriſoned him. For *Ieremie* had told the King, that the Citie ſhould be taken and burnt; that the King ſhould not eſcape, but bee taken Priſoner, and brought to the preſence of *Nabuchodonoſor*; that he ſhould not periſh by the ſword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death. *Gen 49.10.* *Ier.32. & 34.*

Ieruſalem being, the following yeere, ſurrounded by *Nabuchodonoſors* Armie; the King of *Ægypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Ieremie* (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Iuda*, with his Armie, to ſuccour *Zedechias*, of whoſe reuolt he had beene the principall Author. But *Ieremie* gaue the *Iewes* faithfull counſell, willing them not to haue any truſt in the ſuccours of *Ægypt*: for hee aſſured them, that they ſhould returne againe, and in no ſort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* remoued from *Ieruſalem* to encounter the *Ægyptians*, theſe vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterpriſe, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward returned into *Ægypt*, as if they had already done enough; leauing the poore people of *Ieruſalem* to their deſtined miſeries. *Jer.44.* *Herod.lib.2.*

In the meane while the *Iewes*, who, in their firſt extremitie, had manumiſed their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yere of *Iubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the *Chaldean* Armie, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had beene at an end, held them perforce to their former ſlauerie. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the ſiege, the Prophet *Ieremie*, when the State of *Ieruſalem* beganne now to grow to extremitie, counſelled *Zedechias* to render himſelfe vnto them; aſſuring him of his owne life, and the ſafetie of the Citie, if he would ſo doe. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and periurie, had prouided for him. *Leuit.25.39. 40. &c.* *Ier.34.* *Ier.39.*

Three and twentie Moneths (as ſome doe reckon it) or according to *Ioſephus* eighteene; the *Babylonian* Armie lay before *Ieruſalem*, and held it exceeding ſtraightly beſieged. For *they built Forts againſt it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum*: *They ſurrounded the Citie with wooden Towers*, ſo as the beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receiue into the Citie any ſupply of men or victualls. *Ioſephus* reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towers raiſed vpon mounts; from which they did ſo beat vpon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forſake their ſtations. Now although it were ſo that the beſieged alſo raiſed Counter-buildings, like vnto theſe, Yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers to obey him, found meanes to ouer-throw all the Citizens endeuours; and to beat downe as faſt from without, as they raiſed from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Ieruſalem* interpoſed; and theirs within, layed open to their enemies diſturbance. Beſides, both famine and peſtilence (which commonly accompanie men ſtreightly beſieged) grew on faſt vpon them, whereby, when the number, ſtrength, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did ſeat themſelues, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable ſight, and finding no remedie of the danger preſent, loſt both his courage and his hope at once; and ſhifted himſelfe together with his Wiues, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the Citie, by a way vnder ground, leauing his amazed & guideleſſe people, to the merciles ſwords *2.King.25.1.* *Ioſeph. Ant.Iud. lib.10.cap.11.*

of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Ieremie* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the Counsell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*; vsed now that remedie, which *Wolphius* truly tearmeth: *triste, turpe, & infaustum: Woefull, shamefull*, and *vnfortunate*.

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recouered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Desarts of *Iericho*: but by reason of the traine, that followed him and his, (euery one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) hee was easily traced and pursued. How great soeuer the companie was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they on whose fidelitie hee most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approch, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselues into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conueighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a Citie (as some thinke) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent betweene *Ierusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to doe.

Ioseph. Antiq. l. 10. cap. 11.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laied before *Zedekias* the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falsehood and periurie, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be slaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer hee should behold in the World, hee caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slauish manner to *Babel*, where hee consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most maruailous Prophecie of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babylonem & ipsam non videbit. I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Ezech. 12.

Thus in the Eleuenth and last yeere of *Zedekias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entred the Citie by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the yeere next following, *Nabuzaradan*, Generall of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seuenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood foure hundred thirtie and one yeeres.

3534.

After this vpon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with bloud) commanded seuentie and two others to bee slaughtered, which had hidden themselues from the first furie, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, fiue of his House-hold seruants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Iudea*; and leauing the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: ouer whom hee left Gouernour, *Godolias* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iosias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iustice and equitie, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a *Iew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the warre: and by *Ieremies* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordayned by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Ieremie* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not onely embraced *Ieremie*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Iewes*, that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour and libertie, so long as they remained obedient Subiects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom hee was established Prouinciall Gouernour of his owne Nation.

4. Kings last.

But ere that yeere was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem*, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Baalis*, King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in

Maspha

Maſpha or *Mitſpa*, the Citie of his reſidence, trayterouſly ſlue him, together with diuers *Chaldeans* and *Iewes* that accompanied him. This done, hee made an eſcape, and in his way encountring with eightie perſons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with preſents, hee ſlue the moſt of them, and ſpared the reſt, becauſe they promiſed to diſcouer vnto him ſome Treaſures, hidden in the fields during the warre. Hee alſo tooke with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonoſor*. This practice and intent of *Iſmael* had beene formerly diſcouered vnto *Godolia* by *Iohanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remayning *Iewes*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Iudea being now left without a Gouernour (for *Iſmael* durſt not take it vpon him, but retired himſelfe, or rather fled as faſt as he could to the *Ammonites*) the reſidue of the *Iewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldeans*, reſolued to flie away into *Ægypt*, and beſought *Ieremie* to aske counſell of God for them: who readily made them anſwere, that if they remained in *Iudea*, God would prouide for them, and ſhew them mercy; but if they ſought to ſaue themſelues in *Ægypt*, that they ſhould then vndoubtedly periſh. Notwithſtanding this aduice, the *Iewes* held their determination; and deſpiſing the Oracle of God, and conſtrayning *Ieremie* and *Baruch* to accompanie them, they trauailed into *Ægypt*, and inhabited by the permiſſion of *Pharao*, neere vnto *Taphnes*: where, when *Ieremie* often reprehended them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the deſtruction of themſelues, and the *Ægyptians* alſo, he was by theſe his owne hard-hearted and vngratefull Countrimen, ſtoned to death; and by the *Ægyptians*, who greatly reuerenced him, buried neere the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

Finis Libri ſecundi.

THE FISRT PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time of PHILIP *of Macedon.*

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing betweene the destruction of Ierusalem, and the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

§. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and prophane Historie.

THE course of Time; which in prophane Histories might rather bee discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Easterne Countries by the accompt from *Nabonassar*, left surer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, then were the warre of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Ierusalem* to discouer the connexion of antiquitie fore-spent, with the storie of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the originall and progresse of things could ill bee sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among those, that haue now no state nor

policie remaining of their owne. Hauing therefore pursued the storie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what meanes and circumstances the Historie of the *Hebrewes*, which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundrie metalls, discouered by God vnto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did raigne ouer the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insist vpon those authotities, which giue, as it were by heare-say, a certaine yeere of some old *Assyrian* King vnto some action or euent, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his issue that occupied that kingdome afterwards, depending vpon the vncertaine relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the yeeres of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relie vpon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmonie, which some haue found in the yeeres of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserue their names, which otherwise might haue beene forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoeuer it be true that we find the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could wee onely learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what yeere his raigne beganne or ended, were it not that the raigne of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more precisely applyed to the times of *Iehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discouer the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For vnder *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, which ended when 70. yeeres were expired; and these 70. yeeres tooke end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well knowne, affoords vs meanes of looking backe into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeere of *Cyrus* his raigne in *Persia*, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first yeere of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he raigned three and twenty yeeres before his Monarchie, and seuen yeeres afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controuersie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeeres vnto the distance betweene the fal of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arriue vnto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundrie parts of the world, S. *Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of wel-approued faith and industrie.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto *Alexander*, and from him to the battaile of *Actium*, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captiuitie are the markes whereby wee are chiefely directed, in passing from the first vnto the lateſt yeeres of the world, through any storie, with least interruption, it is very expedient that wee take some paines to informe our selues truely of the 70. yeeres, during which it continued, euen from *Nebuchadnezzar* vnto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

§. II.

A briefe rehearſall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuitie: with an anſwere to the cauills of PORPHYRIE, *inueighing againſt* S. MATTHEW, *and* DANIEL, *vpon whom the later of theſe opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Hiſtorians, and Chronologers finde, that the captiuitie then beganne, when *Iechonias* was carried priſoner into *Babylon*, eleuen yeere before the finall deſtruction of *Ieruſalem* vnder *Zedekias*. This they proue out of diuers places in *Ezekiel*, eſpecially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine diſtinction betweene the beginning of the *Captiuitie*, and vtter deſtruction of *Ieruſalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in theſe wordes: *In the fiue and twentieth yeere of our being in captiuitie, in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the foureteenth yeere after that the Citie was ſmitten.* In which words hee beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleuen yeeres before the Citie was deſtroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it beganne in the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the fourth of *Ioakim*, which hee endeuours to proue out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, but more eſpecially out S. *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whoſe words afford matter of long diſputation, but ſerue not to make good ſo much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of S. *Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel*, haue miniſtred occaſion of ſcoffing and railing at the Chriſtian religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not vnderſtanding how the ſonnes of King *Ioſias* were called by diuers names, as *Epiphanius* hath ſhewed at large, thought that the Apoſtle had ſpoken hee knew not what in reckoning the ſonnes, or, according to ſome tranſlations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon *Daniel* alſo the ſame *Porphyrie* doth ſpend the twelfth of his malicious books written againſt the Chriſtians, affirming that theſe prophecies & viſions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neere the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond ſuppoſition of his, *Euſebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue ſufficiently anſwered. For the ſeuentie Interpreters, who conuerted the old Teſtament about an hundred yeere before *Epiphanes*, did alſo turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, as a part of Scripture receiued. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were ſufficient, who liued diuers yeeres before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iaddus* the high Prieſt ſhewed that great Conqueror, when he came towards *Ieruſalem* to haue deſtroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glorie foretold, as the ſame was plainely expounded vnto him; which not only ſtaied his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his aſſurance and reſolution was ſo confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby, as deſpiſing all future peril and reſiſtance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eaſterne Empire in a ſhorter time than *Nabuchodonoſor* had done one Citie, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

Ezech. c. 1. v. 2. c. 3 v. 11. & 15

1. Mac. 1. 11.

Ioſeph. ant. 11.

It is true indeed that the *Iewes* themſelues giue leſſe authoritie to *Daniel*, than to *Moſes*, and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among thoſe which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they ſay *Eſdras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But firſt, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane ſo much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonicall: ſecondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himſelfe, and not by *Eſdras* and the Seniors; we may aſſure our ſelues by teſtimonie of Councels, and Fathers. For in the Councell of *Laodicea* held about the yeere of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iouinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and fortie yeeres, this booke of *Daniel* was re-

ceiued, verified and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the *Epitomie* of the same Councell it may be seen, and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witnesse *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical historie, the fourth booke, and fiue and twentieth chapter, so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical bookes vpon *Origen*, so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the Psalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde S. *Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* bookes or holy Writings, the *Iewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalmes*, *Prouerbs*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdras*, that wrote this booke, Gods commande- 10
ment vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vn-
answerable testimonie. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other proofe, our
Math.24.15. *Mark.13.14.* Sauiour Christ who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Mathew* & *Marke* alleageth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth chapter. Further, in the fift of *Iohn*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. S. *Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Reuelation
Dan.12. is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* visions.

§. III. 20

That the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to be numbred from the destruction of Ierusalem; not from the migration of IECHONIA.

HAuing thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that wee returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeeres. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weakenesse of that which *Eusebius* 30
and some few nameless Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Beroaldus*; but will foorth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of *Iuda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the Citie and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeeres is referred by none that I haue read; to the second by few and with weake proofe; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* al- 40
readie cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Ieremie*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were
Ierem.29.10. carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After 70. yeeres be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.*

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophecie out of circumstances, when the prophecie is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. *Ieremie* had alreadie, in the fourth yeere of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impœnitencie of that obstinate people, in these wordes: *Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of* 50
the North, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my seruant, and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing,

and

and a continuall deſolation. Moreouer, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladneſſe, the voice of the Bridgroome, and the voice of the Bride, the noiſe of the mill ſtones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land ſhall be deſolate, and an aſtoniſhment, and theſe Nations ſhall ſerue the King of Babel 70. yeeres. And when 70. yeeres are expired, I will viſit the King of Babel. Here wee ſee preſcribed vnto the captiuitie the terme of 70. yeeres, which were to commence, neither when the prophecie was vttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then raigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Iechonia*; but with the vtter deſolation of the Citie, whereof *Ieremie* did againe giue notice to thoſe that were alreadie in *Babylon*, at ſuch time as he ſent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearſed. And ſo did the people vnderſtand this prophecie, in thoſe times when they ſaw it accompliſhed, beginning the 70. yeeres at the time of the deſolation, as manifeſtly appeares in the end of the Hiſtorie of *Iuda*, where it is ſaid thus: *They burnt the houſe of God, and brake downe the wall of Ieruſalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious veſſells thereof to deſtroy all: And they that were left by the ſword, carried he away to Babel, and they were ſeruants to him and to his ſonnes, vntill the Kingdome of the Perſians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of* IEREMIA, *vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that ſhe lay deſolate, ſhe kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeeres. But in the firſt yeere of* CYRVS *King of Perſia (when the word of the Lord, ſpoken by the mouth of* IEREMIA, *was finiſhed) the Lord ſtirred vp the ſpirit of* CYRVS. *Ieremie* 29. v. 16. 17. & 18. 2. *Chron.* 36. 19.

We ſeldome find one piece of Scripture ſo preciſely and plainely expounded by another, as in this prophecie, to haue afterwards beene the ſubiect of altercation. For one can hardly deuiſe, how either the deſolation could haue beene expreſſed more ſenſibly than it was by the Prophet, or the euent of the prophecie haue been more exactly ſet downe, than it was in the place now laſt of all cited. If it bee requiſite that we bring more proofe in ſo euident a caſe, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds teſtimonie ſufficient, vnto this expoſition of *Ieremia* his prophecie, that *Ieruſalem* was to lie waſte 70. yeeres. For in the firſt yeere of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the laſt of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had been promiſed by praier, which he made vpon conſideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth vs in theſe wordes: *In the firſt yeere of his raigne, I* DANIEL *vnderſtood by bookes the number of the yeeres, whereof the Lord had ſpoken vnto* IEREMIAH *the Prophet, that he would accompliſh 70. yeeres in the deſolation of Ieruſalem.* So that howſoeuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie bee reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeeres of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall deſolation of the Countrie, wherein were few or none of the *Iſraelites* left remaining to inhabite, beganne in the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor* the great captiuitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of 70. yeeres. This I will not further ſeeke to proue, by the authoritie of *Ioſephus* and others affirming the ſame; for as much as that which alreadie hath beene produced, is enough to ſatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie. Dan. 9. 2.

§. IIII.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which raigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.

WHat Kings raigned in *Babylon*, during these 70. yeeres of the captiuity, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherin they liued, nor the length of their raignes, any way helpefull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honor of his Maiestie, where it may seeme that he and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie piece of worke, of winning the strong Citie of *Tyre*, by ioyning it vnto the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channel of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peere of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach neerer to the enemy than their bowes would carrie, but were readie to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Xenophon. cyropag. lib. 1.

Xenophon. cyropag. lib. 1, & l. 3

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthie to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and raigne of their seuerall Kings, vnworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine been taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of *Iuda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeeres, we may as reasonably forbeare to search into the particular continuance of two or three slouthfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriachs*, and their children, liuing in the *Ægyptian* seruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Yet for as much as many haue trauelled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeeres, not only by the raignes of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselues: I wil not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselues, and in setting downe the yeeres of their seuerall raignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerely follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Euilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophecie of *Ieremie* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all, according to his owne will, and making it knowne that he had some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, vntill the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serue themselues of him.* These wordes expressing the continuance of the *Chaldæan* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeede I finde no other necessitie of

Ierem. 27. v. 7.

qua-

qualification to be vſed herein, than ſuch as may grow out of mens deſire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this deſire were not vniuſt, if the conſent of all hiſtories were on the one ſide, and the letter of the holy Text were ſingle on the other ſide.

But contrariwiſe, the Authors which are cited in this caſe, are ſo repugnant one to the other, and the prooſes of their different reports are ſo ſlender and vnſufficient, that the ſucceſſion of theſe *Princes*, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but onely ſet downe by ſome Author of equall credite with the reſt, might verie well haue found and deſerued as good beliefe, as any of thoſe things which they haue deliuered in this point. For ſome there are, who following *Ioſephus*, deriue that Empire, as by deſcent from father to ſonne, through fiue generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonoſor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeres, to *Euilmerodach* 18, to *Nigliſar* the ſonne of *Euilmerodach* 40, to *Laboſardach* the ſonne of *Nigliſar* 9. moneths, and laſtly to *Balthaſar* (whom *Ioſephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonoſor*, without naming his father) 17. yeeres. And this opinion (ſaue that he forbeares to reckon the yeeres, and plainely calls *Balthaſar* the ſonne of *Laboſardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Beroſus*, and *Ioſephus* as a ſectator of *Beroſus* for his Authors; though *Beroſus*, as he is cited by *Ioſephus*, report the matter farre otherwiſe. For he tells vs that *Euilmerodach* the ſonne of *Nabuchodonoſor* did raigne but 2. yeeres, being for his wickednes and luſt, ſlaine by his ſiſters husband *Nizigliſſoroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him 4. yeeres, and left it to his owne ſonne *Laboſardach*, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of 9. moneths ſlaine by ſuch as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conſpirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeeres. This relation ill agrees with that of *Ioſephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of yeeres, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them ſome authoritie, ſo that the names which they haue inſerted, are taken as it were vpon truſt. There is a third opinion, which makes the three laſt kings brethren, and ſonnes of *Euilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleeue *Xenophon*, who ſaith that the laſt king of *Babylon* was immediate ſucceſſour to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholaſticall Hiſtorie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betweene him that tooke *Ieruſalem*, and *Euilmerodath*, another *Nabuchodonoſor*: plaine it is that he hath, out of any Hiſtorie ſacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reaſon to follow him. *Euſebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Seuerus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground, haue ſuppoſed, that *Euilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* were brethren and ſonnes of the great *Nabuchodonoſor*. This is built on the fift chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthaſar* (for of *Euilmerodach* there is none that euer doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonoſor* his ſonne. And ſo common grew this explication, that Saint *Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Ieremie* before cited, prooues that *Balthaſar* was not the ſonne indeede, but the grandchild of that great conquerour, though by the phraſe very common in Scriptures, and familiar in thoſe *Eaſterne* languages, he was called the ſonne.

Ioſephus antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.

Ioſ. contr. Appian. lib. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. libr. 4.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* hits very rightly the 70. yeres of captiuity, giuing to *Nabuchodonoſor* 45. yeeres, to *Euilmerodach* 30. yeeres, and to the three ſonnes of *Euilmerodach*, nephews of *Nabuchodonoſor* 14. yeeres; that is, to *Reg-Aſſar* the eldeſt ſonne three yeeres, to *Lab-Aſſar Dach* the ſecond ſonne ſixe yeeres, and to *Balthaſar* the third ſonne fiue.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole ſumme of yeeres, and in the number of generations, I haue ſometime ſubſcribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reaſon than becauſe the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not ſatisfie my ſelfe heerein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few ſuch of the moderne Writers as deſerue to be regarded, haue conſented with this *Metaſthenes*; and for that in making *Balthaſar*

ſucceed

succeede vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose Historie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I can not slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might giue any light in this obscuritie, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthasar*, by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeeres hee pleased among the rest. For in the third yeere of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when hee rose vp, he did the kings businesse: from which businesse, that hee did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and liue retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainely, both by the many words which the old *Queene* vsed to set out his sufficiencie, and by the *Kings* asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeeres haue beene worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceipt, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

Dan. cha. 8. verse 1. & 27.

Dan. c. 5. v. 11, 12, & 13.

Dan. 2. 49.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70. yeeres, and these yeeres extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his sonne and grand-child, must haue raigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeeres of these three descents, by inserting some, whose raignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie, with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Euilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, ioyned vnto the yeeres following the nineteene of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euen.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the yeeres of *Euilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. yeeres giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. yeeres, and the two yeeres that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Euilmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should haue bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that *Euilmerodach* raigned 28. yeeres, whereof fiue together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 49, then 4. yeeres of *Nigliſar* according to *Berosus*, 9. moneths of *Labassardach* his sonne, and 17. yeeres of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar* make vp the number of 70. yeeres to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly mistaken, in all copies extant; vpon how weake a foundation doe they build, who haue nothing to helpe them, saue onely the bare names of two vnknowne *Kings*, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had beene entirely extant, were not worthy, to haue that place of *Ieremie* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and raignes of the Babylonian Kings.

OTher suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbeare to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answere. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deseruing to be considered apart from the rest. He giues to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44. yeres, to *Euilmerodach* 2, to *Belsazer*, 5: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the

the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus* he accompteth onely 59. yeeres; beginning (as many doe) the captiuitie 11. yeeres sooner, from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath beene said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running betweene the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Caldean* Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquisition friuolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* raigne, I shall hereafter vpon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Euilmerodach*, is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For wee find in *Ieremie*, that this *Euilmerodach* in the first of his raigne, shewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eate bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the *King* of *Babel*, euery day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authoritie of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeeres, wherin *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort sent by God, whose commaundement he had obeyed in yeelding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Iechonia* did liue it can not be proued; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining daies hee did eate bread before this *King*. Now that hee liued not so short a while after this as 2. yeeres, it is more than likely, for he was but 55. yeeres old when he was set at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeeres in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18. yeeres; after which time it seemes plaine that hee begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to haue beene but a yong man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threescore yeeres after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe. *Ierem. 52. vers. 33. & 34.*

Of *Belsazer*, to whom *Scaliger* giues the next fiue yeeres, naming him also *Laborosoardoch*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nabuchadnezzars* daughters sonne, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Nirigliſſoroor*, as husband to *Nabuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these yeeres; by which meanes there remaines about one yeere to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing neerely with the 9. moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Nigliſar*. But *Ieremie* hath told vs that it was to *Nabuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sonnes sonne (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promised: which difficultie if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him, to passe it ouer with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these (whome others, desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to bee *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stocke or race a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the trauaile of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and iudgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to shew that he himselfe hauing in some points disliked those Writers, whome in generall he approueth, might with greater reason haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that hee whome *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: Firſt, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that *Darius* tooke the kingdome, not saying that hee wanne it by force of armes; Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the Greeke translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signifie, that *Darius* tooke or receiued the kingdome; I see no reason why we should therupon inferre, that the next king entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the meanes and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecie. Neither could it indeede haue properly beene said (if *Daniel*

niel had cared to vse the most expressiue termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the citie, did win the kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vse. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his workes printed at *Basile*, in the yeere 1559. I finde onely thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that hee subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldæans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine furie, he cried with a loude voice: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell yee of a great calamitie that shall come vpon you, which neyther* Bel, *nor any of the Gods shall auert: There will come a* Persian, *halfe an Asse, that shall bring* 10 *slauery vpon yee*: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleeue little or nothing, sauing that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold from the golden head, to the siluer brest. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Afrike* and *Spaine*, I beleeue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authoritie of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*, as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an Asse, by which 20 he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnitie and coherence which it hath within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing, for meere fictions haue not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleeue that one so iudicious, industrious and deepely learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoote himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from 30 which there is no appeale. And herein it seemes that *Scaliger*, well knowing his owne sufficiencie, hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecie of *Daniel* were true, that the kingdome of *Balthasar* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either wee must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else wee must bethinke our selues what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthasar* lost his life and kingdome, than that his kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue beene *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that 40 Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect prouinces, insomuch that the Greeke Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yea to cleare this point, euen
Dan. 8. 20. *Daniel* himselfe resembles that *King*, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the *King* of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue been condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldæan King* by him subdued. Neither was *Iosephus* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his nephew *Cyrus*, though herein hee varied from *Berosus*, and 50 others, whose authoritie elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Iosephus* had no reason to beleeue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as *Daniels*, whom I beleeue that hee vnderstood as farre as was needefull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect of the same

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things that were contained in the writings of the *Iewes*, to whoſe hiſtories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were ſtrangers, and might ſeeme fabulous. Euen ſo doe *Euſebius*, and other Chriſtian Writers, willingly embrace the teſtimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in ſome particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in generall by the ſelfe ſame *Ethnicke* philoſophers, but leaue them where they are againſt the truth; as *Ioſephus* in this caſe hath left *Beroſus*. And thus much I thought it meete to ſay of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neuertheleſſe in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in ſome things it had not failed, the miracle had beene very great.

§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Perſons and Times of NABVCHODONOSOR *his ſucceſſors.*

IT now remaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weakneſs, who cannot find how the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to be diuided among them which raigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the diſtribution made of them, in ſuch wiſe as already is rehearſed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely ſay with *Pererius*, that wee ought liberally to pardon thoſe whoſe feete haue failed them in the ſlipperie wayes of *Chronologie*, wherein both learning and diligence are ſubiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulneſſe, or heedeleſſe reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding thoſe onely to haue raigned ouer *Chaldæans*, whoſe Names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reaſon and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearſed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when hee ſuppoſeth by *Niglſar* and *Laboſardach* to be meant the ſame perſons which are called in Scriptures *Euilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but onely to ſhew that the *Kings* by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of ſeuenty yeeres. Firſt therefore let vs conſider the raigne of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe eighteenth yere *Ieruſalem* was taken and ſackt, but in his nineteenth layd vtterly deſolate.

Moſt of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeeres of raigne, following therein *Beroſus*. There are who haue added one yeere more; and ſome haue made it vp 45. To diſpute about the certainety were needleſſe: for in ſhewing by what length of time the Scriptures meaſure him, we ſhall ſhew the certaine truth.

Manifeſt it is, that the 19. yeere of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekia*; as alſo that his eight yeere, was the firſt yeere of *Iechonia* his captiuitie; the raigne of *Zedekia* occupied all the meane ſpace being of 11. yeeres. This is generally agreed vpon, ſo that it needes no further prooſes: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Euilmerodach*, it was in the ſeuen and thirtieth yeere of *Iechonia* his captiuitie; ſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eight yeere (which was the firſt of *Iechonia* his bondage) raigned 35. whole yeeres, and peraduenture a good part of the ſixe and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Iechonia* was inlarged with ſo great fauour, not vntill the end of the yeere. Subſtracting therefore out of theſe foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzars* raigne did wel-neere occupie, thoſe eighteene yeeres of his which paſſed away before the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and ruine of the citie, we haue remaining ſixe and twenty yeeres of the ſeuentie, that were almoſt wholy ſpent, when his ſonne beganne to raigne.

2. *King.* 2. 5. 8. & *Ierem.* 51. 12. 2. *King.* 24. 12. 2. *King.* 25. 27. & *Ierem.* 52. 31.

It is now to be conſidered how the remainder of the ſeuentie yeeres were diuided betweene the kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needefull: the whole ſumme being certaine, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who

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were slouthfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeeres, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniecturall; seeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlikely and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoeuer shall discouer my errour, must doe mee the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making mee to vnderstand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeeres remayning in accompt at *Nebuchadnezzars* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then hauing authority good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs seuenteene yeeres to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our hands to bestow vpon *Euilmerodach* sixe and twenty yeeres. Of the yere belonging to *Darius* the *Mede*, I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning & continuance of this captiuity. That *Balthasar* did raigne seuenteene yeeres, we haue the authority of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse words; We haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who raigned so long; and *Balthasar* to haue beene one. But nothing moueth me so much to beleeue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeere of *Balthasar* he followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his raigne, (a proofe sufficient of no few yeeres, passing vnder this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* emploiments tooke end either that yeere or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though wee make large allowance to his deedes in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I haue already shewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the raigne of *Euilmerodach* was not short: and that men of great iudgement haue found it most probable, that he was King three and twentie yeeres. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie. How much lesse ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleeue that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, wee finde not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach vs; prouided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroy not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath bin wronged by the carelesnesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two for sixe & twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more easie. For the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. signifying 6. hath a neerer resemblance of β that stands for 2. than hath γ which is vsed for 3. So that the numerall notes β 5. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not vnusuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in $\beta\gamma$ standing for 23. I doe not well perceiue. As for the arithmeticall figures now in vse, they were

Dan.c.8.v.1. & 27.& c.5. v.11,12.& 13.

Ierem.27,7.

were long after the time of *Ioſephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore doe not appertaine to this buſineſſe; vnleſſe we ſhould gheſſe that his works were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conqueſt, was little occupied in the ſtudies of humanitie, but in a ſort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Ariſtotle*. If this will ſerue to make *Beroſus* our friend, ſo let it be; if not, I will not purchaſe the fauour of his authoritie, by forſaking *Ieremie* and *Daniel*, when they ſeeme his oppoſites.

§. VII.

Of the victories which NABVCHODONOSOR *obtained betweene the deſtruction of Ieruſalem and conqueſt of Ægypt.*

WIth what actions this time of 70. yeeres was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peraduenture haue bin ſome cauſe that the time it ſelfe was, and is yet ſought to bee abridged, as not hauing left ſufficient matter to witneſſe the length of it. But by ſuch an argument wee might as well deny to many people euen their being. For euery Nation (I know not whom I ſhould except) betweene the beginning and laſt end of it, hath in ſome ſlothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than ſpent it. It is therefore no maruell, if the poſteritie of *Nabuchodonoſor*, finding all things readie to their hand, which their hearts could haue deſired, betooke themſelues to their eaſe and pleaſures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall ſonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wiſedome greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Anceſtors, which wearied away their daies in the reſtleſſe trauell of purchaſing? Though indeede the raigne of *Nabuchodonoſor* was ſo diuided, that his youthfull and ſtronger yeeres hauing beene exerciſed in victorious armes, no ſmall part of his life was remaining to be ſpent in eſtabliſhing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours paſt. The nineteenth yeere of his raigne it was, when deſtroying vtterly the great and mightie Citie of *Ieruſalem*, hee enriched himſelfe with abundance of ſpoyle, and terrified all that would offer to reſiſt him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, he, vntill his three and twentieth yeere, laboured in the conqueſt of thoſe adioyning Regions, which God had expoſed vnto his ſword, & commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Ægyptians*, though ſome of theſe were already become his followers, and ſerued vnder him, when *Ieruſalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whoſe Citie was founded on an Iland, ſafe enough from any danger of a Land armie, and whoſe fleet was ſo ſtrong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at ſea, were neither danted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obſtinate reſolution of this mightie Prince, imploying all his power to their ſubuerſion.

That the Citie of *Tyre* was rather well pleaſed, than any way diſcouraged with the fall of *Ieruſalem* (which had held the ſame courſe that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the ſame quarrell againſt the common enemy) it appeares by the words which *Ezechiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; AHA, *the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto me; for ſeeing ſhee is deſolate, I ſhall be repleniſhed.* *Ezech. 26. 2.*

Yet at the length, euen in the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that great worke of his, whereof we haue alreadie ſpoken, began to appeare aboue the waters, and threaten them with inuitable miſchiefe.

But thoſe prophecies of *Ieremie* and of *Eſay*, which appoint vnto this deſolation of *Tyre* the ſame terme of 70. yeeres, that was preſcribed vnto the raigne of the *Chaldæans*, doe plainely ſhew, that ſhee followed *Ieruſalem*, the ſame nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the ſame, or a very like fortune. The particularities, *Ier. 25.* *Eſai. 23. 15.*

which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vtterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Towne vnable to hold out, embarked themselues, and fled into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Neuertheless it seemes that this euasion serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort vnto the enemies furie. For not only such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessiue labour, the *Assyrian* made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus NABVCHODONOSOR *caused his Armie to serue a great seruice against* TYRVS, *wherein euery head was made bald, and euery shoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Armie*; but was faine to rest contented with the Honor of hauing destroied that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had beene held inuincible.

Ezech.c.2.v.8. 10. 11. Ezech.29.18.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the *Chaldæans* dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* vsed the aduantage of that reputation which hee had obtained by victories alreadie gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with lesse paine. The Kingdome of *Ægypt* was the marke at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might wel haue tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough, to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemie to the Crowne of *Babylon*, that had it beene poorer, yet either it must haue beene subdued, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill haue beene established. Neuertheless it was needfull, that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countries adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his deuotion, or at least bee vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazor*, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall vnder the *Babylonian* swords, were such, as regarding onely their owne gaine, had some of them, like Rauens, followed the *Chaldæan* Armie, to feede vpon the carcasses that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking aduantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*; al of them thinking, that when the *Assyrian* had satisfied his furie, he should be faine to forsake those desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philistims* had shewed much malice to the *Iewes* when their Citie was taken. What good seruice they had done to the *Chaldæans*, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to reioyce at the fall of *Ierusalem*, but presently they entered vpon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession, as if not the *Assyrians*, but they, had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the bloud of *Iuda*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Gouernour ouer those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captiue into the *Ammonites* Countrie the people that abode in *Mizpah*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conueniently. Such or the like policie the *Moabites* did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Ezech.35.12.& 15. Ezech.25.3. Ierem.49.1. Ierem.40.14.& 41.2.& 10. Ier.48.27.&c.

All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their theeuish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine war, ouer-whelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, who fore-told, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the mi-

Esay 16.14.

serie

serie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seemes that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of *Esay*, threatning *Moab* with destruction after three yeeres, as having reference to the third yeere following the ruine of *Ierusalem*; the next yeere after it being spent in the *Aegyptian* expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being preserued by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least, oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seuentie yeeres, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Iuda*.

§. VIII.

That Ægypt was conquered, and the King therein raigning slaine by NABVCHODONOSOR, *contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who following* HERODOTVS *and* DIODORVS, *relate it otherwise.*

WHen by a long course of victorie *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subiection all the Nations of *Syria*, & the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise, that no enemie to himselfe, nor friend of the *Aegyptian*, was left at his back, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did hee forth-with take in hand the conquest of *Aegypt* himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly beene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezechiel*, haue written so plainely, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleadged out of these. Neuertheless, we finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to straine these prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense, as giues to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of hauing done some spoile in *Aegypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So prepostorous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helps conducing to their purpose, that often-times they preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vp-hold a sentence, giuing testimonie to one clause, doe carelesly ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Aegypt*, which raigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former book: but that which they haue spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserued vnto this place. *Herodotus* affirmes, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; *Herod. l. 2. & 3.* (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to haue made vpon *Tyrus* and *Sidon*) that hee raigned fiue and twentie yeeres, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne subiects; who did set vp *Amasis*, as King, which preuailed against him. The rebellion of the *Aegyptians* he imputeth to a great losse which they receiued in an expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroied. This calamitie the people of *Aegypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie raigne ouer such as staied at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captaine of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby *Apries*

was driuen to truſt vnto his forraine Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom hee kept in readineſſe thirtie thouſand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquiſhed by the great numbers of the *Ægyptian* forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thouſand, which were all by birth and education, men of warre. *Apries* himſelfe being taken priſoner, was gently intreated by *Amaſis* for a while, vntill the *Ægyptians*, exclaiming vpon him, as an extreme enemie to the Land, got him deliuered into their hands, and ſtrangled him, yet gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whome *Diodorus Siculus* neerely agrees, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquiſh the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demoliſhed *Sidon*, wan the other townes of *Phœnicia*, and the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and finally, periſhed as is before rehearſed, when he had raigned two and twentie yeeres. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of *Apries* his hiſtorie, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the deſtruction of *Ægypt* by the *Babylonian*, fore-told by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with theſe relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than haue the traditions of *Ægyptian* Prieſts (which the *Greeke Hiſtorians* followed) and greater probabilities to perſwade thoſe that looke onely into humane reaſons. For *Eſay* propheſied long before of the ſhameful captiuitie of the *Ægyptians*, whom the king of *Aſſhur* ſhould carry away naked, young and old, in ſuch wiſe, that the *Iewes*, who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the *Aſſyrian*, ſhould bee aſhamed of their owne vaine confidence in men ſo vnable to defend themſelues.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. ca. 2.

Eſa. 20. ver. 4, 5. & 6.

But *Ezekiel* and *Ieremie*, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution, ſo they handled this Argument more preciſely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainely, that *Ægypt* ſhould be giuen to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the ſeruice which hee had done at *Tyre*: Alſo hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in *Ægypt*, ſaying, That theſe by name ſhould bee deſtroyed, and goe into captiuitie; yea, that PHARAOH *and all his armie ſhould be ſlaine by the ſword.* Wherefore it muſt needes be a violent expoſition of theſe Prophecies, which by applying the iſſue of ſuch threatnings to an inſurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Ægypt*, than change of the Kings perſon, wherein *Amaſis* did ſucceed vnto *Apries*, by force indeede, but by the vniforme conſent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of *Ieremie*, wherein hee foretelleth how the Iewes in *Ægypt* ſhould ſee *Pharaoh Hophra* deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had beene, were to be referred vnto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath ſpoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it, then was it vainely done of the ſame Prophet (which God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould thinke, ſeeing hee did it by the appointment of God himſelfe) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, thoſe very ſtones, vpon which the throne of *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould be ſet, and his pauilion ſpred. Yea then was that prophecie no other than falſe, which expreſſed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will viſite the common people of No, &* PHARAOH, *and Ægypt, with their gods and their kings, euen* PHARAOH, *and all that truſt in him: and I will deliuer them into the hands of thoſe that ſeeke their liues, and into the hand of* NEBVCHADNEZZAR, *King of Babel, and into the hands of his ſeruants.* The clearenes of this prophecy being ſuch as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amaſis*, it cauſed me to wonder what thoſe *Commentators* would ſay to it, who are elſewhere ſo diligent in fitting all to the *Greeke Hiſtorians*. Wherefore looking vpon *Iunius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amaſis*, and his followers, I found him heere acknowledging that the *Aegyptian* Prieſts had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coined vpon a vaine-glorious purpoſe of hiding their owne diſgrace and bondage. And ſurely it may well be thought, that the hiſtorie of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was better knowne to the *Iewes*, whom it concerned, than to the *Greekes*, that ſcarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather

Ezech. 29. verſe 20. & c. 30.
Ezech. 32. v. 31.

Ierem. 44. 30.
Ierem. 43. 10.

Ierem. 46. verſe 25, &. 26.

Iun. in Ierem. c. 44. verſe 30.

ther beleeue *Ioſephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the three & twentieth yeere of his raigne, and the fift yeere of the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the *King* thereof, and appoint another in his ſtead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meere ſtrangers to this buſineſſe, had no great reaſon to labor in ſearching out the truth, but might reſt contented with any thing that the Prieſts would tell them. Now if ſetting aſide all aduantage of authoritie, we ſhould only conſider the relations of *Ioſephus*, and of the *Greeke Hiſtorians*, as either of them might bee verified of it ſelfe by apparant circumſtances, without reflecting vpon the *Hebrew* Prophets, or *Ægyptian* Prieſts; me thinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approued as hauing beene wrought by conſent of the people, but affords great matter of ſuſpition; yea, though no man had oppoſed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great loue and honour which the *Ægyptians* did beare vnto their *Kings*, is notorious by the vniforme teſtimony of al others that haue handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himſelfe. How then can wee thinke it probable, that *Apries* hauing wonne great victories, did for one only loſſe fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may ſerue to perſwade vs, that a *King* of *Ægypt* would ſeeke, or ſo demeane himſelfe, that he might be thought to ſeeke the deſtruction of his naturall ſubiects? As for that armie of thirtie thouſand ſouldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the *King* of *Ægypt*, whom *Amaſis* tooke priſoner, is ſaid to haue kept for his defence: doth it not argue that hee was a forrainer, and one that armed himſelfe againſt the *Aegyptians*, wiſhing them few and weake; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as aſſuredly their owne, as the ſtrength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to vſe all Arguments that might bee alleadged in this caſe. The very death of this ſuppoſed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amaſis*, who ſought to haue kept him aliue, doth intimate that he was ſome forren Gouernour, not a naturall Prince; otherwiſe the people would haue deſired to ſaue his life, and *Amaſis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to diſproue that opinion, whereunto I ſhould not haue yeelded, though it had ſtood vpon great apparance of truth, conſidering that the voice of Truth it ſelfe cries out againſt it; but leaue the circumſtances, prouing the Conqueſt of *Aegypt* by *Nabuchodonoſor* to bee obſerued, where due occaſion in courſe of the ſtorie following ſhall preſent them.

Ioſephus de Antiq. Iud. lib. 10. c. 11.

§. IX.

How Ægypt was ſubdued and held by NABVCHADNEZZAR.

IT is a great loſſe; that the generall Hiſtorie of the World hath ſuffered, by the ſpoile and waſte which Time hath made of thoſe Monuments, that ſhould haue preſerued the memorie of ſuch famous actions as were accompliſhed by this mightie Prince *Nabuchodonoſor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vncertaine. That his victories following the Conqueſt of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were ſuch as did more enlarge his dominion, than all his former warres had done, it may eaſily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckons vp in his thirtieth chapter (beſides the whole Countrey of *Ægypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may ſeeme to haue reached out into *Mauritania*, as people ſubdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumſtances of theſe warres are in a maner vtterly loſt; but that the victorie was eaſie and ſwift, any man ſhall find, who will take the pains to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obſeruation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himſelfe ſafe in *Ægypt* by the well defenced ſituation of his Countrey, did very vnwiſely in ſuffering his enemies

to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adhærents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden then wearie the *Chaldæan* army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the *Ægyptians*, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemie was to make thorow the *Arabian* desarts, and the much aduantage which the great riuer of *Nilus* would afford vnto themselues, did little auaile them in prouision for the war, and much astonish them (as may iustly bee thought) in the time of execution: it being vsually seene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helps faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of *Ægypt* had flourished vnder the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand fiue hundred & foure score yeeres; but from this time forward it remained forty yeeres without a *King*, vnder the subiection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recouer by little & litle the former greatnes, yet so, that it was neuer dreadful vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I wil diminish them, that they shal no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath beene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the wise, I am the sonne of the ancient Kings*: and whereas he had vaunted, *The Riuer is mine, and I haue made it*; the *Princes* of *Ægypt* now became fooles, the riuer failed them, the *King* himselfe was taken and slaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeere after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Iosephus*) *He slew the King then raigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to* Babylon, *the* Iewes *whome he found in that Countrie*. Now concerning the time which *Iosephus* giues vnto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Ierusalem*, and carrying away those vnto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same *three & twentieth yeere of* NEBVCHADNEZZAR, is not vnprobably thought by good authors to haue beene at the returne from this *Ægyptian* expedition. But whereas *Iosephus* tels vs, that there was another *King* put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, wee must vnderstand, that hee was onely a *Viceroy*, and not (as some haue mistaken it) thinke that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his raigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alleadged, as to all *Chronologie* and historie. Some there are, which to helpe this inconuenience, imagine that there were two successiuely bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was depriued of life and kingdome by the *Assyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries*, of whom the *Greeke* Historians wrote, could not be the Deputie of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that hee was the *Grand-childe* of *Pharao Necho*, and made warre (as they report) vpon the *Phœnicians*, who were, before the *Ægyptians*, become subiect vnto the Crowne of *Babylon*. I might adde, perhappes, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Gouernour of *Ægypt*, was more likely to haue had some *Chaldæan* or *Assyrian*, than *Ægyptian* name; vnlesse we should thinke that hee had beene a traytor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Country: about which it were but friuolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeue, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute Conquest of *Ægypt*; that he was not so fooliish as to giue it away, any man may guesse; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is consequent vnto the former, and hath authoritie of *Iosephus*; that this Gouernour (or some successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probabilitie enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well bee content, that others vse their libertie, and beleeue what they list. As for the armie which this *Ægyptian* King *Apries* is supposed to haue kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*; I hold them to be none other than the garisons of mercenarie souldiers which were left by the *Assyrian*

Ezek.29.13.14. & 15. *Esay 19.11.* *Ezek.29.9.* *Ioseph. Ant. Iud. libr.10.c.11.* *Ierem.52.30.*

for

for the guard of his *Viceroy*, and custodie of the new subdued Prouince: as likewise the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*; who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the *Greeke Historians*, deposed and slew *Apries*, I take them to haue beene the *Aegyptian* fugitiues, which then recouered their owne Countrey. Sure it is that this Prophecie of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of fortie yeeres will I gather the* Ægyptians *from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring againe the captiuitie of* Ægypt, *and will cause them to returne into the land of* Pathros, *into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdome.* If the *Ægyptian* Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, onely to keepe the *Greekes* from knowledge of their Countries disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them. *Ezek. 30. v. 13. & 14.*

§. X.

Of the sundry accompts drawne from sundry acts of NEBVCHADNEZZAR, *and of the destruction of* Niniue, *by him; the time of which action is vncertaine.*

THese victories brought the greatnes of the *Assyrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar's* raigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might seeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third yeere of *Iehoiakims* raigne (which ranne along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzar's* first yeere) and was kept in diet three yeeres more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzar's* kingdome, wherin he interpreted the forgotten dreame of the great Image, foreshewing the succession of *Monarchies*, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which referre sundry matters vnto their set yeeres; as that of *Ezekiel* before-cited, where he fore-tells, that *Aegypt* should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecie in the seuen and twentieth yeere; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for these yeeres held no dependance vpon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar's* kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to some memorable action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine search. *Dan. c. 1. & 2.*

Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Aegypt*, I doe not read: excepting that against *Niniue*, the destruction whereof was fore-tolde by the Prophet *Naum*. *Niniue* had long before beene taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath beene shewed) and together with the rest of *Assyria* made subiect to *Babylon*. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar *King*, who rebelling against the *Chaldean*, as *Iehoiakim* & *Zedekias*, tributary *Kings* of *Iuda*, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Niniue* followed the Conquest of *Aegypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nahum* the Prophet made betweene this Citie, that was to fall, and the Citie of *No* in *Aegypt*, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) vnpossible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew Chronologie*, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzar's* raigne; the place of *Nahum* last cited is enough to disproue it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his *Monarchie*, which began at the end of the *Aegyptian* warres; the whole Prophecie of *Nahum* which went betweene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. *Nahum. 3. 8.*

current. So that to enquire into the very yeere of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiositie of *Tyberius Cæsar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would seeke to learne what woman that *Huzzab* Queen of *Niniuie* was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet *Naum* likewise did fore-tell.

§. XI.

Of the later time of NEBVCHADNEZZAR; *his buildings, madnesse, and death.*

OF the time which this great *Monarch* spent in quiet, I thinke there are no Monuments extant; saue those which wee finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these wee may reckon his great works at *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I haue built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Maiestie?* Dan.4.27. Surely if those things bee true that are by *Iosephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, he might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that besides other stately works, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Assyrian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is said to haue beene reared, and finished in fifteene daies.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not vndeseruedly fell these iudgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, and much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouerie of things to come after him, yea and had approoued the certaintie of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memorie, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: he neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seene and acknowledged, that hee caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is *the King of Kings*. Hereof S. *Hierome* hath well noted; *Velox obliuio veritatis, vt qui dudum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statuam sibi fieri iubeat, vt ipse quasi Deus in statuâ adoraretur: A hastie forgetfulnesse of the truth, that hee who so lately had worshipped* (DANIEL) *the seruant of God, as if he had beene God himselfe, should now command a Statua to be erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might bee worshipped as God.* From this impietie it pleased God to reclaime him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuerie of those blessed Saints out of the fierie fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatrie, were assisted by an Angell; preserued from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nabuchadnezzar* was not so rooted in him, that it could bring foorth fruit answerable to his hastie zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head, which *Daniel* expounding, aduised him to *breake off his sinne by righteousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error*. Hereby it seemes that

that iniuſtice and crueltie were the faults, for which he was threatned, but this threating ſufficed not vnto his reformation. For that ſo great a *Monarch* ſhould be driuen from among men, (according to the tenor of the dreame and interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eate graſſe as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans iudgement, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more eaſily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole yeeres leaſure to repent was giuen to this haughtie Prince: which reſpite of the execution may ſeeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulneſſe of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelue moneths, walking in the royall Palace of *Babel*, he was ſo ouer-ioyed and tranſported with a vaine contemplation of his owne ſeeming happineſſe, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced againſt him, hee vttered thoſe loftie words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Maieſticall works which he had reared, as well beſeeming his maieſticall perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heauen, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearſed ouer vnto him the ſentence againe, which was fulfilled vpon him the very ſame houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, haue taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were puniſhed for reioycing in works of this kinde (though it is hard in ioy, or any paſſion of the minde, to keepe a iuſt meaſure) excepting onely this *Nabuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *Dauid*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings haue muſtred all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none haue been known to haue beene puniſhed as *Dauid* was. Surely I not onely hold it lawfull to reioyce in thoſe good things, wherwith God hath bleſſed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulneſſe to entertaine them with a ſullen and vnfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure cloudes, hindring the influence of that bleſſed light, which clarifies the ſoule of man, and prediſpoſeth it vnto the brightneſſe of eternall felicitie; ſo that inſolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueth of his owne worth, doth aboue all other paſſions blaſt our mindes, as it were with lightning, and make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our ſeeming inherent greatneſſe, forgetting the whileſt him, to whom wee are indebted for our very being. Wherefore theſe *malamentis gaudia*; *The euill ioyes of the minde*, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of *Hell*, and placed further inward than ſorrowes, cares, and teares; not farre from the yron Cabbins of the *Furies*. And certainely it is no vnlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when theſe vnreaſonable fluſhes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that ſhould haue beene humbled with a iuſt repentance and acknowledgement of ill deſeruing.

This was verified vpon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and vnexampled. For he ranne among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeuen yeeres hee liued, not onely as a ſaluage man, but as a ſaluage beaſt, for a beaſt hee thought himſelfe *ſecundum ſuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himſelfe in the ſame manner, and with the ſame food that beaſts doe; Not that he was changed in figure externall, according to *Mediana*, in ſo much as he appeared a beaſt to other mens eies, as S. *Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) ſpeakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to S. *Ieromes* expoſition of theſe words: *At the ſame time was my vnderſtanding reſtored vnto me &c. Quando dicit* (ſaith S. *Ierome*) *ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem*; *When he ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored vnto him, he ſheweth that he had not loſt his humane ſhape, but his vnderſtanding*. Seuen yeeres expired, it pleaſed God to reſtore *Nabuchodonoſor*, both to his vnderſtanding,

L. 2. de Reg. pri.

Med. l. 2. de relig. in Deum fidei cap. 7.

Dor. in Synopſi. Ep. in vit. Dan.

ding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and euerlasting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely, S. *Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay*, the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Isay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* ioyntly.

Dan. 4. 1. 32. c. 34.

§. XII.

Of EVILMERODACH.

HAuing already spoken what I could of the succession and yeeres of *Nebuchadnezzars* posteritie; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Euilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Ægypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yere of his raigne, which was fortie yeeres after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amasis* foure and fortie yeeres of raigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him fiue and fiftie, saying that he died in the third yeere of the threescore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Ægypt*. There were indeed but seuen and thirtie yeeres, which passed betweene the second yeere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fift of *Cambyses* his raigne, wherein hee wanne *Ægypt*; of which seuen and thirtie yeeres it is credibly held, that *Psamennitus*, the sonne of *Amasis*, raigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than foure and thirtie yeeres. But seeing that these two *Greeke* Historians haue beene abused by *Aegyptian* Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no maruell though they were also deceiued in the length of his raigne. This is the plaine answere to this obiection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie set downe in stead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amasis* did temporise awhile with the *Assyrians*, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of *Ægypt*, vntill the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath beene proued out of *Ezechiel*, that *Ægypt* became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Aegyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deale with *Euilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the decaied valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foile receiued by the *Assyrian* inuading *Media*, emboldned the *Aegyptians* to rebell against him: I will neither vndertake, nor seeke to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the first seruice of young *Cyrus* in warre, was vnder *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Assyrian* Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen yeeres old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threescore & three yeeres (as he is said to haue died well stricken in yeeres) which is held to be the ordinarie terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeere of *Euilmerodach* his raigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early betweene these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the *Assyrians*, than in his flourishing

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8.

estate

estate they durst haue vsed. Howsoeuer the quarrell beganne, wee finde that it ended not before the last ruine of the *Assyrian Monarchie*. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which hee receiued by the *Medes* and their Allies the *Persians*, drew vnto his partie the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to ouer-whelme his enemies with a strong inuasion, whome in vaine hee had sought to weary out with a lingring Warre.

This happened after the death of *Astyages*, who left the World in the nineteenth yeere of *Euilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* tooke possession of *Ægypt*. So that the *Assyrian* hauing his hands alreadie full of businesse, which more earnestly did affect him, seemes thereby to haue giuen the better meanes vnto the *Aegyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundry times finde occasion to rebell in after-ages, and set vp a King within it selfe, against the far more mightie *Persian*.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Euilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeeres before vttered against *Babel*, by *Esay* and *Ieremie*.

For the *Assyrians*, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the *Medes* and *Persians* vnder their thicke shewres of arrowes and darts, were encountred with an armie of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Euilmerodach* was slaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raysed and vp-held, being shaken and grieuously crackt vnder his vnfortunate Sonne, was left to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A priuate coniecture of the Author; seruing to make good those things, which are cited out of BEROSVS, *concerning the Successors of* EVILMERODACH, *without wrong to the truth, the qualitie, and death of* BALTHASAR.

THough I haue alreadie (as it seemes to mee) sufficiently prooued that *Balthasar* was the Sonne, and immediate Successour to *Euilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the coniectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Nigliſar*, or *Niriglissoroor*, and his sonne *Labassardach* betweene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what meanes it was possible that some errour might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day-light, had we adhered onely to the Scriptures. First, therefore I obserue, that the time which *Berosus* dinides betwixt *Euilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeeres in which *Nebuchadnezzar* liued wilde among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddainenesse of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that

clause

clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for settling the gouernment, whilest the King was thus distracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule *Euilmerodach* being to supplie the vtter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as *Protectors* doe the vnripenesse of it in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That hee had in him very small abilitie of gouernment, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appeares by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vsefull works about the Riuer of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Townes from the *Assyrians*, & amongst them *Ninuie*. Wherfore it were not vnreasonable to think, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgouernment, vsed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leaue it vnto her vngracious sonne. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue raigned, we doe not finde; but we finde in *Berosus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Nigliſſar*, who got the Kingdom from *Euilmerodach*, was his sisters husband; which argues this to haue beene the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the sonne of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine Moneths raigne hee were for his lewd conditions slaine by the Nobilitie, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seems that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzars* restitution (whose terme of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here vse many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set downe of *Euilmerodach*, telling vs that hee was slaine by his sisters husband: for the plaine words of Scripture, naming the yeere wherein he gaue libertie to *Iechonia*, do plainly testifie that he out-liued the three or foure and fortieth yeere of his Fathers raigne, which was the last of his life.

Herod. l. 1.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to haue succeeded *Euilmerodach* in the Kingdome, might indeede haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his Sonne and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitteth to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his young yeeres of a mischieuous nature; hauing in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should haue married his sister, onely for spight and enuie to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himselfe hauing throwne his Iauelin had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beautie, said it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous vilanies caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemie as soone as he was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole hee lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to giue battell to them that daily tooke somewhat from him: Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable securitie, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadful vision; which had shewed his ruine not many houres before, euen whilest hee was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his lateſt bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable raigne of seuenteene yeres, he perished

riſhed like a beaſt, and was ſlaine as he deſerued. The reſt that concerneth him in queſtion of his time, hath beene ſpoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, ſhall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whoſe ſtorie that of *Balthazar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and firſt greatneſſe of the Perſians.

§. I.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the ſubuerſion of the Babylonian Empire.

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguiſhed in *Balthaſar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Aſſyria*, was ioyned firſt to that of *Media*, which then was gouerned by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Aſſyria* and of *Media* it ſelfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings beſides himſelfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metaſthenes*. Theſe two Prouinciall Gouernours hauing cut downe the laſt branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, diuided betweene them the Eaſterne Empire: *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the laſt of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthaſar*; the Dominions aſwell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie, namely, to *Cyrus* of the houſe of *Achæmenes*, the Princes of which blood raigning in *Perſia*, had formerly beene dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Perſian* Kings, we ſhal hereafter finde occaſion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* deſcended from *Madai* the third ſonne of *Iaphet*; that they had Kings ſoone after the floud, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* haue found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaſpes*, and *Diodor* ſpeaketh of *Pharnus* with his ſeuen Sonnes, ſlaine by the *Aſſyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of theſe who ſucceeded *Arbaces* the firſt, that freed his Nation from the *Aſſyrians*. I take the liſt and number from *Euſebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I haue ſpoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are theſe.

Arbaces.	Who raigned	28. yeeres.
Sosarmus.		30. yeeres.
Medidus.		40. yeeres.
Cardiceas.		13. yeeres.
Diocles.		53. yeeres.
Phraortes.		24. yeeres.
Cyaxares.		32. yeeres.
Astyages.		38. yeeres.
Darius Medus.		

And though the *Greekes* ascribe the conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs that *Darius* was not onely King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Armie victorious ouer *Balthazar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was during his owne life. For wee finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* tooke the Kingdome being threescore and two yeres old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was it
Cap.13.v.17. prophecied by *Isay* long before: *Behold, I will stirre vp the Medes against them, &c.*
v.11.& 28. And by IEREMIE; *The Lord hath raised vp the Spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpose is against Babel to de destroy it*; and in the eigth and twentieth Verse, *Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* These Scriptures *Iulius Affricanus* doth well open, who taking authoritie from *Diodor*, *Castor*, *Thallus*, and others, deliuereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* beganne to raigne, which also agreeth with
Lib. 16. *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subiugated by the *Persians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therfore the reports of *Iustine*, and *Herodotus*, are not to be receiued, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§ II.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

NOw the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings haue bred the former opinion of those who giue the conquest of *Babel* to the *Persian* only. For some there are who denie that *Astyages* had any other Successour than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrarie side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom hee calleth *Astigas* or *Apinia*) but onely that hauing vanquished him in battaile, and confined him to *Bactria*, hee married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I finde the relations of *Ctesias* often cited and seldome followed, and himselfe sometimes very iustly reproued of wilfull vntruth.

Viginier a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such sonne as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion, the more he citeth *Diodore*, *Iustine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Castor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who doe not finde any such Successour. Neither doe *Tatianus*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, *Iulius Affricanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Iustine Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, S. *Hierome*, or S. *Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath giuen other Son or Successour to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negatiuè*, doth neuer in-

force

force conſent; we may bee the bolder (all this great liſt of noble Writers by him alleaged notwithſtanding) to affirme that either *Aſtyages* himſelfe muſt haue been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the courſe of time; Or elſe to giue him ſome other Succeſſour, according to *Ioſephus*, and *Xenophon*, the ſame whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifeſt, and without diſpute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chiefe, and was abſolute Lord of that Conqueſt, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other then the Lieutenant of his Armie, and ſubiect to his authoritie; The ſtrength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with other the Vaſſalls of *Darius*, being ioyned together to compound it.

Zon. l. 1. c. 19.
Ioſ. an. l. 10. c. 13
Xen. l. 8. Ped.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer *Babylon* was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the inſtrument preordained and forenamed by God himſelfe, not onely for his action, but for the deliuerie of his Church; a greater worke in the eies of God, than the ſubuerſion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull ſoeuer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that ſeruice did rather aſcribe the glorie to him that was the beſt man of Warre, than to the *Median*, who was greateſt in riches and power. All which alſo falling vpon *Cyrus* by ſucceſſion, and continuing in his poſteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among prophane Hiſtorians ouergrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becauſe he was old, and did nothing in perſon; as alſo becauſe hee ſoone after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was poſſeſt of whatſoeuer belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any ſuch King or Conquerour was carried farre off.

And for the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, they tooke all things from the relations of the *Perſians*, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praiſe of a moſt excellent Prince, making none his equall. Only *Daniel* in the firſt, fift, and ſixt Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine, that himſelfe not onely liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that hee continued in that eſtate to the firſt of *Cyrus*; which being the yeere of *Daniels* death, could not haue bene diſtinguiſhed from the raigne of *Darius*, if they had begunne together and raigned ioyntly; Neither can it bee imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permiſſion, conſidering that *Cyrus* beganne after him.

§. III.

XENOPHONS *relation of the Warre with the Medes and Perſians, made with ioynt forces vpon the Aſſyrians, and others.*

THeſe Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our vnderſtanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of theſe warres: The cauſe whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Aſſyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, hee beganne to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought vnder his ſubiection, there ſhould not then be left any Nation adioyning able to make head againſt him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threeſcore thouſand foote, and aboue tenne thouſand horſe, to which the forces of *Perſia* being ioyned, made an exceeding ſtrong Armie.

The *Aſſyrian* conſidering the ſtrength of ſuch a Neighbour, inuited *Cræſus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mightie both in men and treaſure, and with him other

Lords of *Asia* the lesse to his assistance, alleaging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmely conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not bee easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements strengthned with great presents, he drew to himself so many adherents as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse, of which, ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foote were led by *Crœsus*, who had great cause of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* generall of the *Persian* forces, vtterly broken; Vpon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slaine, so many of the *Assyrians* reuolted, as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercinaries, waged with great summes of money out of *Asia* the lesse, *Ægypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, possest himselfe of a great part of the lesser *Asia*, at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crœsus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soone after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters sonne, preuailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leuied, are numbred thirtie thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as vsed the Dart and the Sling. So farre *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the paterne of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: So it cannot be denyed, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon meere Historicall truth.

Neither can it indeed bee affirmed of any the like Writer, that in euery speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne inuention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politique discourse, and examining but the Historie of things done, it will easily appeare, that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, hee hath not in any sort corrupted the bodie.

§. IIII.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great Warre.

FOr it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achæmenes* the sonne of *Perses* being Gouernour of *Persia*, did associate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honor and power to their posteritie; which in *Media* was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill such time as *Deioces* tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maiestie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the raigne of *Deioces*, are vsually accounted about an hundred and forty yeeres, in the last sixtie whereof there raigned in *Assyria* mightie Princes, namely *Salmanasser* and his Successours, whose great atchiuements in *Syria* and elsewhere witnesse, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their aduantage to vnder-take any offensiue warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet betweene these the successours of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt aboue ninetie yeeres, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truely, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other the Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commaunded many parts of *Aſia*, it had beene but an vnaduiſed enterpriſe of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to haue waſted themſelues againſt the *Syrians* and *Ægyptians*, leauing ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the *Medes* had done nothing vpon the South parts of *Perſia*, and that the *Perſians* themſelues were not maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſors* time, it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Gouernour for the *Babylonian* in *Suſa* or *Suſan*, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Aſtiages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Cræſus*, which after ſome ſixe yeeres diſpute was compounded.

How the affaires of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It ſeemeth that the roughneſſe of the mountainous Countrey which they then poſſeſt, with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gaue them more ſecuritie than fame: For if their Kings, being the poſteritie of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſſe which they afterward obtained would not haue ſuffered any forgetfulneſſe thereof. But as we find all *Xenophons* reports, both of theſe Warres and the ſtate of thoſe Countries to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, ſo it appeares, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principalitie of *Perſia* from father to ſonne for many deſcents. And therefore we may better giue credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*: than to thoſe that make him a meane man, and ſay, that *Aſtiages* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her ſonne (whoſe natiuitie he feared) might be diſabled from any great vndertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cauſe of griefe could it be to *Aſtiages*, that the ſonne of his daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No; it was more likely, that vpon ſuch a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child ſhould haue encreaſed, and his care beene the greater to haue married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and as I thinke the deuiſer of the miſchiefe intended againſt *Cyrus* by his grandfather, doth confeſſe, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperitie did thence deriue himſelfe, and vaunt of it: which he would neuer haue done, had they beene ignoble, nor had they been the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeuenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himſelfe.

Achæmenes.
Cambyſes.
Cyrus.
Teiſpeus.
Ariaramnes.
Arſamnes.
Hyſtaſpes.
Darius.
Xerxes.

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue male fayled in his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royall familie is thus ſet downe by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the sonne of *Perses*, first King of *Persia*.
Darius.
Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyses* and *Atossa*, who, married to *Pharnates*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artystona* and other daughters.
Cambyses had
Cyrus the Great, *Cyrus* had
Cambyses, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis* slaine by his brother *Cambyses*.

Of the second were those seuen great Princes of *Persia*, who hauing ouerthrowne the vsurped royaltie of the *Magi*, chose from among themselues *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes* King.

This Kingdome of *Persia* was first knowne by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the sonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Iosephus*, *Elymi*.

Euseb l.6.c.8.d. Præp.Euang. *Suidas* deriues this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magusæi*; which *Magusæi*, according to *Eusebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wise men. So doe the *Greekes*, among many other their sayings of them, affirme, That the *Persians* were anciently written *Artæi*, and that they called themselues *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moses* and the Prophets, *Esay*, *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras* in many places confirme: Which also S. *Hierome* vpon *Ieremie* the fiue and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight and twentieth, and in his Hebrew questions approueth, saying: *Elam à quo Elamitæ Principes Persidis*; ELAM, *of whom were the Elamites Princes of Persia.*

Gen.10. Esay 11.21,22. Iere.25.& 29. Ezech.32. Dan.8. Esd.4.

2.Mac.9. 1.Mac.6. And that Citie which the Author of the second booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Persia* to vs knowne, if wee follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and ioyned with him in the warre against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

Gen.10.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of CYRVS.

§. I.

of CYRVS *his name and firſt actions.*

AS touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* ſayth, That the ſame was taken from a Riuer which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the firſt of that name. *Herodotus* otherwiſe; and that *Cyrus* ſignifieth a father in the *Perſian* Tongue, and therefore ſo intituled by the people. *Strab. l. 15.*

It is true that for his Iuſtice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any ſuch ſignification, I thinke it be miſtaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to ſay as the Sunne, in the ſame Language. Howſoeuer it be, yet the Prophet *Eſay*, almoſt two hundred yeeres before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, *Thus ſaith the Lord vnto* CYRVS *his Anointed, &c.* *Plut. in vit. Artax.*

Before the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, and other Prouinces thereto ſubiect, together with the taking of *Cræſus* himſelfe, are not recounted by *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchiuements, whoſe opinion for this difference of time is founded vpon two reaſons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that laſt warre againſt *Cræſus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had ouer *Babylon*, to the fiue and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue beene vſed (and was by the *Greekes*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of hauing wonne *Babylon* it ſelfe, which in due place I haue anſwered. The latter ſeemes to haue reference to the ſecond Warre which *Cyrus* made vpon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time hee ſo eſtabliſhed his former Conqueſt, as after that time theſe Nations neuer offered to reuolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeue with *Herodotus*, whome the moſt of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterpriſe of *Sardis* to præcede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of CROESVS *the King of Lydia, who made warre vpon* CYRVS.

I Haue in the laſt Booke ſpoken ſomewhat of *Cræſus*, of his race and predeceſſors, as alſo of thoſe Kings which gouerned *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the firſt (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydus* the ſonne of *Atys*: Which familie extinguiſhed, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, deſcended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the laſt, who by ſhewing his faire wife naked to *Gyges* his fauorite, he was by the ſame *Gyges*

(thereto

(thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day slaine. Which done, *Gyges* enioyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Atys* his sonne, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Cræsus*: Which fiue Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome an hundred and seuentie yeeres. *Halyattes* the father of *Cræsus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after hee had continued a warre against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it six yeeres: a peace was concluded vpon equall conditions betweene them.

Herod.l.1.p 3. 4 & 5.

Astyages, the sonne of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtayning *Aryenis*, *Cræsus* sister, whom he married.

But *Cræsus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Ægyptian* and the *Lydian*: onely *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioyned *Phœnicia*, *Palestina*, and *Ægypt* to his *Empire*, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But *Cræsus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastred *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Prouinces possest by the *Greekes* in *Asia* the lesse, adioyning to *Lydia*; gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithinians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforst the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with *Dianaes* girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreouer, *Athæneus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which *Cræsus* obtained against the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memorie whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yeerely celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacæa*: All which hee performed in foureteene yeere.

Her.l.5. Athe.l.14.c.17.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the ende grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with maruellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he vndertooke him: from whom he receiued this riddle; CROESVS *passing ouer the Riuer Halys, shall dissolue a great dominion.* For the diuell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with marchandize of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Persia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

§ III.

CROESVS *his Expedition against* CYRVS.

MEreupon *Cræsus* being resolued to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by *Sandanes* to the contrarie, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the soft silke of wormes, but with the hard skinnes of beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he alreadie excelled: and if by them beaten, and subiected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceiued.

Notwithstanding this solide Counsaile, *Cræsus* hauing prepared a powerfull armie, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage, he was arrested at *Pterium*, a Citie of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he sought by all meanes to surprise or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That

each

each was inferior to other in ſtrength or opinion, I doe not finde: for out of doubt, *Cræſus* as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie; ſo was hee not vnder any in territorie and fame that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of Mitylene anſwered *Pompey* when he complained againſt the gods, becauſe they fauoured a diſturber and vſurper of the Commonweale againſt him who fought for the Romane libertie, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encreaſe and period from diuine Ordinance: ſo at this time was the Winter of *Cræſus* proſperitie at hand, the leaues of his flouriſhing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and firſt ſpring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis Herdman, Apollo*, had giuen date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When theſe two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainement of diuers skirmiſhes, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* beganne to ioyne in groſſe troupes: ſupplies from both *Kings* thruſt on vpon the falling off, and aduauncement of either Nation: and as the *Perſians* had ſomewhat the better of the day; ſo when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, *Cræſus* doubting what ſucceſſe the riſing Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all ſpeede poſſible retyred, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recouered *Sardis* his firſt Citie and Regall Seat, without any purſuite made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arriued, and nothing ſuſpecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he diſmiſſed the ſouldiors, and ſent the troupes of his ſundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to reaſſemble at the end of fiue moneths, acquainting his Commaunders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

§. IIII.

The Conqueſt of Lydia by CYRVS.

CYRVS in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his armie in order to purſue them, yet not ſo haſtily, and at their heeles, as to be diſcouered. But hauing good intelligence of *Cræſus* his proceeding, hee ſo meaſured his Marches, as he preſented not himſelfe before *Sardis*, till ſuch time as *Cræſus* had diſpoſed his armie to their Wintring garriſons: when being altogether vnlooked for, and vnfeared, he ſurrounded *Sardis* with his Armie: Wherein *Cræſus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Gards, after fourteene dayes ſiege the ſame was entred by aſſault, and all executed that reſiſted. *Cræſus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts ſtrongly encompaſſed, thruſt himſelfe into the heape and miſerable multitude of his vaſſals, and had vndergone the common fortune of common perſons vanquiſhed, had not a ſonne of his, who had beene dumbe all his life (by extremitie of paſſion and feare enabled) cried out to the ſouldiors to ſpare *Cræſus*. Who thereupon being taken and impriſoned, deſpoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and ſet on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be conſumed to aſhes thereon. To which when the fire was ſet and kindled, remembring the diſcourſe which he had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cryed out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demaunded what he meant by that inuocation he firſt vſed ſilence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he now found it true which *Solon* had long ſince told him, That many men in the race and courſes of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could diſcerne himſelfe for happy indeede, till his end.

In communi calamitate ſuam quiſque habet fortunam, Curt. Memoriam metus perimit: timor vocis eſt incitamentum, &c. Solin. c. 7.

Homo qui in homine calamitoſo miſericors eſt, meminit ſui, Caſſ.

Of which anſwere *Cyrus* being ſpeedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune and his owne mortalitie, he commaunded his miniſters of Iuſtice to withdraw

draw the fire with all diligence to saue *Cræsus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demaunded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? Or what selfe reason had conducted him to inuade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemie? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my vnprosperous destinie (the *Grecian* God flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inuerters and conductors of *Cræsus* warre against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierst with *Cræsus* answere, and bewayling his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not onely spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam sed fortunam spectat*.

And herein is the reall difference discerned betweene that behauior which wee call *Beneficium latronis*, *& gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniustly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Cræsus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliuers, and is here already set downe, that hee should haue beene burnt aliue. It may well bee, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent so cruell fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbeseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neereneſſe of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he beene otherwise vitious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsoeuer it was, the Morall part of the Storie hath giuen credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Cræsus* afterwards may seeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his armie ouer *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Cræsus* to accompanie and aduise his sonne *Cambyses*, Gouernour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow *Cambyses* into *Ægypt*, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world tooke end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, *and Cræsus*.

§. V.

How CYRVS *wonne Babylon.*

AFter this *Lydian* warre ensued the great Conquest of *Babylon*, which gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was iustly reputed the greatest Monarch then liuing vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it seemes, that tenne whole yeeres did passe betweene his taking those two Cities of *Sardes* & *Babylon*, which neuertheleſſe I doe not thinke to haue beene wholly occupied in prouision for the *Assyrian* warre, but rather to haue beene spent in settling the Estate which hee had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments of a warre made by *Cyrus* vpon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against *Cræsus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* inuaded *Scythia*, and being victorious ouer that Nation, tooke *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battaile ouerthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no small part of those troubles which arose in the

the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſſe, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Cræſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, reuolted from him; againſt whom he imployed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* vnder their former obedience: and then the reſt of the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſoluedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelues. But in the attempt vpon *Babylon* it ſelfe it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to diuert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the worke vpon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength vnto the taking of that Citie, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and ſurrounded with waters vnſoordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many yeeres, that the inhabitants were not onely free from all doubt and feare of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The onely hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a Citie ſo well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries; whereof though the Towne was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than twentie yeeres, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſooner appeare, and vanquiſh the reſolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſſe of this courſe, the beſiegers were likely to endure much trauaile, and all in vaine, if they did not keepe ſtraight watch and ſtrong gards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe wals which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured vnto their Commaunder: The conſideration whereof miniſtred vnto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who hauing beene their auncient friends and allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occaſion were offered, than to vſe much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yeſterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoake of ſeruitude. Whileſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelues in this deceitfull gladneſſe, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of ſuddaine calamitie; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inuentiue, deuiſed by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the ſame from the wals of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, hee ſtayed the time of his aduantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine bankes or heads vncut, betweene the maine riuer which ſurrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 7.

Now *Balthaſar*, finding neither any want or weakeneſſe within, nor any poſſibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous feaſt, publike Playes, and other Paſtimes, and thereto inuited a thouſand of his Princes or Nobilitie, beſides his wiues, curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the beſiegers know, that his prouiſions were ſufficient, not onely for all needfull vſes, but euen for iolitie and exceſſe: Or becauſe hee hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many diſtreſſes were well neere broken, or in honour of *Bel* his moſt reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all theſe reſpects. And he was not contented with ſuch magnificence as no Prince elſe could equall, but (vſing *Daniels* words) *he liſted himſelfe vp againſt the Lord of Heauen*: For hee and his Princes, wiues and concubines, made carowſing cuppes of the Veſſels of God, in contempt of whom he praiſed his owne puppets, made

made of siluer and Gold, of Brasse, of Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes ligneos & lapideos Deos laudare; How great a foolishnesse was it* (sayth S. HIEROME) *drinking in golden Cuppes, to praise Gods of Wood and Stone.* While *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him certaine words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement
Dan.5.v.6. seized him, as the ioynts of his loynes were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recouered, hee cryed out for his *Caldeans, Astrologians*, and *Southsayers*, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and astonishment the Queene hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done vsed this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and vnderstanding and wisdome, like the wisdome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King* NABVCHODONOSOR *thy father, the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and vnderstanding, &c. were found in him, euen in* DANIEL, *&c. Now let* DANIEL *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Ioseph. Ant.10. This Queene, *Iosephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that shee was not any of the Kings wiues, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dauncing and banquetting, she came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction: and whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others of younger yeeres and times, this old Queene remembred well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in mind both his religion and diuine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherwith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interprete those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answere in a farre different style from that he vsed towards his grandfather: for the euill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies, but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these words, *Keepe thy rewards to thy selfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King, and shew him the interpretation*: Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence; whereof the King and all his Wisemen were vtterly ignorant: Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath
Dan.5.v.18, 19,20. this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprined him of his estate and vnderstanding; so vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presumed both to abuse those vessels, dedicated to holy vses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praysed and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those wordes, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene Tekel, Vphraisin*, gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

The very euening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus* either by his espiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himselfe, whose ensigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no lesse filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the bankes and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut

downe

down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great Riuer of *Euphrates* drie for the preſent, by whoſe channell running, his armie made their entrance, finding none to diſturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet ſaith) in ſleepe and wine: ſuch as came in the *Perſians* way, were put to the ſword, vnleſſe they ſaued themſelues by flight, as ſome did, who ranne away crying, and filling the ſtreets with an vncertaine tumult.

Such *Aſſyrian* Lords as had reuolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themſelues to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a ſelected companie to the Kings Palace; which hauing eaſily forced, they ruſhed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banqueting, ſlew both him and them without any mercie, who ſtrugled in vaine to keepe thoſe liues which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecie of *Ieremie* fulfilled, & that of *Eſay*, two hundred yeeres before this ſubuerſion, who in his three & fortieth Chapter, and elſewhere, writeth this deſtruction ſo feelingly and liuely, as if he had beene preſent both at the terrible ſlaughter committed, and had ſeene the great and vnfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had alſo heard the ſorrowes and bewailings of euery ſuruiuing ſoule thereunto ſubiect. His propheſie of this place he beginneth in theſe words: *Come downe, and ſit in the duſt, O virgine daughter of Babel: ſit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit ſtill and get thee into darkneſſe, O daughter of the Chaldæans, for thou ſhalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vſed *Nabuchodonoſor* & the *Chaldæans*, to puniſh the idolatrie of the *Iudeans*, yet *Eſay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his iudgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (ſaith *Eſay*) in the perſon of God, *I was wroth with my people, I haue polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou didſt ſhew them no mercie, but thou didſt lay thy very heauie yoke vpon the ancient. I will riſe vp againſt them, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the ſonne and the nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Euery one that is found, ſhall be ſtricken thorow: and whoſoeuer ioyneth himſelfe, ſhall fall by the ſword, their children alſo ſhall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houſes ſpoyled, and their wiues raviſhed.* So as there is no Hiſtorian who was either preſent at this victorie of *Cyrus*, or that receiued the report from others truely as it was, that could better leaue the ſame to poſteritie after it happened, than *Eſay* hath done in many places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred yeeres before any thing attempted.

Ier. c. 27. *Eſa. c. 47.* *Cap. 47.* *Iſa. 14.* To wit, *Euilmerodach* and *Balthaſar*.

The greatneſſe and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by diuers graue Authors ſet downe, might ſeeme altogether fabulous: for beſides the reports of Saint *Heirome*, *Solinus*, and *Oroſius*, *Ariſtotle* in the third of his *Politikes*, the ſecond Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the reſt was taken three daies after. Which is not impoſſible, if the teſtimonie of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compaſſe thereof at three hundred and threeſcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fiue and fortie miles: the walls whereof had ſo great a breadth, as ſixe chariots might paſſe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Cteſias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threeſcore and fiue foot, garniſhed with an hundred and fiftie Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his ſixteenth Booke of Geographie giues it a greater circuit, adding fiue and twentie furlongs more to the former compaſſe, reckoning the ſame at three hundred foureſcore and fiue furlongs, which makes eight and fortie myle and one furlong: but findes the wall farre vnder that which *Diodor* reports: and ſo doth *Curtius* meaſure their thickneſſe but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubits; which is alſo very much: euery cubite containing a foot and halfe of the large meaſure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie hee giues the ſame with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred and foureſcore furlongs in circle; the thick-

Diod. l. 3.

neſſe of the wall he meaſures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the ſame regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Braſſe, with poſts and hookes to hang them on of the ſame metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Eſay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princeſſe and glorie of Kingdomes.

Her.l.1. *Eſa.4.7.&* *6.13.*

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he ſtript her out of her princely Robes, and made her a ſlaue, diuiding not onely all her goodly houſes, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his ſouldiers: but beſtowing the inhabitants themſelues as bondſlaues vpon thoſe that had taken poſſeſſion of their goods.

Touching the raigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enioyed in reſt and pleaſure, I can ſay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue laſted onely ſeuen yeeres: in which time he made ſuch Conſtitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wiſe Kings that are deſirous to eſtabliſh a Royal power in themſelues and their poſteritie.

§. VI.

The end of CYRVS.

THe laſt warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuerſly written. *Herodotus* and *Iuſtine* deliuer, That after the Conqueſt of *Aſia* the leſſe *Cyrus* inuaded the *Maſſagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, gouerned by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an incounter betweene the *Perſians* and theſe Northerne *Nomades*, *Tomyris* loſt her Armie, and her Sonne *Spargapiſes*, that commanded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuies of men of warre, and following the warre againſt *Cyrus*, in a ſecond battaile beat the *Perſian* armie, and taking *Cyrus* priſoner, cut off his head from his body, and caſt the ſame into a boule of bloud, vſing theſe wordes; *Thou that haſt all thy life time thirſted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and ſatiate thy ſelfe.*

It ſhould hereby ſeeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the ſtrength and multitude of thoſe frozen Nations, was perſwaded to abate their furie by ſome forcible inuaſion and depopulation, becauſe in the time of *Syaxares*, father to *Aſtyages*, thoſe *Scythians* inuaded *Media* and *Aſia* the leſſe, and held the ſame in a ſeruile ſubiection eight and twentie yeeres.

This warre which *Metaſthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, laſted (ſaith he) ſixe yeeres, and tooke end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleeue with *Viginer*, that this *Scythian* warre was rather the ſame which *Cyrus* made againſt the *Sacians*, before the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, according to *Cteſias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliuer the ſucceſſe of that warre otherwiſe then *Herodotus* doth: The rather (ſaith *Viginer*) becauſe *Strabo* in his eleuenth booke reciteth, That *Cyrus* ſurpriſed the *Sacians* by the ſame ſtratageme by which *Iuſtine* ſaith, he defeated the ſonne of *Tomyris*. And the ſame *Cteſias* alſo reporteth, That the laſt warre which *Cyrus* made was againſt *Amorrhæus*, King of the *Derbicians* a Nation (as the reſt) of *Scythia*; whom though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death, which he ſuffered three dayes after.

Vig.prim.part. Bib.

Cte.l.15.hiſt. part.

Strab.l.15.

Strabo alſo affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Paſagardes*, which himſelfe had built, and where his *Epitaph* was to be read in his time; which is ſaid to haue beene this: *O vir quicunque es, & vndecunque aduenis, neque enim te aduenturum ignorauit: Ego ſum* CYRVS *qui Perſis imperium conſtitui, puſillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne inuideas; O thou man, whoſoeuer thou art, or whenceſoeuer thou*

thou commeſt; for I was not ignorant that thou ſhouldeſt come: I am CYRVS *that founded the Perſian Empire, doe not enuie vnto me this little earth, with which my bodie is couered.*

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either vpon hope of treaſure, ſuppoſed to haue beene buried with him, or vpon deſire to honour his dead body with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, *Alexander* cauſed to be couered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be ſet vpon it. Theſe things well conſidered, as they giue credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, ſo they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaues his bodie in the hands of *Tomyris*.

Q. Curt. l.

Xen. ped. 8.
Zon. l. 1. 6. 20.

And ſurely, had *Cyrus* loſt the Armie of *Perſia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his ſonne would ſo ſoone haue tranſported all his remaining forces into *Ægypt*, ſo far off from that quarter: the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*; neither had *Cambyſes* beene able in ſuch haſte to haue vndertaken and performed ſo great a Conqueſt. Wherefore I rather beleeue *Xenophon*, ſaying, That *Cyrus* died aged and in peace: and that finding in himſelfe, that hee could not long enioy the world, hee called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he aſſured himſelfe, and taught others, of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the puniſhments and rewards following the good and ill deſeruing of euery man in this life; he exhorted his ſonnes by the ſtrongeſt arguments hee had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things hee vttered, which make it probable, that hee receiued the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when hee gouerned *Suſa* in *Perſia*; and that *Cyrus* himſelfe had read the prophecie of *Eſay*, wherein hee was expreſſely named, and by God (for the deliuerie of his people) præordained. Which act of deliuering the *Iewes* from their Captiuitie, and of reſtoring the holy Temple and Citie of *Hieruſalem*, was in true conſideration the nobleſt worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an inſtrument of Gods power, vſed for the chaſtiſing of many Nations, and the eſtabliſhing of a Gouernement in thoſe parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an inſtrument of Gods goodneſſe, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which muſt laſt for euer, though heauen and earth ſhall periſh.

§. VII.

Of CYRVS *his decree for building the Temple of God in Ieruſalem.*

HAuing therefore ſpoken of his great victories, mentioned by ſundry Hiſtorians, the glory of all which was as a reward of this his ſeruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodneſſe: I hold it meete at length to ſpeake of the Decree made in the firſt of his Raigne, being perhaps the firſt that euer he made, after his poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captiue *Iewes* ſhould returne againe into their owne Territorie, and re-build the Houſe of GOD in *Ieruſalem*, hauing now endured and finiſhed the threeſcore and tenne yeeres captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accompliſhing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treaſurers to furniſh them with all things neceſſarie and wanting. Hee alſo reſtored vnto them fiue thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and nine Veſſels of Gold and Siluer, whereof *Nabuchodonoſor*, the grandfather of *Balthaſar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

1.*Esd.*2. 2.*Esd.*7. *Phil.in hre.*

The number of the *Iewes* which returned out of *Chaldæa* vnder their leader *Zorobabel*, the sonne of *Salathiel*, and nephew to King *Iecontas*, and *Iesus* or *Iosua* the sonne of *Iosadak*, were about fiftie thousand; where, as soone as they arriued, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselues how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

1.*Esd.*2.3.*Esd.* 5.*Esd.c.*4. & 5. *Ios.l.Ant* 11.

But no sooner did the *Iewes* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritanes* and other idolatrous Nations adioyning gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Prouinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort fauoured the *Iewes*, nor the labours and purposes they had in hand. And not onely those which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyses* himselfe; who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoeuer *Cambyses* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: They may herein resolue themselues out of *Esdras*, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the *Iewes* themselues affirme as it written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was sixe and fortie yeeres in setting vp, hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

*Esd.*1.*c.*2.*v.*16. *Esd.*2.*v.*16. *Esd.*1.*c.*5.*v.*33. *Esd.*1.*c.*4.*v.*5.

10 20

And if wee seeke the naturall and politique causes which moued *Cambyses* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole and soueraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembred by *Esdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complaine, that the *Iewes* were euermore rebellious & troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay Tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

*Esd.*1,*c.*2.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyses*, hauing it in his resolution to inuade *Ægypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Iewes* were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder *Moses*, when they conquered *Iudæa*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Senacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in EZEKIEL, *Ægypt was the confidence of the house of* ISRAEL.

30

*Ezek.c.*29.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue obserued, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors & Gouernors of *Phœnicia* complained against the *Iewes*, did not præcede, but succeed *Darius Hystaspes*, as in the sixt and seuenth chapters of *Esdras* it is made plaine: and also that those Gouernors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclosing of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is euident.

40

Also in the sixt of *Ezra*, the foure[illegible]verse, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finished it* (to wit, the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandement of* CYRVS *and* DARIVS, *and* ARTAHSHASTE *King of Persia.* Lastly, in the seuenteenth of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after these things, in the raigne of* ARTAHSHASTE *King of Persia:* which was as much to say as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

50

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hierusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by

by the men whom it moſt concerned, but firſt ſet on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldeſt ſonne *Cambyſes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger ſonne to be *Satrapa* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*, and then died, after he had raigned (ſaith *Herodotus*) one and thirtie yeeres, or (according to *Iuſtine*) but thirtie.

§. VIII.

Of CYRVS *his iſſue: and whether* ATOSSA *were his daughter, or (as ſome thinke) were the ſame with Queene* HESTER.

CYRVS had iſſue two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe*, and *Artyſtona*: *Cteſias* addeth to theſe, *Amytis*. *Atoſſa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyſes* married; *Artyſtona*, *Darius Hyſtaſpes* obtained; ſo did he *Atoſſa*, *Cambyſes* being dead: who (as ſome Writers haue ſuppoſed) inflamed both her husbands *Darius*, & *Xerxes* after him, to inuade *Greece*, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old tranſlation calleth a *Macedonian*) had againſt the *Iewes* though the opinion of *Ioſephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to bee vnderſtood, how *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, ſhould haue beene *Eſther*; whoſe Hiſtorie ſeemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, or of *Xerxes*. The deſire of *Atoſſa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Perſia*, was partly grounded vpon the honour which thereby ſhee thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot giue aſſent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere ſound of the two names, *Atoſſa* and *Hadaſſa* (by the latter of which *Eſther* was alſo called) makes them to haue beene one perſon. For though it be true, that *Eſther* concerning her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Ladie; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that ſhe ſhould therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Eſther* did at length diſcouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Hyſtories could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and eſpecially the Nobilitie, muſt needs haue vnderſtood the truth: who neuertheleſſe did ſo well know the parentage of *Atoſſa*, that for her ſake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her ſonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, againſt whom alſo he could haue pretended a very weake clayme.

But of theſe things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IIII.

The estate of things from the death of CYRVS *to the Raigne of* DARIVS.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.

OF the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbred the *Persian* Kings and their times, as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* iointly	2	
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priscus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	yeares.
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	
Ataxerxes Ochus.	26	
Arses, or *Arsames.*	4	
Darius the last, conquered by *Alexander.*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of yeeres added, make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metasthenes* hath left out *Cambyses* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Assuerus* for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (saith *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*: for *Metasthenes*, as *Melancthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyses* in the Catalogue, because his raigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure *Persian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* haue also a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom neuertheless *Eusebius* and most of the Latines follow, and so doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account: For in this sort doe the *Greekes* marshall the *Persian* Kings with the times of their raignes.

Chron. Krentz. fol. 135.

Melancton giues *Cyrus* but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	30
	Cambyses, with the *Magi.*	8
Melancth. but 20	*Darius Hystaspes.*	36
	Xerxes	21
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40
	Darius Nothus.	19
Melancth. but 40	*Artaxerxes Mnemon.*	43
Melancth. 26.	*Artaxerxes Ochus.*	23
	Arsames.	3
Melancth. 4.	*Darius* the last.	6

yeeres.

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

This account (as I haue said) the most Chronologers and the best learned approue. These *Persian* Princes being all warranted by the authoritie of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his historicall Animaduersions hath gathered the places; finding first

firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *chap.36.verſ.22,23.Ezra 1.chap.1.verſ.1.* and often elſewhere.

Secondly *Cambyſes* in the 11th of *Daniel*, who may indeede be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the marginall Commentor vpon the *Geneua* vnderſtands that place; but, vnder correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemie to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great fauour and liberalitie to the *Iewes* being elſewhere proued.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c.4.v.5.* who in the ſixt verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of *Daniel* verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainely foretold and deſcribed, and the great warre which hee ſhould make againſt the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembred.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeuen, who is alſo called *Arthaſaſta*, *c.4.1.lib.Ezra v.7.* and *cap.7.v.7.*

Sixtly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.4. verſ.24.* and *cap.5. verſ.6. Nehem. cap.12. verſ.22.*

Seuenthly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehe.c.2.v.1.* who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt he was of another Familie, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſonne of *Atoſſa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. *Euſebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Cræſus* his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* raigne to the beginning of the fiue and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuaſion of *Ægypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement betweene ſeuerall formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Againe, this hiſtoricall demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomicall computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure & twentieth yeere after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* beganne on the ſixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the firſt yeere of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accompt of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolomie*, we ſhall finde euery memorable accident to fall out right with each computation. *Ptol.in Alm. lib.3.cap.8.*

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and foure and twentie *Iulian* yeeres, and an hundred and fortie daies from *Nabonaſſar*, to the ſixteenth of *Iulie* in the ſeuenth yeere of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greekes*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Ægypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeuenth yeere in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad runnes along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and ſixe and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſeruing the differences of *Nabonaſſars Æra* and the Olympiad, *viz.* eight and twentie yeeres) it agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Ioſephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, ſauing that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the deſtruction of

of *Babylon*, which is true, and not contrarie to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the *Greekes*, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of CAMBYSES, *and the conquering of Ægypt by him.*

WE will therefore according to the truth giue the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the sonne of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, sauing the desire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: whereof hee was possest in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made warre in the North. *Ctesias* with others giue him a longer raigne than agreeth with the *Grecian* accompt before receiued.

In the fifth yeere of his sole raigne, and in the third yeere of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to *Diodor* and *Eusebius*, he inuaded *Ægypt*, and hauing ouerthrowne the King thereof, *Psammenitus*, he not only caused him to bee slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Lib.2.c.2. Her.l.3.pag.83. 84.85.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* giue for cause of this Warre (being no other indeede than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Ægypt*, to haue his daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries* his predecessour, which *Cambyses* disdained.

Howsoeuer it were; true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Ægypt*, *Amasis* died and left *Psammenitus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrtæus*, his successour; who inioyed *Ægypt* after his father; (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but sixe Moneths, though other Chronologers giue him sixe yeeres.

But how long soeuer he held the Crowne, in one battaile hee lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses* following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that hee also trusted him with the gouernement of *Ægypt*, and that vpon some reuolt, or the suspition thereof, hee caused him to bee slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if wee may beleeue *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Sonne called *Inarus*, who caused the *Ægyptian* to reuolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammenitus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Ægypt*, who died before his arriuall, that hee caused his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vsed, commanded the same to bee burnt, contrarie to the custome both of the *Ægyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Ægyptians* vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugges, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The * *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

* Neither did the Romanes euer consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his owne to be deuoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, because himselfe had vntombed the carkasse of *Caius Marius* after his death, *Her.l.3. Plin.l.7.c.54.*

§. III.

§. III.

The reſt of CAMBYSES *his acts.*

AFter this victorie obtained in *Ægypt*, *Cambyſes* ſent an Armie into *Cyprus*, and conſtrained *Euelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the *Ægyptians*.

While *Cambyſes* yet buſied himſelfe in *Ægypt*, he ſo much deteſted the Idolatry of that Nation, as he cauſed the Images themſelues, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to bee torne downe and defaced. That done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to ouer-turne the Temple of *Iupiter Ammon*; but the Deuill in defence of his *Oratorie* raiſed ſuch a tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of that Countrey is couered, as the *Perſians* were there-with choked and ouer-whelmed. *Strab. & Iuſt. L. 1. Pag. 87. 88.*

Notwithſtanding which miſaduenture, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that diſdayning to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Armie, which himſelfe meant to conduct into thoſe parts, but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his firſt-ſent troupe had tried, hee changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements doe not obey them, according to that old *Engliſh* prouerbe, *Goe, ſaith the King. Stay, ſaith the Tide.* *Herod. 3. Sen. l. 7.*

After his returne from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, hee cauſed *Apis* the *Ægyptian Bull*, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and beene executed as in ſeruice of him that only is, and liueth. But ſoone afterwards, when in a dreame it ſeemed vnto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the royall Throne of *Perſia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) hee gaue it in charge to his fauourite *Praxaſpes*, to murther *Smerdis* his brother. And hauing married his owne ſiſters, contrarie to the *Perſian* Lawes, hee committed a moſt cauſeleſſe and moſt deteſtable murder vpon the one of them, called *Meroe*, then by himſelfe with child, becauſe ſhee bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyſes*, That becauſe his Predeceſſors obſerued religiouſly the ordinances of their Empire, he aſſembled his Iudges and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the *Perſians* that did permit the brother to marry his owne ſiſter: it being his owne intent ſo to doe. The Iudges (who had alwaies either lawes or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatisfie Kings and times) made anſwere, that there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch coniunction, but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtomes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings to doe what beſt pleaſed themſelues; and ſo, as *Nauclerus* termes it, *inuenerunt occaſionem*: That is as much to ſay, as the Iudges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelues. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings priuate ſatisfaction, he cauſed *Siſamnus* one of his Iudges, and perchance one of thoſe which fauoured his inceſtuous match, to be flayed a-liue for an vniuſt iudgement giuen, and the ſame his hide to bee hung vp ouer the iudgement ſeate. After which beſtowing the fathers Office on his ſonne, hee willed him to remember, that the ſame partialitie deſerued the ſame puniſhment. *Her. pag. 89. 90.*

Among other his cruelties, that which he exerciſed againſt the ſonne of his beloued *Praxaſpes* was very ſtrange and vngratefull. For when he deſired to bee truely informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaſpes* anſwered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men; only it was by many obſerued, that he tooke more than vſuall delight in the taſte of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, hee vſed this replication: And are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell me that I haue in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſſe, whether in this report they haue done mee right: for if at the firſt ſhot I pierce thy ſonnes heart with an arrow, then is it falſe that hath beene ſpoken; but if I miſſe the marke, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true,

true,and my subiects beleeued. This being spoken, hee directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling dead with the stroke,*Cambyses* commanded his body to be opened,and his heart being broched on the arrow,this monstrous Tyrant greatly reioycing, shewed it to the Father with this saying,in stead of an Epitaph: *Now* PRAXASPES, *thou maiest resolue thy selfe that I haue not lost my wits with Wine, but the Persians theirs,who make such report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties hee exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *felon de soy*. For when he was informed that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi*, (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdius*) Ministers of his domesticall affaires, taking aduantage of the great resemblance betweene *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, possest themselues of the Empire,he made all haste towards *Persia*, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his sword dis-sheathing pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remedilesse repentance of the slaughter which hee had executed vpon his owne brother, he soone after gaue vp his wicked ghost, when hee had raigned eight yeeres, accounting therein those seuen Moneths in which the *Magi* gouerned, while he was absent.

In *Cambyses* the Male line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierome* giues him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a sonne called *Orontes*,who being drowned in the Riuer *Ophites* by *Antioch*,the same was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called *Orontes*.

Zonaras Com.3. pag.117.

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in *Ægypt*,in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his sister *Meroe*.

§. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum *betweene* CAMBYSES and DARIVS.

CYRVS and his two sonnes beeing now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfait of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Prouinciall Gouernours of the Empire (to wit,*Otanes*,*Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabysus*, *Asphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achæmenes* the first *Persian* King,hauing discouered the fraud of this imposture, ioyned their forces together, surprised and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and assistants. In which action (saith *Iustine*) *Intaphernes* and *Asphalines* were slaine; but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded,for he auoweth, that all the seuen Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouernour, these Princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the seuen did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate,and by iust lawes defend their liberty in equality,giuing diuers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyses*; As first, that it was not safe to giue all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, euen in good men,doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the libertie and freedome in all things is most apt to insult, & to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe,that tyrants do commonly vse the seruices of wicked men,and fauour them most; they vsurpe vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wiues by force,and destroy whom they please without iudgement.

Megabysus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without

without iudgement runne into buſineſſe and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing flouds.

He therefore thought it ſafeſt to make election of a few, and thoſe of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt vertuous; becauſe it is euer found, that excellent Counſailes are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third iudgement, who perſwaded the creation of a King, becauſe euen among few diuturnitie of concord is ſeldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the diſcord of many Rulers hath inforſt the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, ſaith *Darius*, farre ſafer to obſerue the Lawes of our Countrie, by which Kingly gouernement hath beene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the ſame Imperiall gouernement by God eſtabliſhed, and made proſperous. And to auoide partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following theſe ſeuen Princes ſhould mount on Horſe-back, and on him the Kingdome ſhould be conferred, whoſe horſe after the Sunne-riſing ſhould firſt ney or bray. In the euening after this appointment was made, it is ſaid that *Darius* conſulted with the Maſter of his horſe *Oebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie when the election was reſolued of, cauſed the ſame Horſe, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as ſoone as he came into the ſame place was the firſt horſe that brayed. Whereupon the other ſixe Princes deſcended from their horſes, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King. *Her. l. 3. p. 100. 101.*

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the ſeuen Princes, whereof *Darius* himſelfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vſurpation of the *Magi*, hee diuided the whole into ſeuen gouernements; *Herodotus* ſaith into twentie *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of DARIVS *the ſonne of* HYSTASPES.

§. I.

Of DARIVS *his Linage.*

DARIVS was deſcended of the ancient *Perſian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Succeſſour. For in this ſort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

Cyrus the firſt, who had
Teiſpius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arſamnes, the father of
Hyſtaſpes, the father of
Darius, ſurnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*. *Curt. l. 4.*

Hyſtaſpes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great in the warres againſt the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made jelous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, cauſed him

to

to be sent into *Persia*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of
Her. l. 1. & 3. *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Gouernor of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyses* into *Ægypt*; he then ioyned with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand
* Her pag. 237. Pag. 154. Pag. 130. Pag. 101. & 202 Pag. 180. 190. Her. l. 6. pag. 180 Pag. 180. 190. Pag 199. Pag. 200. 204. & pag. 213. 285. 286. Pag. 214. 254. De Reg. Persar. Fol. 32. he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wiues.

Hystaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*; and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Grecian* warre. *Hystaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artozostre* his Cosen germaine.

Reineccius giues to *Hystaspes* fiue sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyses*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

§. II.

Of DARIVS *his Gouernment, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.*

DARIVS deuised equall lawes whereby all his subiects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gaue accesse to all his subiects, and behaued himselfe so mildly to al men, that many Nations desired and offered themselues to become his Vassalls: Only hee laied diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not beene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of foureteene thousand fiue hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyses* made a farre off in *Ægypt*, and the contention betweene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke, wherof *Darius* being aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State reuolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vsed the seruice of *Zopirus*, who for the loue he bare *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flie to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the siege of their Citie, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition & commandement of their greatest forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small
Her. lib. 3. colourable ouer-throwes giuen to the *Persians* vpon sallies, hee deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths.

§. III.

Of DARIVS *his fauour to the Iewes in building the Temple.*

IN the second yeere of *Darius*, he gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the reuennues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouernors of those Prouinces which are situate betweene *Euphrates*, and the *Phœnician*, and mid-land Sea,
Ezra. c. 6. (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the Riuer) had hindred the worke in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gaue commandement that they should not thence-forth come neere vnto *Ierusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should

should with-draw themselues, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *With-draw your selues farre from them*; In our *English*, *Be yee farre from thence*, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

Hee also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subiects, That whosoeuer should thenceforth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the Timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God, *That hath caused his name to dwell there, (to) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c.* In foure yeeres after which decree (the *Iewes* being really furnished with money and all things necessarie from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeere of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne. *Ezr.6.11.* *Ezr.6.*

§. IIII.

of DARIVS *his Scythian Warre.*

AFter the recouerie of *Babylon* he inuaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Iustine* calleth *Lauthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* vnder-tooke this warre against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, hee built a Bridge of small Vessels ouer the Riuer *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gaue the custodie of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian Græcians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionia*, which Nation being a *Colonie* of the *Greekes*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Countrie, because they ioyned themselues to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaues, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as faire an occasion of libertie as could haue beene desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the desart Countrie called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vsing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graziers, driuing their Heards from one place to another as opportunitie of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their wiues and children. These Waggons they place at euery Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remoueable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than such an *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and wasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victualls to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, which either hee himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he beganne to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a badde game, he sent braue messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile, Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeeld by faire meanes, and become his Subiect, giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* vsed to demand as a signe, that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphicall* answere; sending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouse*, and fiue *Arrowes*: which dumbe shew *Her.l.4.* *Iust.l.2.* *Diod.l.11.*

Darius interpreting by his owne wish, thought that hee did yeeld all the Elements wherein those creatures liue, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seuen Princes, who had slaine the *Magi*, construed their meaning a-right, which was thus; *O yee Persians, get yee wings like Birds, or diue vnder the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for elseyee shall not escape our arrowes.* And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Scythians* themselues, who assailed the *Persian* camp, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexing the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night, were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and euen in his sight, they did not forbeare the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leauing all that were sicke and weake behinde him, and so with all speede marched away towards the Riuer *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians* who mist him, yet arriuing at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* King should neuer more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which words had certainely beene proued true, had not *Hystiæus* the *Milesian* preuailed with his people, to attend the comming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian Warre.

DARIVS hauing thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre hee imployed *Megabasus*, who mastered the *Pæonians*, and transplanted them, & possest *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otanes*, the sonne of *Syssamnes*, whom *Cambyses* had excoriated for false iudgement. So were the Cities of *Selybria* and *Cardia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, who hauing now reduced vnder his obeysance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadours to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth & Water, the Soueraignetie ouer that Kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadours with gentle wordes, and afterward inuiting them to a solemne and magnificent feast, the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might bee present: which being granted, the Embassadours who were well filled with wine, and presumed vpon their greatnesse, and many victories, beganne to vse such imbracings, and other lasciuious behauiour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to with-draw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadours, whom withall hee entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselues for a while; promising their speedy returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-fauoured yong-men to clothe themselues in the same garments, & to vse the same attires which the Ladies had worne at the feast, giuing them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were prouided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuere reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander*, somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gaue his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would proue for the inuasion of *Attica* intended, so preuailed, as *Alexander*

Herod.5.
* A maritimate Citie of *Thrace* to the South of *Constantinople*.
a *Cardia*, a City vpon the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lysimachia*. *Pto. Pauf.*

der eſcaped that tempeſt, which threatned to fall vpon him very ſuddenly; the warre of *Aſia* the leſſe, called *Ionick*, falling out at the ſame time.

§. VI.

The firſt occaſion of the Warre which DARIVS *made vpon Greece, with a rehearſall of the gouernment in Athens, whence the the quarrell grew.*

NOw the better to vnderſtand the reaſon and motiues of that great Warre, which followed ſoone after, betweene the *Perſians* and *Græcians*, it is neceſſarie to make a ſhort repetition of the ſtate of *Athens*, which Citie indured the hardeſt and worſt brunt of *Darius* inuaſion on that ſide the Sea with admirable ſucceſſe. Neither doe I hold it any impertinencie, to be large in vnfolding euery circumſtance of ſo great a buſineſſe as gaue fire to thoſe warres, which neuer could be throughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Perſian* Monarchie, *Perſepolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the requeſt of an *Athenian* Harlot conſumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatneſſe, the *Perſians* had raiſed in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the ſame being alreadie ſet downe, though ſcatteringly, and in ſeuerall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrents of the Eaſterne Emperors, and the Kings of *Iudæa*; ſo I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two laſt changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained ſtill their ancient policie vnder Kings, though theſe alſo after ſome fifteene deſcents bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the ſafetie of his people, was therefore ſo honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to ſucceed him) they changed their former gouernment from Monarchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which *Medon* the ſonne of *Codrus* was the firſt, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of theſe there were twelue Generations beſides *Medon*, to wit.

Agaſtus.

Archippus, in whoſe times the *Greekes* tranſported themſelues into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and foureſcore yeeres, according to *Euſebius*: which migration al other Chronologers (ſuch as follow *Euſebius* herein excepted) find in the yeere after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

Therſippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whoſe time *Lycurgus* gaue Lawes to the *Spartans*.

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Theiſpius, in whoſe time the *Aſſyrian* Empire was ouer-throwne by *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*.

Agamneſtor.

Æſchylus, in whoſe time the *Ephori* (according to *Euſebius*) were erected in *Lacedæmon*.

Alcamenon, the laſt Prince for life, after whoſe death the *Athenians* elected *Decennall* Gouernours: the former Princes for life hauing continued in all three hundred and ſixteene yeeres. The firſt of thoſe that gouerned for ten yeeres, or the firſt *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Æſymedes.

Elydicus.
Hyppomenes.
Leocrates.
Abſander.
Erixias was the laſt *Archon* of the *decennal* Gouernors, which forme continuing threeſcore and ten yeerres, was then changed into into *annuall* Magiſtrates, Maiors, or Burg-maſters, of which *Theſeus* was the firſt, according to *Pauſanias*: others finde *Leoſtratus*; and then

Pauſ. pag.159. Dioniſ.l.3. Pauſ.p.169. Pauſan.170. Pag.331.

Anthoſthenes.
Archimedes.
Miltiades.
Damaſias.
Draco.
Megacles.
Solon, and others, who are the leſſe to bee regarded, by reaſon of the yeerely change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wiſdome, gaue lawes to the *Athenians*, which were publiſhed according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth yeere of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and were in after-ages deriued vnto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decemviri* (Magiſtrates in *Rome* created for that purpoſe) reduced into twelue Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But theſe goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne daies violated, and for a while almoſt quite extinguiſhed. For whereas they were framed vnto the practice and maintenance of a popular gouernement; the eſtate of *Athens* was very ſoone changed into a Monarchie by *Piſiſtratus* the ſon of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens diſtracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tooke occaſion by their contention and inſolencie to raiſe a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plauſible, for that he ſeemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Hauing by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himſelfe, and faining that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue beene ſlaine for his loue to the good Citizens, he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men ſurpriſing the State-houſe, or Cittadell of *Athens*, hee made himſelfe Lord of the Towne; *Hegeſiſtratus* being then Gouernour. But the Citizens, who in euery change of gouernement had ſought to remoue themſelues further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could ſo ill brooke this vſurpation of *Piſiſtratus*, that he was driuen for lack of helpe to flie the Towne, as ſoone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* ioyning their forces attempted his expulſion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded vpon the diſſenſion of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; ſo was it ſoone after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his owne, he did (as is the vſuall practice of the weaker ſide) call in the common enemie *Piſiſtratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Familie of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet ſo that *Piſiſtratus* by their power was made Maſter both of them and all the reſt. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and eſpecially *Megacles* being incenſed againſt *Piſiſtratus* for his miſdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practiſed with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treaſon ſo ſecretly, and ſo farre, that *Piſiſtratus* vpon the firſt diſcouerie of their intent, perceiued no other remedie for his affaires, than to with-draw himſelfe to *Eretria*, where he remained eleuen yeeres. Which time being expired, hauing hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, hee againe recouered the principalitie of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his eſtate, hee gouerned *Athens* ſeuenteene yeeres, according to *Ariſtotle*, and raigned in all thirtie and three yeeres, ſaith *Elianus*, but as *Iuſtine* hath it, foure and thirtie, accounting the time belike as well before

Her.l 12. Eretria a Citie of *Eubœa*, by others called *Melane*, by *Stephanus Erotria. Pol.5. Heraclid.apud Elian. pag. 262. Juſt. pag 28.*

before as after his ſeuerall expulſions. *Herodotus* giues the father and the Sonne ſixe and thirtie yeeres; *Ariſtotle* fiue and thirtie. But *Thucidides* affirmeth, that hee died very old, leauing for his Succeſſours his two Sonnes *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with ſuch moderation, as they rather ſeemed the Lineall ſucceſſors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and ſome three yeeres before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. The cauſe why, and the manner how performed, *Thucidides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnnaturall luſt after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that hee was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that ſcandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterpriſe vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, firſt ſought to diſcouer the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who becauſe ſhee would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe, enter into a ſtrait amitie with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the Citie *Lampſacus*, whom he knew to bee greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whoſe ſonne *Hypoclus* hee gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But ſome three yeeres after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what ſtrong practice againſt himſelfe, hee beganne to vſe the Citizens with great ſeueritie, which neither *Piſiſtratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himſelfe had euer exerciſed during their vſurpations till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing leſt that this diſeaſe might rather increaſe, than diminiſh in *Hippias*, they ſtirred vp *Cliſtines* one of the nobleſt and beſt able of their Citie, to practiſe their deliuerie: who calling to his aſſiſtance the baniſhed *Alcmanida*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedæmonians*, ledde by *Cleomenes* their King, ſo affrighted *Hippias*, as by compoſition he gaue ouer his eſtate, and the poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himſelfe tooke land at * *Sigeum*, whence hee went to *Lampſacus* in *Myſia* gouerned by *Æantides*, who preſented him to *Darius*. Hee was depriued of his eſtate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucidides* agree, twentie yeeres before the battel of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perſwading and practiſing the enterpriſe vpon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the ende to his great diſhonour vnder-tooke, twentie yeeres after *Hippias* had reſigned his eſtate.

Her.l.6.
Thucid.l.6.c.10.

Lampſacus a citie of *Myſia* vpon the *Helleſpont*.
Her.l.5.
Thucid.l.6.c.1.

* *Sigeum* a promontorie oppoſite to the Ile of *Tenedos*; which *Ariſt.in 5.Animal.* calls *Ide promontorium*.

Thus farre I haue digreſſed from *Darius*, to the ende the Reader may conceiue the better the cauſes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be reſtored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him ſolicite and perſwade the *Perſians* to conquer *Greece*, was one; but not the moſt vrgent.

§. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cauſe of the warres enſuing betweene Greece and Perſia.

ANother, and a ſtrong motiue to this expedition, was the *Ionick* warre, breaking out in *Aſia* about the ſame time. The Colonies tranſported out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, which occupied the greateſt part of the Sea-coaſt, hauing enioyed their libertie about 500. yeeres, euen from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Cræſus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by

Cyrus, and left as hereditarie Seruants to the Crowne of *Persia*.

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witnesse *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery aduantage and opportunitie: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Græcians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselues.

At this time they found such men readie to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* been giuen vnto them for bridles to hold them in subiection. Euery one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose onely might they held the people in subiection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremitie, they vsed all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had beene lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of seruice *Histiæus* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thankes, as hauing beene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were readie to haue abandoned him. But it came so to passe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Histiæus* (being powerfull and craftie) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had alreadie receiued at his hand, found meanes to carry him a-long to *Susa*, where hee detained him with all kind vsage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as an enemie, he could not start away. *Histiæus* had subtiltie enough to discouer the Kings purpose; which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a smal Territorie, than to sit and feast at the great Kings table, and heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was menaged; being himselfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much restraint of libertie, none other pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon himselfe.

Wherefore he bethought himselfe of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resoluing vpon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputie at *Miletus*, aduising him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterprise vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that that had wasted the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsaile: and the better to draw the whole Countrie of *Ionia* into the same course which he determined to runne, hee abandoned his tyrannie, and did set *Miletus* at libertie. This plausible beginning wanne vnto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and sold as slaues to their citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to bee at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof hee lately had beene Admirall in the enterprise of *Naxos*, hee had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers, and Captaines, so that now hee thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, vnlesse that he were able to raise an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a iourney to *Sparta*, where hauing assayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie talents, to win to his partie *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*: hee went from thence to *Athens*, and with better successe besought the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Embassadors which had been sent to the *Persian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower *Asia*, desiring

them

them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answeres, hauing found very churlish entertainement. So that the euill which they were to expect in all likelyhood from the *Persian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the perswasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twentie shippes the *Athenians* furnished for this voyage; to which the *Eretrians* added fiue more, in regard of ancient kindnesse that had passed betweene the *Ionians* and them. With these and their owne forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the Riuer *Caistrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*; by which aduantage they surprised *Sardis* when no enemie was heard of or suspected; insomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safetie, than by retreating himself into the Castle; which the *Grecians* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The *Persians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recouered the Market place, strengthened by the Riuer *Pactolus*, which ran through it, and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselues, and charged their enemies; who well aduising themselues, made all the haste they could toward the Sea side. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Grecians*, and found them neere *Ephesus*; where setting resoluedly vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Armie; the rest saued themselues in *Ephesus*. In this fight *Eualcides*, Captaine of the *Eretrians*, perished: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preserued. After this ouerthrow, the *Athenians*, which were sent to *Aristagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their teares, be perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes, on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noyse in the world, than the good successe which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* brauely proceeding, woon a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellespont*, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyses*, beganne hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to giue them aide by sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These newes comming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, vpon whome hee vowed to take sharpe reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom their ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athens*: To which, the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gaue onely some forme and assistance: the businesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like ynough to haue proceeded, though he had perished ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Greekes*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreouer did helpe to furnish out a Nauie of three hundred and sixtie saile against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprise. In euery fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Isle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the vpper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victorie of any vse to them; the *Cyprians*, in whose aid they came;

being

being vtterly beaten by the *Persian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the *Carians* in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recouered the Townes vpon *Hellespont*, with some *Æolian* & *Ionian* Cities: when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to seat himselfe in *Amphipolis*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose Territorie belike he landed, ouerthrew him, and cut his troupes in pieces.

About the same time, *Histiæus* the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whome his double dealing was detected.

But this euasion preserued him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, hee was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seemes that hee would haue done, by the buriall which he commanded to be giuen to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heauie taking of his death.

Histiæus had sought to put himselfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his condition, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselues, without his helpe. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet which promised vnto them the libertie of an open sea, emboldened them to trie the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wiues and children made slaues, and their goods a bootie to the *Persians*, whome for sixe yeeres space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The Warre which DARIVS *made vpon Greece, with the battaile of* MARATHON, *and* DARIVS *his death.*

THis warre with good successe finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable successe; *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of *Greece* (though at first he pretended to make the warre but against the *Athenians* and *Eritreans*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his embassadours demaund an acknowledgement from them all: among whome, some of them not so well resolued as the rest, submitted themselues, as the *Æginets* and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed (by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after diuers encounters forst them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the partie of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this warre, and caused his companion King *Demaratus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuill warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gaue order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Armie ouer the *Hellespont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the sonne of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twentie yeres before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Gouernour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the lesse. These Commaunders hauing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-side, imbarked themselues in sixe hun-

Herod. lib. 6. Whether this Citie or People were of *Peloponnesus* in *Sicyonia*, or of *Ægea*, between *Thessalia* and *Macedon*, I do not know: but those borderers, & next the enemie, were more likely to compound than the rest farre off. There is also a Citie called *Æginium*, not farre from *Aegea*. *Liuie* 32. 33. *&c*

hundred Gallies and other Veſſels; and firſt of all attempted the Iſlands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way betweene *Aſia* the leſſe, and *Greece*. For (obtaining thoſe places) the *Perſians* had then nothing to hinder the tranſportation of their forces ouer the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrarie they might alwayes both relieue themſelues in their paſſage, and ſhrowd themſelues from all ſuddaine tempeſts and outrage.

To this end they firſt poſſeſt themſelues of *Samos*, ſecondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Iſland, the inhabitants deſpairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was natiue: Which Iſland *Darius* did not onely forbeare to ſacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to *Apollo* erected. And hauing recouered theſe and other Iſlands, the *Perſians* directed their courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that Citie (as already hath beene ſhewed) had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* tooke ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſixe dayes aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabius* and *Philagius*; they tooke it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſayles. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Armie into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*. *In Herod.*

The *Athenians* finding the time arriued, wherein they were to diſpute with their owne vertue againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their libertie, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themſelues in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withall ſent away with ſpeed to the *Lacedæmonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Diuell, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victorie, promiſing that ſome one of the Gods ſhould be preſent at the battaile to aſſiſt them and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the Gods, and promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue beene more ſtirred vp with fond Propheeies and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any juſt cauſe or ſolid reaſon. The *Athenians* being now left to themſelues, with one thouſand onely of the *Plateans* (who hauing beene formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this extremitie witneſſe their thankefulneſſe and gratefull diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their aduantage to defend the wals of *Athens*, or to put themſelues into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of tenne thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Plateans*. In the end, and after great diuerſitie of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the triall by battaile, preuailed. The Armies being now in view, and within a myle of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelues into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they tearme them, and the body of a battaile. The *Perſians*, when they perceiued ſo ſmall a Troope aduauncing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their vnderſtanding, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So inuincible and reſiſtleſſe the *Perſians* eſteemed their owne numbers to be, and that ſmall troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Græcians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* preuailing, the *Græcians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victorie euen to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaued themſelues in their ſhippes.

The

The *Persian* Armie consisted of an hundred thousand foot and tenne thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place sixe thousand three hundred, and of the *Græcians* an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by some other affright, it seemeth, that the inuading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backes towards their enemie, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set downe, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Iustines* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Armie were slaine, the same hath no apparance nor possibilitie of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perswader of the enterprise was slaine, sayth *Iustine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels vs, That he escaped and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

Ad Att.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast vpon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the triall by battaile, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which he gaue. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Græcians*, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, layd hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, and hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also depriued, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeere of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the Warre made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-*Romanes*: *Alexander* the sonne of *Amintas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Gouernour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*; or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnasseus*.

In vita Arist.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned backe into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* sought and obtained an imployment against the Ilanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing ouer his Companies in threescore and tenne Gallies, after sixe and twentie dayes assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruices past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weake and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many yeeres after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subjection and slaueric. *Miltiades* left behind him one sonne called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegisipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than sorrow for the losse receiued in *Greece*, gaue order for new leuies of men, and all other warlike prouisions. But the *Ægyptians* reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and reuenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reinuasion of *Greece*. The dissension also among his sonnes; of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his auncestors, about a yeere after the battaile of *Marathon*, and after that he had raigned sixe and thirty yeres. He left behind him fiue sonnes, namely *Artabasanes*, born before he obtained the kingdome, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achemenes* gouernor of *Ægypt*, *Masistes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of XERXES.

§. I.

The preparation of XERXES *against Greece.*

XERXES receiued from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre; one to be made against the *Ægyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Gracians*; of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefely bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were diuided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commaunded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artozostres*, perswaded by many arguments the *European* warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrarie counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late inuasions, which *Darius* had made contrarie to his counsell: The one in person vpon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the *Greekes*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwayes answere the probabilitie, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variablenesse of her owne nature, which only the diuine Prouidence, and not any humane power, can constraine.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which hee made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion & counsell) assisted the *Gracian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of *Ægypt* was ended, foure yeeres were consumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this inuasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seuenteene hundred thousand foot, *Her. l. 7.* and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleeue *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the numberlesse by seuen hundred thousand footmen.

The Commaunders of the seuerall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commaundements of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the sonne of *Gobryas* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joyned some others of *Xerxes* his neerest kindred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of tenne thousand select *Persians*, called the immortall Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died

or were slaine, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sonnes of *Datis*, who commaunded the late Armie of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were two thousand two hundred and eight, furnished by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commaunders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Hellespontines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commaunded by the Princes of *Persia*, as by *Ariabignes* the sonne of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artemisia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princesse of *Halycarnassus*, and the Islands adioyning, which her selfe commaunded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was imbarked.

§. II.

XERXES *Armie entertained by* PYTHIVS: *His cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Boates ouer the Hellespont: and the discourse betweene him and* ARTABANVS *vpon the view of his Armie.*

WHen this world of an Armie was throughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous* and repaire at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when hee had assembled to the number of seuenteene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of *Celænas*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Heards of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The Feast ended, hee also presented him with two thousand Talents of siluer, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the *Persian Darici*, which make so many of our markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberalitie of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commaunded that seuen thousand *Darici* should be giuen him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his fiue sonnes from his attendance into *Greece* (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne sonne) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commaunding, that the one halfe of his carkasse should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the same (which the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* fiue Cities, besides the Mountaine and the *Chersonesus* or Necke of Land it selfe: a worke of more ostentation than of vse, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyssus*, and *Cleonæ*.

He also gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made ouer the *Hellespont* betweene *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there hauing a mile of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and disseuered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commaunded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused sixe hundred threescore and foureteene

fourteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the *Phœnicians* was so well anchored to resist both windes blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of seuenteene hundred thousand foot, and fourescore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past ouer it into *Europe* in seuen daies and seuen nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward vse. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea side, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plaines of *Abidus*, being carried vp, and seated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and commaund so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeeres there should not any one suruiue of that maruellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he vttered to *Artabanus* his vncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeeres by the King remembred, is, That the life it selfe which we enioy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few daies giuen vs in the world, there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that euer found himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire and hope of death, than of liuing; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrowes whereto mankind is subiect, being so many and ineuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouerlong; to auoide all which, there is neither refuge nor rest but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-cast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding stil a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* vtterly condemned the inuasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly giuen many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of *Greece* could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good successe? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to go on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which maruellously affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most aduerse; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleete: insomuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receiue them, nor all the Hauens thereof affoord them any safetie: and therefore when such shelter shall bee wanting vnto them, he prayed him to vnderstand, that in such a case of extremitie, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemie, by how much the vnsatiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth leade him forward: for were there no man found to giue resistance, yet the want of meanes to feede such an Army, and the Famine, which cannot bee preuented, will without any other violence offered diuinable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to vtter what indeed he most feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed. These Cautions were exceeding weightie, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not misprised them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succored by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with vn-

derstanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second vpon *England* in the yeere 1588. who had belike neuer heard of this Counsell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was verie likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not haue lesse in it than two millions of Soules, besides his beastes for Seruice and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing *Machiauels* words, *Mourire sans coustea; die without a knife.* For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what serued themselues) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall whatsoeuer they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleeue *Herodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reuiewed at *Thermopyla*, consisted of fiue millions, two hundred eightie three thousand, two hundred twentie men, besides Laundresses, Harlots and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

Lib. 3.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answere was, That it was impossible to prouide for all things; and that whosoeuer should enterprise any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be obiected of accidentall inconueniences, hee should neuer pursue the same farther, than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Persian* Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatnesse, or possest so many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did, and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were neuer vndertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had enforst him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which hee already commaunded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperity of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whose resolution his father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre was answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne iudgement not sufficient (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those vncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent sed pondus, & impedimenta potiùs sunt quàm auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in force, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of men in one Armie, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* commaunders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his fiue millions compounded tenne Armies of fiftie thousand chosen souldiors in each, and sent them yeerely into *Greece* well victualed and furnished, he had eyther preuayled by the sword, or forst them to forsake their territorie, or brought them in obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes*, resolued to cut down the bankes of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceiued both in his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the *Greekes*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in *Greece*: the remainder wherof, which wintred in *Thessalie*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perswaded the Enterprise, was in the Summer following vtterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

§. III.

§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ and Artemiſium.

AFter ſuch time as *Xerxes* had tranſported his Armie ouer the *Helleſpont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leauing the deſcription of his paſſage alongſt that Coaſt, and how the Riuer of *Liſſus* was drunke drie by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to *Piſſyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will ſpeake of the encounters he had, and the ſhamefull and incredible ouerthrowes which he receiued: As firſt at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow paſſage of halfe an acre of ground, lying betweene the Mountaines which diuide *Theſſalie* from *Greece*, where ſometime the *Phocians* had rayſed a wall with gates, which was then forthe moſt part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, aſſiſted with one thouſand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thouſand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, to the number of three thouſand one hundred in the whole, beſides one thouſand *Phocians*, foure hundred *Thebans*, ſeuen hundred *Theſpians*, and all the forces (ſuch as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the paſſage two whole daies together againſt that huge Armie of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greekes* appeared ſo excellent in this defence, that in the firſt dayes fight, *Xerxes* is ſaid to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the deſtruction of his Armie by one handfull of thoſe men, whom not long before he had vtterly deſpiſed: and when the ſecond dayes attempt vpon the *Greekes* had prooued vaine, hee was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and ſo might haue continued, had not a run-agate *Græcian* taught him a ſecret way, by which part of his Armie might aſcend the ledge of Mountaines, and ſet vpon the backs of thoſe who kept the Straits. But when the moſt valiant of the *Perſian* Armie had almoſt incloſed the ſmall forces of the *Greekes*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, with his three hundred, and ſeuen hundred *Theſpians*, which were all that abode by him, refuſe to quit the place which they had vndertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely reſiſt that world of men which charged them on all ſides; but iſſuing out of their ſtrength, made ſo great a ſlaughter of their enemies, that they might well bee called vanquiſhers, though all of them were ſlaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing loſt in this laſt fight, together with twentie thouſand other Souldiers and Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of ſuch as had not beene preſent at theſe battailes, with whome hee knew that hee ſhortly was to deale. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great feare, whoſe manhood had appeared ſingular in this tryall, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to haue terrified him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* arrowes was ſo thicke as would hide the Sunne: he anſwered thus; It is very good newes: for then ſhall we fight in the coole ſhade.

Such notable reſolution hauing as freely beene expreſſed in deedes, as it was vttered in words, cauſed the *Perſian* to ſtand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arme well-nigh eight thouſand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferiour to thoſe, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counſell of *Demaratus*, a baniſhed King of the *Spartans*, who had alwaies well aduiſed and inſtructed him in the things of *Greece*, what courſe were fitteſt to bee taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces would aſſemble together to defend the *Iſthmus*, that ſtraight necke of ground which joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Continent. For which cauſe he aduiſed, That three hundred ſhippes well manned ſhould be ſent vnto the Coaſt of *Laconia*, to ſpoyle the Countrie, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their

neighbours busied at home; whilest *Xerxes* at his leasure hauing subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further aduised, that the said fleet of three hundred ships should seize vpon the Iland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying neere to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serue as a fit place of *Rendez vous* vpon all occasions either of their own defence or endamaging the enemie: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrie-men to haue that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconueniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken had it been followed it is not easie to 10
guesse. But a contrarie opinion of *Achæmenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grieuous tempest which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of *Magnesia* foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseene, that if any such calamity should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them succour. Therefore *Achæmenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred shippes we shall send away other three hundred to seeke aduentures, then will the *Greekes* be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Nauie, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counsel *Xerxes* yeelded, 20
hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilest both held one course, and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceiued; for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greekes* by Land, his Nauie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecian* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium* in the straits of *Eubœa*, where the *Persians* thinking to incompasse them, sent two hundred sayle about the Iland to fall vpon them behind, vsing a like strategem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not vnlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which diuideth *Eubœa* from the maine, was in 30
the same sort held by a Nauy of two hundred threescore and eleuen saile against the huge *Persian Armada*, as the straits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was so circumuented as this Nauie might haue been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Iland, and the cause of their voiage, was too well knowne in the *Persian* fleete, and soone enough disclosed to the *Greekes*, who setting saile by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirtie vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather, they were driuen vpon the rocks & cast al away. Contrariwise, the Nauie of the *Greekes* was increased by the arriuall of fiftie three 40
Athenian ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces incouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vp the other to redeeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnfortunate policie, they resolued in plaine fight to repaire their honour, and casting themselues into the forme of a Crescent, thought so to include the *Greekes*, who readily did present them battell at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the *Persians* ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether as heauie vpon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worse beare it. Herein onely the *Barbarians* may seeme to haue had the worse, that they forsooke the place of fight, leauing the wracke and spoyles to the enemie, who neuertheless were faine to abandon presently euen the passage which they had vn- 50
dertaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were sorely crusht in the battaile, and especially because they had receiued aduertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they waied anchors, *Themistocles* general of the *Athenians* engraued vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they

they should reuolt vnto the *Greekes* or stand neutrall; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

§. IIII.

The attempt of XERXES *vpon* APOLLOE's *temple: and his taking of Athens.*

WHen *Xerxes* had passed the straites of *Thermopyla*, he wasted the country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to flie, and reserue themselues to a day of battell, than to aduenture their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his armie he sent to spoile the temple of *Delphi*; which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there beene made by diuers Kings and great personages; Of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inuentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which ariued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two Rocks, that breaking from the mount *Parnassus*, ouerwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peraduenture somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained euen to his memorie in the Temple of *Minerua*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing hee beleeued that *Apollo* was a god, hee should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of inriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impietie, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuel, by that Holy one, who saith, *Will a man spoile his gods?* and elsewhere; *Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impietie of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alleadged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waste which they made in burnings of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprise against *Delphos*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, discouered the face of couetousnesse so much the more vglie, by how much the more themselues had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meere mischance.

Malac. c. 3. v. 8. Ierem. c. 2. v. 9. & 10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *He came to Athens, which finding forsaken, he took & burnt the Cittadel & temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisedome, who litterally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; *that Athens should be safe in woodden walls*, had fortified that place with boords and *Palissadoes*: too weake to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yeelded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied vpon the prophecie: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to words.

§. V.

How THEMISTOCLES *the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.*

THe *Athenians* had, before the comming of *Xerxes*, remooued their wiues and children into *Træzene*, *Ægina*, & *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of *Greece*. Neuertheless, this great zeale, which the *Athenians* did shew for the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the other *Greekes*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilest they remooued their wiues and children out of the Citie. But when the Citie of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolued vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and with-draw the fleet to *Isthmus*: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land, and Sea, leauing the rest of *Greece*, as indefensible, to the furie of the enemie. So should the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* haue beene abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) haue beene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the *Athenian* fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with feare of losing their owne, which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at *Salamis*; As first in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the selfe same feare which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece*, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to dissener the fleet, and euery one of the Confederates to with-draw himselfe to the defence of his owne Citie and estate: Then to the Councell of Warre which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to obiect what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the straights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the *Barbarians* should not so much as once looke vpon, if the *Greekes* obtained victorie by sea; which they could not so well hope for else where, as in that present place which gaue them so good aduantage. All this would not serue to retaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, vnworthie of memorie, vpbraided *Themistocles* with the losse of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Countrie of his owne to inhabite. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproch that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more than all his former perswasions. Hee told them all plainely, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of *Greece* could boast of; hauing well-neere two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the *Grecian* fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselues in a more secure habitation, leauing those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a towne in *Italie* belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which towne hee said an Oracle had fore-told, That the *Athenians* in processe of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our selues, leauing vnto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words,

and

and of your owne vnthankfulneſſe. The *Peloponneſians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better conſideration of the *Athenians*, whoſe affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon ſo weake termes, that they ſhould bee driuen to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might inforce the reſt to yeeld to them, and condeſcend euen to the vttermoſt of their owne demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they firſt embraced that Heroical reſolution of leauing their grounds and houſes to fire and ruine, if neceſſitie ſhould inforce them ſo far, for the preſeruation of their libertie; did imploy the moſt of their priuate wealth, and all the common treaſure, in building a great Nauie. By theſe meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamitie ſhould befall them by land, as might not well be counterpoiſed be great aduantages at ſea: Knowing well, that a ſtrong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Countrie. The other States of *Greece* held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips, they did ſomewhat amend their Nauie. Whereby it came to paſſe, that, had they been vanquiſhed, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either preſent death, or perpetuall ſlaueries neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, whoſe forces by ſea did equall all theirs together; the whole conſiſting of more than three hundred and foureſcore bottomes. Wherefore theſe *Peloponneſians* beginning to ſuſpect their owne condition, which would haue ſtood vpon deſperate points, if the fleet of *Athens* had forſaken them; were ſome perſwaded, by the greater feare of ſuch a bad euent, to forget the leſſer, which they had conceiued of the *Perſians*: and laying aſide their inſolent brauerie, they yeelded to that moſt profitable counſaile of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Perſians conſulted about giuing battaile: and how THEMISTOCLES *by policie held the Greekes to their reſolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon enſuing.*

IN the meane ſeaſon the *Perſians* had entred into conſultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battell to the *Greekes*, or no. The reſt of the Captains giuing ſuch aduice as they thought would beſt pleaſe the King their Maſter, had ſoon agreed vpon the fight: but *Artemiſia* Queene of *Halicarnaſſus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this war in perſon, was of contrarie opinion. Her Counſell was, that the King himſelfe directly ſhould march toward *Peloponneſus*, whereby it would come to paſſe, that the *Greeke* Nauie (vnable otherwiſe to continue long at *Salamis* for want of prouiſion) ſhould preſently be diſſeuered, and euery one ſeeking to preſerue his owne Citie and goods, they ſhould, being diuided, proue vnable to reſiſt him, who had wonne ſo far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will bee great in forbearing to giue battell; ſo on the other ſide, the danger will bee more (ſaid ſhee) which wee ſhall vnder-goe, than any need requireth vs to aduenture vpon; and the loſſe in caſe it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we deſire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would haue done, we ſitting ſtill: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worſt, the iourney to *Peloponneſus* is vtterly daſht, and many that now declare for vs, will ſoone reuolt vnto the *Greekes*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had ſent for that purpoſe to the fleet, related vnto his Maſter the common conſent of the other Captaines, & withall this diſagreeing opinion of *Artemiſia*. The King well pleaſed with her aduice, yet reſolued vpon following the more generall, but farre-worſe counſaile of the reſt; which would queſtionleſſe haue beene the ſame which *Artemiſia* gaue, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne iudgement, which

they

they thought most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he incamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Ægaleus*, which is opposite vnto the Ile of *Salamis*, whence at ease hee might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behauiour of euery Captaine. The neere approch of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countrimen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Armie, marching a-pace thither, did now againe so terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no intreatie, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madnesse to fight for a Countrey alreadie lost, when they rather should endeuour to saue that which remained vnconquered; propounding chiefly to themselues what miserie would befall them, if losing the victorie, they should be driuen into *Salamis*, there to be shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate Iland.

Hereupon they resolued forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently beene done, if the wisedome of *Themistocles* had not preuented it. For he perceiuing what a violent feare had stopt vp their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, & forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholsome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to find him busie in wrangling altercation. As soone as the Councell brake vp, hee dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the *Persian* Captaines, informing them truely of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Nauie about the Iland, which incompassing the *Greekes*, might preuent their escape; giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than beleeued these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselues incloſed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all night, sending many of their ships about the Ile of *Salamis*, to charge the enemie in reare, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Psyttalea*, which lyeth ouer-against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Grecian* partie, as by any misfortune should be cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessitie enforce the *Grecians* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victorie, stemming the formost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conueniently fight nor flie. I do not finde any particular occurrances in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many diſasters that befell the *Persian* fleet, which ill acquited it selfe that day, doing no one peece of seruice worthie the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might wel seeme to haue wrought out that victorie with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Ægina* hauing possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, whilest the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of XERXES.

AFter this victorie, the *Greekes* intending, by way of ſcrutinie, to determine which of the Captaines had beſt merited of them, in all this great ſeruice; euery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the firſt place write downe his owne name, but in the ſecond place as beſt deſeruing next vnto himſelfe, almoſt euery Suffrage did concur vpon *Themiſtocles*. Thus priuate affection yeelded vnto vertue, as ſoon as her own turne was ſerued. The *Perſian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in ſuch faſhion, that they which were beſt acquainted with his temper, might eaſily diſcerne his faint heart, through his painted lookes. Eſpecially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, began to caſt a warie eye vpon his Maſter, fearing leſt his counſell ſhould be rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purpoſing rather to aduenture his life in purſuite of the victorie, than to caſt it away by vnder-going his Princes indignation; he aduiſed the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thouſand men, with which forces he promiſed to reduce all *Greece* vnder the ſubiection of the *Perſian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to ſooth *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, that the cowardiſe of thoſe *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilitians*, with others of the like mettall, nothing better than ſlaues, who had ſo ill behaued themſelues in the late Sea-ſeruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies been victorious, and had alreadie ſubdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it ſelfe, againſt which the Warre was principally intended. Theſe words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who preſently betooke himſelfe to his iourney homewards, making the more haſte, for that he vnderſtood, how the *Greekes* had a purpoſe to ſaile to *Helleſpont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his paſſage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no ſuch intent, but rather wiſhed his haſtie departure, knowing that hee would leaue his Armie not ſo ſtrong, as it ſhould haue beene, had he in perſon remained with it. And for this cauſe did *Eurybiades* giue counſel, that by no meanes they ſhould attempt the breaking of that bridge, leſt neceſſitie ſhould inforce the *Perſians* to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beaſts. Wherefore *Themiſtocles* did, vnder pretence of friendſhip, ſend a falſe aduertiſement to this timorous Prince, aduiſing him to conuay himſelfe into *Aſia* with all ſpeed, before his bridge were diſſolued: which counſell *Xerxes* tooke verie kindly, and haſtily followed, as before is ſhewed. Whether it were ſo that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repaſſed into *Aſia*; or whether it were torne in ſunder by tempeſts, and he thereby driuen to imbarke himſelfe in ſome obſcure veſſel, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greekes* did moſt willingly imbrace the later of theſe reports. How ſoeuer it were, this flight of his did well eaſe the Countrie; that was therby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locuſts, had before ouerwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations betweene MARDONIVS *and the Athenians, as alſo betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; after the flight of* XERXES.

MArdonivs with his three hundred thouſand had withdrawn himſelfe into *Theſſalie*, whence he ſent *Alexander*, the ſonne of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embaſſadour to the *Athenians*, with promiſe of large amends for all their loſſes receiued; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne deſires; allowing them to retaine

their

their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that Warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wiues and children; for as much as they well perceiued that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest hee should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadours for *Athens*, who arriuing, before the *Macedonian* had audience, vsed the best of their perswasion to retaine the *Athenians* firme. They alleadged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the subuersion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselues in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of injustice could not leaue them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue indured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses whereof bee ruined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we vndertake to maintaine as our owne, your wiues and children amongst vs, as long as the war shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slauerie and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answere to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadours; That whilest the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wiues and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselues, only desiring the *Lacedemonians*, that with all speede they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, hauing once receiued such a peremptorie answere. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to inuade *Attica*, they found themselues nothing deceiued. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did foorthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselues into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arriuall of their Confederates.

From *Athens* he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserue them from fire, and to haue those which were alreadie laid waste, reedified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needes they would relie vpon their old Confederates, whose succours did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might bee wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus*, aduised the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house heard what he had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had mooued him to vtter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, & put his wife and children to the like execution.

All

All this brauerie notwithſtanding, when they perceyued the ſlackneſſe of the *Peloponneſians* in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themſelues to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their ſecuritie. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardneſſe in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent verie ſeuere meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlacknes, & threatning withal, to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their owne good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarded. Theſe meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatorie anſweres, which euery day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded athwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſſe and dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotely preſſed them to a quicke reſolution, giuing them plainely to vnderſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatorie courſes, it would not be long ere the Citie of *Athens* tooke a new courſe, that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* fleet lay vpon the coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw neerer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Nauie contained it ſelfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe* ſide; both to doe ſeruice where neede ſhould require at home; and withall to ſhunne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being diſtracted from the reſt, had aduentured ouer far. So mutuall feare preſerued in quiet the Ilands lying in the middeſt of the *Ægæan* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerued by a Counſellour of *Sparta*, that the wall vpon *Iſthmus* would ſerue to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue eare to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many dores would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as ſoone as the Enemie ſhould by winning the friend ſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* vpon this admonition, making better perʋſall of their own dangers, were very careful to giue ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their delaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away fiue thouſand *Spartans* in the euening, vnder conduct of *Pauſanias*; they gaue audience the next day to the Embaſſadours, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſſe; deeply ſwearing that the Armie of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the iourney; and giuing them leaue to take vp other fiue thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adioyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of grauitie, in a matter ſo important, were neuertheleſſe contented with the finall concluſion; and leuying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Gracians* were nothing ſlacke in ſending forth Companies, whoſe neere approch cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſaduantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure he burnt the Citie of *Athens*, beating downe the wals of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of Warre.

§. IX.

The great battaile of Plataa.

IT were too long a rehearſall to ſhew all that hapned in many skirmiſhes betweene the *Greekes* and him, in the Countrie of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to bee the ſeate of that Warre. Much time was ſpent before the quarrell was decided by trial of one maine battaile: for both parties did ſtand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſaile them.

The Armie of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Armie; to whom were adioyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedonie*, *Theſſalie*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed

furnished his Campe with fiftie thousand men. Against these the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leauied an Armie of one hundred and ten thousand, of which fortie thousand were waightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these fortie thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions and giue chase, than to sustaine any strong charges.

These two Armies hauing eleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of seruice; *Mardonius*, whose victualls beganne to faile, resolued to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victorie by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* & *Proserpina*, making prayers vnto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the *Oracle* designed. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeede in the Territorie of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neere vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorialls of those Nymphs, and Demi-gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount *Citharon*, and the ground serued well for foot-men against horse; onely the Land belonged vnto the *Plataans*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whilest the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull *Oracle*; the *Plataans*, to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to reedifie their Citie, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* warres.

All things being readie for battaile; the *Lacedæmonian* Generall thought it most meete, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderstanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* and *Persians* had felt heauie proofe, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braueſt Souldiers of *Greece*) hee did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to *Pausanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemie did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselues, and none to the enemie, lie neere to that Fountaine which did serue all the Camp. Hauing therefore concluded among themselues to dislodge; and part of the Armie being sent away before day-light; *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceede out of meere cowardise) he charged them in reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valor, That the *Lacedæmonians* being ouer-taken by the Enemies horse, and ouer-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly sit stil, not making any resistance or defence, til the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Countrie accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greeke* Armie that was in march, being reuoked by *Pausanias*, came in a-pace to succour the *Lacedæmonians*: onely that part of the Armie which

which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arriue vnto the place of the great battaile, becauſe the *Thebans*, and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Perſians*, gaue them checke by the way. Neuertheleſſe, the *Spartans* with other their Aſſiſtants, did ſo well acquite themſelues, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and *Mardonius* with many thouſands more ſlaine in the field; the reſt fledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with woodden walls, and there defended themſelues with ſuch courage as deſperate neceſſitie inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſes, and Walls. In the meane ſeaſon, the *Athenians* hauing found ſtrong oppoſition of the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians*, did with much labour and courage obtaine victorie, which hauing not long purſued, they came to helpe the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found wearily buſied in aſſaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themſelues vnder-tooke it, and in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage through the Wall, at which breach firſt, and then on all ſides, the *Greekes* entred with ſuch furie, and iuſt deſire of vengeance, that of three hundred thouſand they are ſaid not to haue left three thouſand aliue, excepting thoſe who fled away with *Artabazus*, when the *Perſian* Armie firſt fell to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpeciall cauſe of it was the fooliſh retrait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were ſo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt themſelues into it, greater than of the Aſſailants; yet they being of ſeuerall Nations and Languages, and hauing loſt their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was vnpoſſible that they in ſuch a terrour and aſtoniſhment ſhould make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrie, againſt an Armie of men, farre more valiant then themſelues, and enflamed with preſent victorie. Therefore the ſame wall which for a few houres had preſerued their liues, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them, and leaue them to the ſlaughtering furie of vnpittifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſalie*, and other Countries in his way, that hee was ſent by *Mardonius* vpon ſome piece of ſeruice: For hee well knew, that had they vnderſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places would haue been hoſtile vnto him, and ſought with his ruine to purchaſe fauour of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and loſt, hee came to *Byzantium*, whence hee ſhipped his men ouer into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnder-taken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greekes*, vpon hope of honour, and great Conqueſt, though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-ſeene, and rather worſe, for as much as it began the quarrell, which neuer ended, before the ruine of the *Perſian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, deſpiſed and ſought to haue beene brought into ſlauerie. Hereby it may ſeeme, that the viſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himſelfe, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe things, ordaining the ſubuerſion of the *Perſian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who, thus prouoked, entred into greater conſideration of their owne ſtrength, and the weakeneſſe of their Enemies.

§. X.

The battaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THe same day on which the battaile was fought at *Plataæ*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontorie, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admiralls of the *Greeke* Nauie, at the request of some Ilanders and *Ionians*, did saile into those parts, to deliuer the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to reuolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a Citie in *Lydia*, not farre from the Sea-side, hauing left threescore thousand vnder the command of *Tigranes* for defence of *Ionia* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admiralls of the *Persian* fleet, vnderstood that the *Greekes* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a-ground, fortifying with *Palissadoes* and otherwise, as much ground as did seem needfull for the encamping of al their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arriuall, perceiuing that they meant to keepe within their strength, and resoluing to force them out of it, rowed with his Gallie close aboord the shore, and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare then good wil were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greeke* tongue to remember libertie, and vse the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*; trusting that either these perswasions would preuaile; or if the *Persians* did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breed some ielousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their owne Companions. It neede not seeme strange, that this very same stratageme, which little or nothing auailed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeede. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perswade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to reuolt; who now, in his declining estate, gaue a willing eare to the sweet sound of libertie. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former brauerie, little regarded and lesse feared any treason, to be contriued by their Subiects, were now so warie, that from the *Samians* which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the *Milesians*, whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all others know those places. But these deuices little auailed them. For the *Samians* perceiuing that they were held as Traitors, tooke courage in the heate of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to haue found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the *Greeks* were yet in a march towards the Enemies campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Armie, that *Mardonius* was ouerthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Plataa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the euening of the same day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Æmylius* ouerthrew *Perseus* the last king of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure daies, as *Liuie* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the Riuer *Sagra* in *Italie*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battaile against the *Tarquinians* and the *Latines*, presently noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victorie obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promises,

promiſes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himſelfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was ſuddainely reported that *Antonius* was ſlaine, and his Armie defeated.

Hereupon many did offer ſacrifice to the gods, and ſhew all manner of publique ioy, as in ſuch caſes was accuſtomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of theſe tidings could not be found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himſelfe to his iourney againſt the Rebell; and being with his Armie in march, hee receiued aduertiſement by Poſte, of the Victorie obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noiſed before in *Rome*, of the ſelfeſame victorie, hee found that the report and victorie were borne vpon one day, though twentie thouſand furlongs (which make about fiue and twenty hundred miles) a-ſunder. It is truely ſaid of *Plutarch*, that this laſt example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeede it were very ſtrange, if among ſo many rumours, begotten by forgerie or miſtakings, and foſtered by credulous imagination, there ſhould not be found (as happens in dreames among many thouſand vaine and friuolous) a fewe preciſely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himſelfe doth ſometimes vſe to terrifie thoſe who preſume vpon their owne ſtrength, by theſe light meanes of tumultuous noiſes; as hee raiſed the ſiege of *Samaria*, by cauſing a ſound of Horſes and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threatned *Senacherib*, ſaying: *Behold, I will ſend a blaſt vpon him, and hee ſhall heare a noiſe, and returne to his owne Land.* Wherefore it may well haue beene true, that God was pleaſed by ſuch a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauie hearts, being in great feare, leſt their owne aduenture ſhould by no meanes fall out well; conſidering in what danger they had left their Countrie of *Greece*, which was readie to be ſubdued by *Mardonius*, whileſt they went wandring to ſeeke out enemies a-far-off, vpon the coaſt of *Aſia*. But the fame of the battaile fought at *Platæa* being noiſed among them; euery man deſired that his owne valour in the preſent fight, might be ſome helpe to worke out the full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacritie of ſpirit, they diuided themſelues into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies campe; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and ſtraight paſſages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did firſt ſet vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arriue on the other part) and being deſirous to get all the honour of the day to themſelues, did ſo forcibly aſſault it, that they brake way through the Paliſſadoes and Gabions, and made themſelues Maſters of the place, ſlaying all that could not ſaue themſelues by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good ſeruice, as is formerly mentioned.

Eſai. c. 37. v. 7.

But the *Miletians*, who vpon the like iealouſie, were placed by the *Perſians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the paſſages; did now (as if they had beene ſet of purpoſe to keepe them from running away) put as many to the ſword as fell into their hands, letting none eſcape, except a very few, that fled through by-pathes. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little ſeruice, for the buſineſſe was diſpatched ere they came in: Only they broke ſuch companies as retyred in whole troups; making them flie diſperſed in very much diſorder, whereby the *Mileſians* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the laſt fight of that huge Armie leauied againſt *Greece*, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offenſiue Warre.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualitie of XERXES: *with a transition from the Persian affaires to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthie of regard.*

XERXES lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to reuenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly giuen ouer to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom when he could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband, hee thought it best to make a match betweene his owne Sonne *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meanes to finde occasion of such familiaritie as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastitie of the Mother did still reiect him, or the beauty of her Daughter allure him; he soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himselfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in Warre. This yong Ladie hauing once desired the King to giue her the Garment which hee then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuersation with her, which shee imputed not so much to the beautie of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon shee conceiued extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, shee craued that the Wife of *Masistes*, her husbands Brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might bee giuen into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate crueltie of his Wife, by threatning her selfe with the like, to whatsoeuer shee should inflict vpon the innocent Ladie, granted the request; and sending for his brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee vnderstood how villainously that poore Ladie should be intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alleaging his owne loue, her deseruing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor haue his Daughter whom hee had promised vnto him. *Masistes* was much grieued with these wordes, but much more, when returning home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lippes, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Brests in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogges. *Masistes* enraged with this vilanie, tooke his way with his children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Prouince hee was Gouernour, intending to rebell and auenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Armie to bee leauied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the *Persian* Gouernement; and such are generally the effects of Luxurie, when it is ioyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-throwne, and lying vpon the ground, said, That hee doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischiefe done by him to *Greece*, should let it lie.

But

But ſurely whatſoeuer his other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a coward, and conſequently mercileſſe.

Therefore wee may firmely beleeue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, vpon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was ſo ſurely laid, that all the wickednesſe and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worſe Princes, could not ouerthrow it, vntill it was broken by a vertue almoſt equall to that which did eſtabliſh it. In warres againſt the *Ægyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the firſt it had beene very good; but againſt the generall eſtate of *Greece*, neither hee, nor any of his poſteritie, did euer make offenſiue warre, but receiued many loſſes in *Aſia*, to which the laſt at *Mycale* ſerued but as an introduction; teaching the *Greekes*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Souldier at his owne dores, than in a forraine Countrie: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as ſoone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly ſettled and aſſured.

From this time forward I will therefore purſue the Hiſtorie of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perſia*, as alſo the eſtate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time ſhall preſent them. True it is, that the *Perſian* eſtate continued in her greatneſſe, many Ages following, in ſuch wiſe that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, repreſenting the Maieſtie of a great Empire.

But this greatneſſe depended only vpon the riches and power that had formerly beene acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting ſome Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceſſiue Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the moſt of Empires that euer were, haue beene eneruated, made vnweldie, and (as it were) fattened for the hungrie ſwords of poore and hardie Enemies. Hereby it came to paſſe, that *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and baſe policies; very ſeldome or neuer (vnleſſe it were with great aduantage) daring to aduenture the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of *Greece*, which would ſoone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate malice and ielouſie vrged euery Citie to enuie the height of her Neighbours walls, and thereby diuerted the ſwords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* beganne very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conqueſt, on the ſide of *Aſia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.

AFTER that the *Medes* and *Persians* had receiued their last blow, and were vtterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leotychides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Armie, leauing the pursuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, assisted by the reuolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had been leauied. The *Athenians* in the meane while besieged *Sestos*, a Citie on the strait of the *Hellespont*, betweene which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greekes*, who entertained themselues the Winter following on that side the *Hellespont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, since the inuasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in diuers Islands, and at *Troezen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the Citie ouer-turned, yet they resolued first on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to couer themselues, their wiues and children, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being aduertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their owne Citie of *Sparta* was vnwalled, as also because the *Athenians* were growne more powerfull by Sea, than either themselues, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to disswade them; not acknowledging any priuat mislike or ielousie, but pretending, that if the *Persians* should returne to inuade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselues than heretofore, the same would serue to receiue their enemies, and to bee made a Seate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately beene. To this the *Athenians* promised to giue them satisfaction by their owne Embassadors very speedily. But being resolued to goe on with their workes by the aduice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrarie, till they had raysed their wals to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giuing him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arriuall of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being conuerted into ielousie (for by the arriuall of diuers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the walls of *Athens* were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to beleeue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trustie Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolue themselues, and determine

mine accordingly. Which requeſt being graunted, and Commiſſioners ſent, *Themiſtocles* diſpatched one of his owne, by whome hee aduiſed the *Athenians*, firſt to entertaine the *Lacedæmonians* with ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might retaine them a few dayes, and in concluſion to hold them among them, till himſelfe and the other *Athenian* Embaſſadors, then at *Sparta*, had their libertie alſo to returne. Which done, and being alſo aſſured by his aſſociates and *Ariſtides*, that *Athens* was already defenſible on all parts, *Themiſtocles* demaunding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the wals of *Athens* were now rayſed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to beleeue, That whenſoeuer it pleaſed them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for ſuch, as right well vnderſtood what appertained to a Commonweale and their owne ſafetie, without direction and aduice from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their Citie, and committed themſelues to the woodden wals of their ſhippes, from the reſolution of their owne counſels and courage, and not thereto taught or perſwaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre againſt the *Perſians* they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or leſſe fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the *Greekes*; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Maſters and Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reaſon, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* ſhould be left open, or elſe that the wals of *Athens* ſhould be finiſhed and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time vnfit for quarrell, diſſembled their miſlike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diuiſion, and ſo ſuffered the *Athenians* to depart, and receiued backe from them their owne Embaſſadors.

The wals of *Athens* finiſhed, they alſo fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themſelues vpon all occaſions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatneſſe, and proſperous warres made by that State vpon the Perſian.

THe *Athenians* hauing ſettled things in good order at home, prepared thirtie Gallies for the purſuit of the warre againſt the *Perſians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twentie; and with this Fleet, ſtrengthened by the reſt of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they ſet ſayle for *Cypres*, vnder the conduct of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where after their landing hauing poſſeſt themſelues of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recouering from the *Perſians* by force the Citie *Bizantium*, now *Conſtantinople*: from whence *Pauſanias*, behauing himſelfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, eſpecially towards the *Ionians* lately reuolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the counſell of *Lacedæmon*, and not onely accuſed of many inſolent behauiors, but of intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treaſon againſt his Countrey. In his ſtead they imployed *Docres*, who either gaue the ſame cauſe of offence; or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt commaundement in that warre, practiſed the ſouldiors to complaine, though indeed the wiſe and vertuous behauior of *Ariſtides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable ſinceritie, had beene able to make a good Commaunder ſeeme ill in compariſon of himſelfe; and therfore was much more auaileable, in rendring thoſe deteſted, whoſe vices affoorded little matter of excuſe. Howſoeuer it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no leſſe wearie of the warre, than the *Athenians* were eagre to purſue it, the one obtained their eaſe, and the other the execution and honor which they deſired: for all the *Greekes* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubjected themſelues to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of

of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receiuers and Treasurers, and beganne to leuie money, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, and for the recouering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the lesse, and the Islands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threescore Talents; which was raysed easily by the honest care of that just man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselues, and no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie; so the desire which they conceiued of encreasing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these foure hundred & threescore Talents were raysed to sixe hundred, nor long, after that, ere their couetous Tyrannie had conuerted their followers into slaues, and extorted from them yeerely thirteene hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were layd vp; and where, at the generall assemblie, the Captaines of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for forme sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by sea than all *Greece* besides, had lockt vp the common treasure in an Island, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commaunder in this Warre was *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, who first tooke *Eiona*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Carystij*, and brought into seruitude the *Naxij*, contrarie to the forme of the confederacie: So did they other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they fayled of their contribution, or disobeyed their commaundements; taking vpon them and vsurping a kind of soueraigne authority ouer the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne persons, and giuen vp altogether to their ease, made choise rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in shippes; leauing the prouision of both to the *Athenians*. Heereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable Seruices, at the cost of those, who hauing lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians* at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall scouring the Asiaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of *Phaselis*; which hauing formerly pretended neutralitie, and refused to relieue, or any way assist the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay tenne Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yeerely contribution.

From thence hee set sayle for the Riuer *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode, being of sixe hundred sayle, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped vpon the shoare; all which forces hauing beene prouided for aduauncing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vtterly defeated in one day, and two hundred shippes taken by the *Athenians*, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunke, ere euer they had swomme in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very soone presented with a third.

third. For foureſcore ſayle of *Phœnicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea men, vnder the *Perſian* commaund) thinking to haue joyned themſelues with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arriued vpon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than what enſued. Vpon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, & meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they only ſought to runne themſelues on ground; by which meane preſeruing few of their men, they loſt all their ſhippes. Theſe loſſes did ſo breake the courage of the *Perſian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailing vpon *Greece*, he condiſcended to whatſoeuer Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, graunting liberty vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further couenanting, That none of his ſhippes of Warre ſhould ſayle to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidoniæ*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as, vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the Empire of *Perſia*; in which Warre few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great commaund, but ſerued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of XERXES *by the treaſon of* ARTABANVS.

BEſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily haue beene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gaue juſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace vpon any tearmes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vncle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhead the bloud of ſuch, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, beganne to repoſe leſſe hope of ſafetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignetie, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his crueltie, and deſpiſed for his cowardiſe and misfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treaſon, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelfe had beene innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesſe he got the Kingdome, and held it ſeuen moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and ſurpriſed, it were hard to affirme any certainetie. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme torments, according to the ſentence, whereof the truth is more auncient than the Verſe.

Raro antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pedo pœna claudo.

Seldome the villaine, though much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The baniſhment of THEMISTOCLES: *His flight to* ARTAXERXES *newly raigning in Perſia; and his death.*

ARTAXERXES being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, and hauing ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſitie of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greekes*, than he or his predeceſſors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their owne merites in that ſeruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themſelues to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Iſlands of the *Greekes*, but, euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Gouernment than meerely *Democraticall*. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integritie nor good deſert was able to preſerue the eſtate of any ſuch as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the raſcall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deedes to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themiſtocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatneſſe vpon popularitie, yet now preſuming vpon his good ſeruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reaſon they might graunt him the libertie to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwiſe, they were ſo highly offended with his often rehearſing the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they layed vpon him the puniſhment of *Oſtraciſme*, whereby he was baniſhed for tenne yeeres, as a man ouer-burthenſome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accuſation was brought againſt him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of conſulting with *Pauſanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themiſtocles* finding no place of ſecuritie againſt the malice of two ſuch mightie Cities, was driuen, after many troubleſome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himſelfe into *Perſia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly ſettled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceiued of aduauncing his affaires by the counſell and aſſiſtance of *Themiſtocles*, proued altogether fruitleſſe. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infeſted *Ægypt*, cauſing it to rebell againſt the *Perſian*) had ſent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in *Ægypt*, and ſcowring thoſe Eaſterne Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderſtand) to the manifeſt breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King ſend his Letters to *Themiſtocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of aſſuring the *Perſian* eſtate againſt the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themiſtocles* perceiued much vnlikelineſſe of good ſucceſſe, in leading a great Armie of daſtardly *Perſians* againſt the warlike people of *Greece*; or elſe (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to ſeeke honour by the ruine of it: ſure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to vndertake the conduct of great forces againſt the *Athenians*, hee decided the great conflict betweene thankfulneſſe to his well-deſeruing Prince, and naturall affection to his owne ill-deſeruing people, by finiſhing his life with a cup of poyſon.

§. V.

§. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Perſian, were ſhamefully beaten in Ægypt.

WHich was *Artaxerxes* driuen to vſe the ſeruice of his owne Captaines in the *Ægyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a juſt cauſe is a good defence againſt a ſtrong enemie. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred ſaile ſtrong was ſent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Iſle of *Cyprus*: which conqueſt ſeemed eaſie both to make and to maintaine, the *Perſian* being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Iſland. Now although it were ſo, that a peace had beene concluded, which was likely to haue beene kept ſincerely by the *Perſian*, who had made ſo good proofe of the *Grecian* valour, that he was nothing deſirous to build any ſhippes of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) whereof if any one ſhould be found ſayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole eſtate; yet all the Sea-coaſt (no ſmall part of his Dominions) expoſed to the waſte of an enemie too farre ouer-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, leſt the league which in his owne worſer fortunes hee had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore ſought to get ſuch aſſurance into their hands, as might vtterly diſable him from attempting ought againſt them; or whether the increaſe of their reuenues and power, by adding that rich and great *Iland* to their Empire, cauſed them to meaſure honour by profit; they thought it the wiſeſt way, to take whileſt they might, whatſoeuer they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The *Ile* of *Cypres* lying in the bottome of the ſtraights betweene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Ægypt*, is very fitly ſeated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either ſeeke to enrich himſelfe by trade with thoſe Countries, or to infeſt one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpoſe of the *Athenians*, their *Ambition* which had already deuoured, in conceit, this *Iland*, was on the ſodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morſell, to ſmatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might eaſily haue ſwallowed and digeſted. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Ægypt*, hauing found how greatly the Country was exhauſted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very ſlender *Perſian* garriſons, conceiued rightly, that if ſuch ſmall forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the ſodaine of his owne *Gardes*, or leuie out of the ordinarie *Garriſons*, were by him defeated; the naturalls of the Countrey, not long ſince oppreſſed by *Cambyſes*, and after a reuolt very lately ſubdued by *Xerxes*, would ſoone breake faith with him who had no other title to that kingdome than a good ſword. Further, he perſwaded himſelfe that the people, vnable to defend themſelues againſt the *Perſian* without his aſſiſtance; would eaſily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for king. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly ſlaine *Achæmenes* the *Viceroy*; diuers *Cities* forthwith declared themſelues for him, and proclayming him king, ſhewed the moſt of their endeuour for proſecution of the warre. But hee conſidering his owne weakeneſſe, and that the meanes of the *Ægyptians* his adherents were not anſwerable to their deſires, perceiued wel, that to reſiſt the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price ſoeuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleete, and knowing well the vertue of the ſouldiers therein embarqued; he inuited the Commaunders to ſhare with him the kingdome of *Ægypt*, as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than ſuch an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their eſtate. Whether hee orthey (if things had wholy ſorted according to their expectation) would haue beene contented with an equall ſhare, and

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not haue fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a diuination vnneceſſarie. Hee was poſſeſſed of the peoples loue, they were of moſt power. But the iſſue of thoſe affaires was ſuch as left them nothing to cõmunicate but misfortunes, which they ſhared ſomewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterpriſe very good and hopefull ſucceſſe: For they entred the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it ſelfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they layd ſuch hard ſiege, that neither thoſe forces of the *Perſians*, which then were in *Ægypt*, were ſtrong enough to remoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* wel deuiſe what meanes to vſe for the recouery of that which was loſt, or for the preſeruation of the remainder. The beſt of his hope was by ſetting the *Lacedæmonians* vpon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the firſt time that the *Perſian* ſought to procure aſſiſtance of the *Greekes* one againſt the other, by ſtirring them vp with gold to the entertainement of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemie. To this purpoſe he ſent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treaſure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in imploying their whole force againſt the *Athenians*, whome in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithſtanding the abſence of their Armie in *Ægypt*; he thought it his wiſeſt way to imploy the reſt of his money & meanes to their reliefe, who had now the ſpace of ſixe yeeres defended his maſters right in *Ægypt*. Therefore he haſtily diſpatched another of his name, the ſonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriuing in *Ægypt*, was firſt encountred by the reuolted people; ouer whome he obtained a victorie, which made him maſter of the Countrey, whileſt the *Athenians* lay buſied about *Memphis* the great Citie. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a ſtrange ayre, and want of ſupply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: ſure it is, that when *Megabazus*, hauing reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it ſelfe, whether his former ſucceſſe had amended the courage of the *Perſians*, or want of neceſſaries made the *Athenians* inferior to themſelues, he chaſed them out of *Memphis*, and purſued them ſo neere, as they were forſt to fortifie themſelues in the Iſle of *Proſopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteene moneths ſiege, turning away one part of the Riuer by diuers Trenches, aſſaulted the *Athenian* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the ſword, ſaue a few that ſaued themſelues by flight into *Lybia*; the ſame entertainement had fiftie other Gallies which they ſent to the ſuccour of the firſt two hundred. For thoſe *Athenians* hauing heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was conſumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, and fell vnawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies and the *Perſian* Armie; ſo as the *Perſians* recouered all *Ægypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* ſixe yeeres warre in *Ægypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiſcretion to vndertake many enterpriſes at once.

Proſopites an Iland between the Riuers of *Taly* and *Pharmutiacus*, two of the out-lets of *Nilus*, towards *Alexandria*.

Mendeſus is an Iſland in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the out-let called *Buſiritieus* and *Diolcos*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, runneth in to the Sea by the Citie *Panæphyſis*.

§. VI.

Of other Warres made by the Athenians for the moſt part with good ſucceſſe, about the ſame time.

NOtwithſtanding theſe ouerthrowes in *Ægypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their aduantage than otherwiſe. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* & *Epidaurians*, ſo they obtained two great victories ſoone after; the one ouer the *Peloponneſians*, neere vnto *Cecryphalia*; the other ouer the *Æginets*, neere vnto *Ægina*; where they ſunke and

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carried away threeſcore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the ſuddaine, and beſieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moued, notwithſtanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, inuaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall loſſe, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to ſet vp their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battaile, were vtterly broken and ſlaughtered by the *Athenian* Garriſons, and *Megarians*, to their great loſſe and diſhonour.

Againe, as the *Athenians* were diſcomfited neere to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the ſuccour of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians*, (at which time the *Theſſalian* horſe-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought againſt them) ſo about threeſcore daies after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wanne *Phocis* on the gulfe *Oeteus*, and euened the walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render vpon moſt baſe conditions; as to beat downe the walls of their Citie, and to giue them hoſtages for Tribute; the ſiege whereof they had continued, notwithſtanding all their other brabbles and attempts elſewhere. Beſides theſe victories they ſackt and ſpoiled many places vpon the Sea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their ſuccour. Theſe were the vndertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of thoſe ſixe yeeres that a part of their forces made warre in *Ægypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſalie*, perſwaded thereunto by *Oreſtes*, but were reſiſted by the King *Pharſalus*, who had chaſed *Oreſtes* out of his Dominions. They alſo landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victorie ouer thoſe that reſiſted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponneſians* for fiue yeeres, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ſhips, but they were againe allured by *Amyrtæus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh & Wooddie parts of *Ægypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent ſixtie of their ſhips. The reſt of their Armie failing in their enterpriſe of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cymon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iland, incountred a fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, ouer both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Ægypt*.

§. VII.

Of ARTAXERXES LONGIMANVS, *that he was* AHASHVEROSH *the husband of Queene* HESTER.

THeſe *Ægyptian* troubles being ended, the raigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, wherof the length is by ſome reſtrained into twentie yeeres, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, ſome allow vnto him foure and fortie. He was a Prince of much humanitie, and noted for many examples of gentleneſſe. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Iewes*, as appeareth by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needeleſſe trauaile; conſidering that all the late Diuines haue taken very much paine, to ſhew that thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that building, in ſuch ſort as appeares in their writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſhueroſh* who married *Heſter*. Wherof if it be needfull to giue proofe, it may ſuffice; That *Ahaſhueroſh* liued in *Suſa*, raigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt haue beene a *Perſian*; That he liued in peace, as appeares by the circumſtances of the Hiſtorie, and vſed the counſaile of the ſeuen

Princes, the authoritie of which Princes beganne vnder *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres which exercised King *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainety of his marriages with sundry wiues, from none of whom he was diuorced, but left his first wife *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, aliue in great honour, shee being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; doe manifestly prooue that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Iew*, That at the perswasion of *Mardochæus*, *Ioiachim* the high Priest the sonne of *Iesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memorie of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Ioiachim* was in the raigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Esdras*, and *Nehemias*: *Iesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragicall loues, wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time, as hee had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of *Hester* pertained not vnto the time of *Xerxes*, who liued but one and twentie yeeres, whereas the two & thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artasastha* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Againe, it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the seuenth yeere of his raigne (wherein this marriage must haue been celebrated) came not neere to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prooue that none of them could be *Ahashueroth*, it is enough to say, that *Mardochæus* hauing beene carried from *Hierusalem* captiue, with *Iechonia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vnlikely to haue liued vnto their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Susa*, raigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, liued in peace, was contemporarie with *Ioiakim* the high Priest: and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Ægyptians* in that seuenth yeere of his raigne; which good fortune might well giue occasion to such a Royall feast, as is described in the beginning of the booke of *Hester*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Hesters* storie by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who addes the authorities of *Iosephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo*, giuing to *Mardochæus* eighteene yeeres more than *Isaac* the *Patriarch* liued, namely, one hundred foure score and eighteene yeers in all, which expire in the fiue and thirtieth of yeere of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to haue beene carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeeres old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.

BVt it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their ciuill warres, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Ægyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedæmonians* vndertooke the warre called, Sacred, recouered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the banished *Bœotians* reentred their owne Land, and mastred two of their owne Townes possest by the *Athenians*, which they soone recouered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locreans*, (Nations oppresst by the *Athenians*) set vpon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slaine or taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recouered their former libertie, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Ilanders of *Eubœa* tooke such courage vpon this, that they reuolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was aduertised that the *Megarians*, (who first left the *Lacedæmonians*, and submitted themselues to *Athens*) being now wearie of their yoke, had slaine the *Athenian* Garrisons, and ioyned themselues with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and

Epi-

Epidaurians. Theſe newes haſtened *Pericles* homeward with all poſſible ſpeede; but ere he could recouer *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Pliſtoanax*, the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, had inuaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whoſe returne *Pericles* went on with his firſt intent and recouered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* beganne to treat of peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yeelded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponneſus*: and this truce was made for thirtie yeeres. After ſixe of theſe yeeres were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Myleſians* againſt the *Samians*) inuaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both by Sea and Land, the citizens were forc't to yeeld themſelues vpon moſt lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ſhips, to breake downe their own walls, to pay the charge of the warre, and to reſtore whatſoeuer had beene taken by themſelues, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponneſian* Warre, whereof I haue gathered this briefe following: the ſame contention taking beginning fiftie yeeres after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But becauſe there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it conuenient now at the firſt to ſhew briefly the eſtate of the Countrie at that time, and eſpecially the condition of thoſe two great Cities, *Athens*, and *Sparta*, vpon which all the reſt had moſt dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponneſian Warre.

§. I.

Vpon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, ſtood, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian Warre.

GREECE was neuer vnited vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Eſtate; vntill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League againſt the *Perſian*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any abſolute ſubiection. For euery Eſtate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magiſtrates, notwithſtanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeld obedience no otherwiſe than as to ſuch, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Perſian* warre (deemed the General quarrell of *Greece*) and tooke the profit and honor of the victorie, to their owne vſe and increaſe of greatneſſe. But the Kings which afterwards raigned in *Macedonia*, did ſo farre enlarge their authoritie, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder ſuch obedience, as differed little from ſeruitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, ſometimes with armes, and ſometimes with gifts, preſerue their liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deſerued beſt the plague of tyrannie, hauing firſt giuen occaſion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetuall Warre. For vntill theſe two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* diſtracted

all *Greece*, drawing euery State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gaue beginning to the *Peloponnesian* warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had ouer-mastred all, forasmuch as euery conclusion of one warre afforded hencefoorth matter to some new distraction of the whole Countrie) the warres, commenced betweene one Citie of *Greece* and an other, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authoritie of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Councel of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

These *Lacædemonians* had liued about foure hundred yeeres vnder one forme of Gouernment, when the *Peloponnesian* warre beganne. Their education was onely to practise feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner of life as they vsed. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinarie meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liued *Vtopian*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of their valour. Heereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrarie to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honors of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subiects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betweene these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastie in the execution; The *Lacedæmonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, and such as would in cold bloud performe what the *Athenians* did vsually in flagrant. Wherby it came to passe, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending vpon them, as on men firme and assured, that sought honour and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in straight subiection. But the Signorie of the *Athenians* was nothing large, vntill such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had inuaded *Greece*, pretending onely a quarrel to *Athens:* For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Towne of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Armie of seuenteene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth vpon a Nauie, and (assisted by the other *Grecians*) ouerthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, and the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mightie in fleet, reduced al the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the *Persian*; though indeede they imploied their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and hauen-Townes, of their owne Countrimen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breed contention betweene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would haue oppressed the *Plateans*, when they of *Platea* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they should seeke helpe at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought,

was thought, that the *Athenians* ſhould be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it prooued otherwiſe; for their force was now ſo great, that all ſuch occaſions did onely ſerue to increaſe their honour and puiſſance.

§. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.

NEuertheleſſe many Eſtates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, becauſe that Citie grew very inſolent vpon ſuddaine proſperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes againſt the ſtronger, incroched apace vpon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Eſpecially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, becauſe the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled againſt them, and giuen them a great ouerthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who deſired to increaſe their fleet by adioyning that of *Corcyra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which elſe they would haue taken. Now howſoeuer it were ſo, that theſe dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly againſt the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* ſo vehement, that (though with much a-doe) they concluded to redreſſe by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

Firſt therefore ſeeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed againſt the gods; whereto hauing for anſwere, That they themſelues ſhould expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they beganne to deale plainely, and required that the people of ſome Townes, oppreſſed by the Eſtate of *Athens*, ſhould be ſet at libertie; and that a decree made againſt thoſe of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, ſhould be reuerſed. This laſt point they ſo earneſtly preſſed, that if they might obtaine it, they promiſed to abſiſt from their purpoſe of making Warre.

This they deſired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by ſeeming to haue obtained ſomewhat, they might preſerue their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole deſire that all *Greece* ſhould take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both ſides verie ſtrongly, all that was needfull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedamonians* were Superiour, both in number and qualitie, being aſſiſted by moſt of the Cities in *Greece*; and hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to ſet at libertie ſuch as were oppreſſed: but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all prouiſions of Money, Shipping, Engines, and abſolute power of command among their Subiects; which they held; and afterward found of greater vſe in ſuch neede, than the willing readineſſe of friends, who ſoone grow wearie, and are not eaſily aſſembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian warre.

THe first and second yeeres expedition was very grieuous to the Citie of *Athens*. For the fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driuen to flie, with Wiues, Children, and Cattaile, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the reuolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Platæa* their confederated Citie, which they durst not aduenture to raise, besides some small ouerthrowes receiued. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals beganne to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Gouernours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilest they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wanne the Towne of *Platæa*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mightie by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that warre, the *Lacedæmonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselues might, and did receiue. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing well that *Athens* was plentifully relieued with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subiect vnto that Estate; and therefore these inuaders tooke small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilest afflicted. Wherefore they beganne to set their care to build a strong Nauie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst vndertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans receiued at Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they receiued at *Pylus* a verie sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and hauen, they in reason expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in straight subiection, yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that

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by the neere neighbourhood and aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, it might not bee reuiued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-ſlaues as could eſcape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excurſions into *Laconia*, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this hauen, lying almoſt in the midway betweene them and *Coreyra*, make them able to ſur-round all *Peloponneſus*, and waſte it at their pleaſure. The newes of theſe doings at *Pylus*, drew the *Peloponneſians* thither in all haſt out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Nauie, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might proue in time, they well foreſaw, little fearing the grieuous loſſe at hand, which they there in few daies receiued. For when they in vaine made a generall aſſault on all ſides, both by Sea and Land; finding that ſmall Garriſon which the *Athenians* had left, very reſolute in the defence: they occupied the hauen, placing foure hundred and twentie choice men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but ſo narrow, that only two ſhips in front could enter betweene the Iſle and *Pylus*; likewiſe but ſeuen or eight ſhips could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Iland and the Maine. Hauing thus taken order to ſhut vp this new Towne by Sea, they ſent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other ſtuffe, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke vp the piece on all ſides. But in the meane ſeaſon, the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the hauen, did breake and ſinke many of their Enemies veſſels; tooke fiue, and inforced the reſidue to runne themſelues a ground.

Now was the Towne ſecure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as loſt. Wherefore the Magiſtrates were ſent from *Sparta* to the camp (as was their cuſtome in great dangers) to aduiſe what where beſt for the publike ſafetie; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens out of the Ile, then by compoſition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliuer vp all the ſhips which were in the coaſt, and that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the Towne, nor the *Athenians* againſt the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Fleſh, ſhould be daily carried into the Iſle, but that no ſhips ſhould paſſe into the Iland ſecretly: That the *Athenians* ſhould carrie the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and ſhould bring them backe, at whoſe returne the truce ſhould end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, ſhould be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* ſhould reſtore the *Peloponneſian* ſhips, in as good caſe as they receiued them. The Embaſſadors comming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themſelues had begunne the warre, ſo might they end it when they pleaſed. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did ſue to them for peace, aduiſing them to make an end of warre, whileſt with ſuch reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in ſtead of concluding vpon euen termes, or deſiring of meete recompence for loſſe ſuſtained; the *Athenians* demanded certaine Cities to bee reſtored to them, which had beene taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this warre beganne, refuſing likewiſe to continue the treatie of peace, vnleſſe the *Spartans* which were in the Iſe, were firſt rendred vnto them as priſoners. Thus were the Embaſſadours returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was deſired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they ſhould, according to their couenant, reſtore the ſhips, which had beene put into their handes. Whereto anſwere was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all ſhould be held void; now (ſaid the *Athenians*) yee haue aſſaulted our Garriſons,

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and thereby are we acquited of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like friuolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so farre ouer-weighed honour, that better answere none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driuen to vse many hard meanes, for conueiance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed, that when the *Peloponnesians* next inuaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them; the *Lacedæmonians* were now so farre from wasting *Attica*, that they suffered their owne Countrie to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendeuous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disaduantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

THerefore they indeuoured greatly to obtaine peace; which the *Athenians* would not harken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with the continuance of good successe, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrells; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Ile were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene meerely through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters receiued, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon*, and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most beene aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Nauie which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceede lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuiue the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that vrged them to bring the treatie of peace to good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vnlesse they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoide. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmitie with them, was now, after a truce of thirtie yeeres well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe. This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not beene regarded. For it was then thought, that by wasting the Territorie of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should haue beene brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake the warre was vnder-taken, haue beene so firmely knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argiues*, to their owne fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and meanes

to

to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelues by a ſtrong fleet, from any great harme, that the *Peloponneſians* wanting wherewith to maintaine a Nauie, could doe vnto them, yea as Maſters of the Sea, to wearie them out, as in effect alreadie they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to vſe the occaſion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a ſmall peace, which with much a-doe they procured, as ſeemed equall and eaſie; but were indeede impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuall.

The reſtitution of priſoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had won more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not won abſolutely. For they had reſtored ſome Towns to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at libertie (as reaſon required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and deliuerers, & not compelled them to breake in as Enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had beene rendred vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue ſome ſatisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the warre; as for the reſt, they promiſed more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themſelues into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by reuolting, notwithſtanding whatſoeuer articles were drawne, and concluded, for their ſecuritie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring only the priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt, vntill ſuch time as they might receiue the full ſatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtraight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offenſiue and defenſiue with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardneſſe of the *Argiues*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue ſued for peace at their hands, as ſoone as things were once compounded betweene *Athens* and *Sparta*; did ſhew themſelues plainly vnwilling to giue eare to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deſeruing in the late warre, or found ſo troubleſome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durſt let it appeare) were little worſe than friendſhip. It bred great jelouſie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue ſuch a conjunction betweene two ſo powerfull Signories: eſpecially one clauſe threatning euery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceipts, of ſubduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For beſides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall conſent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, & other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their profeſſed Enemies, was violently throwne vpon the *Lacedæmonians* their vnjuſt friends: whereby it came to paſſe, that they who had lately borne chiefe ſway in *Greece*, might haue beene abandoned to the diſcretion of their Enemies, as alreadie in effect they were, had the Enemies wiſely vſed the aduantage.

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held betweene many States of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

THE admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as vnresistable, and able to make way through all impediments, had beene so excessiue, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not sounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens vsually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would haue endured to lay downe his weapons and yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune could haue beene so great, as should haue drawne that Citie to relieue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall marke, being ouer-laied by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather chosen to liue in captiuitie, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as vtterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit downe, and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* beginne to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Cities joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eies vpon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whose abilitie, to doe much, they conceiued a strong beliefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankinde. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting to our selues.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuie at the greatnesse of *Athens* dayly encreasing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the present warre. But these *Corinthians* did only murmure at the peace, alleadging as grieuances, that some townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who during the time of warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependency vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely & readily discouer themselues; feare of reuenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The *Argiues* feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their sailes, prepared themselues to take as much of it as they could stand vnder; giuing for that purpose vnto twelue of their citizens, a full and absolute commission to make alliance betweene them and any free cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all commers; the *Mantineans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by priuate respects, others thinking it the wisest way to doe as the most did. What inconuenience might arise to them by these courses, the *Lacedæmonians* easily discerned, and therfore sent Embassadors to stoppe the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceiued that the mischiefe had beene hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued of their present aduantage ouer *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into the alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gaue audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this:

this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forſake the alliance, which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*, and that reaſon did as well binde them to hold themſelues contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their auncient confederacy, foraſmuch as it had bin agreed betweene the *Spartans* and their aſſociates, that the conſent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with *Athens*) ſhould binde the leſſer number to performe what was concluded, if no Diuine impediment withſtood them. Heereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwere, that the *Spartans* had firſt begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had loſt many places, without prouiſion of reſtitution; & that the very clauſe, alledged by the Embaſſadors, did acquite them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworne vnto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebell againſt *Athens*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelues bound both in reaſon and religion to vſe all meanes of vpholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an oth was no leſſe to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vndertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid that they would doe as they ſhould finde cauſe. Hauing diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwere, they made all haſt to ioyne themſelues with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to doe the like; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themſelues, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which cauſed this haſtie confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſſe that the friendſhip it ſelfe, ſuch as it was, had much diuerſitie both of ſinceritie & of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*: as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*: theſe did firmly betake themſelues to the *Argiues*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inueterate; others did only hate the peace concluded; & theſe would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argiues* in warre, yet rather the *Argiues* in war than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themſelues, dealt with them to enter into the ſocietie of the *Argiues*, as they had done: but the different formes of gouernment, vſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebanes* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incurre the danger of innouation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſſe hauing ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* beganne to bethinke themſelues of their owne danger, who had not ſo much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporarie agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment, with one citie that ſhewed againſt them more ſtomach than force; but gaue them to vnderſtand that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themſelues dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they deſired; but into priuate confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league betweene them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor warre without the other.

Heerein, as in many other paſſages, may clearely be ſeene the great aduantage which abſolute Lords haue as well in peace as in warre, ouer ſuch as are ſerued by voluntaries. We ſhall hardly finde any one Signorie, that hath beene ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferior to it ſelf, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſiue meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelues as Tyrants.

But

But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their wordes good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could doe neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not bee restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselues might recouer *Pylus*) vnlesse they would agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were faine to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* hauing broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselues to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not giue vp the Towne of *Panacte*, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was sought to haue beene excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, who comming to *Athens* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had beene detained at *Thebes*) hoped with gentle words to salue the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemie to *Athens* should nestle in *Panacte*, for it was destroied. But these Embassadours had not to deale with tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vsed such base colluſion as stood not with their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebans*; hauing destroied a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by warre, to make good the couenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deedes to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeere, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades* a powerfull yong Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to bee rendred to them by couenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobilitie, riches, and fauour, with the people, made him desire warre, as the meanes, whereby himselfe might procure some honourable emploiment, vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilest the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendred ought saue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vse that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeede against their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retaine *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, vntill they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles wherunto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuerie of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* wishing a speedie beginning of open warre, sent priuily to the *Argiues*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselues with *Athens*, which was enough to giue them securitie against all Enemies.

The *Argiues* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vsed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in case of much contempt and disabilitie. But these suddaine apprehensions of vaine joy, were suddainely changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately beene conceiued of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians*

thians had sought securitie from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noised abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then beganne the *Argiues* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not ouer-hastie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argiues*, which were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselues. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadours, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensiue, and defensiue, between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was alreadie done, than stood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, hauing done so much, not to stick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to bee valued then all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution preuailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens* with full commission to make an end of all controuersies, did earnestly labour in the Councell-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recouerie of *Panactæ*: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieued the *Lacedæmonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might giue to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might bee required for making matters euen betweene them; to which purpose they shewed that themselues had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored vnto them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the *Argiues* might be called a-side. Fauourable audience was giuen to this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this faire likelihood of good agreement was dasht on the suddaine, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their Citie, and aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Communaltie of *Athens*, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie and yeelde to nothing, vnlesse they could draw them to vnreasonable conditions. The Embassadours beleeued him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as hee had aduised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the aduantage, which their double dealing affoorded, inueighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were come to *Athens* for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthning themselues with friends, meaning to draw the *Argiues* and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrarie to their oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleasing errand would hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whose honest meanings had so ill beene seconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadours, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the businesse was put off, till he himselfe with other Embassadours might fetch a better answere from *Sparta*.

It may seeme a great wonder, how so poore a tricke of *Alcibiades* was able to carrie a matter of such importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadours might haue cast the loade vpon his owne shoulders, by discouering the truth:

But the grauitie which was vsually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might wel haue been thought vntrusty men, had they professed themselues such as would say and vn-say for their most aduantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a sowre message to deliuer at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedæmonians* should take the paines to rebuild *Panacte*, and should immediately renounce their alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argiues*, and their Adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seeme to haue effected nothing) sweare a-new to keepe the articles of the league betweene them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadours, a new league was made between the *Athenians*, *Argiues*, *Mantineans*, & *Eleans*, with verie ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed ouer with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it selfe chiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, who hauing restored all that they could vnto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themselues recouered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late warre by misfortunes, than in sundrie passages betweene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whose Amitie, they had left sundrie of their old friends to shift for themselues. Contrariwise the *Athenians*, by the treatie of peace, had recouered the most of that which they lost in warre; all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthned by the accesse of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the *Argiues* and their fellowes had found busines wherewith to set the *Athenians* on worke, and make vse of this coniunction. For presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infest each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their seuerall friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, beganne a-new to range themselues vnder the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their ensignes. One victorie which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meere valour in a set battaile, neere to *Mantinea*, against the *Argiue*-side, helped well to repaire their decaied reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit. The ciuill dissension arising shortly after within *Argos* it selfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amity of the *Athenians* in expresse words, and forced the *Mantineans* to the like. But in short

space

space of time the multitude preuailing, reuerſed all this, and hauing chaſed away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themſelues to the *Athenians* as cloſely as before.

Beſide theſe vprores in *Peloponneſus*, many aſſaies were made to raiſe vp troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewiſe in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whoſe forces and readineſſe for execution, preuented ſome things, reuenged other, and requited all with ſome proſperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell; and the *Lacedæmonians* growing wearie, they beganne to be quiet, retaining ſtill that enmitie in their hearts, which they had ſufficiently diſcouered in effects, though not as yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

§. VIII.

The Athenians ſending two fleets to ſacke Siracuſe, are put to flight and vtterly diſcomfited.

DVring this intermiſſion of open warre, the *Athenians* re-intertained their hopes of ſubduing *Sicil*, whither they ſent a fleet ſo mighty as neuer was ſet forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries to ſo great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voyage, & one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driuen to baniſh himſelfe, for feare of ſuch iudgement, as elſe he was like to haue vnder-gone, among the incenſed people; partly by the inuaſion which the *Lacedæmonians* made vpon *Attica*, whileſt the forces of that State were ſo farre from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with money.

Neither was the ſucceſſe of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without helpe from *Athens*, could giue any likelyhood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning, the enterpriſe had ſo well ſucceeded, that they beſieged *Siracuſe*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, and one of the faireſt Townes which the *Greekes* inhabited, obtayning the better in ſundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieued with ſtrong aide from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſſe that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe that their fleet was ſhut vp into the hauen of *Siracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* affaires went very ill in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand vpon hard termes, for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had beene formerly accuſtomed to make wearieſome yeerely iournies into *Attica*, which hauing pilled and foraged, they returned home; did now by counſell of *Alcibiades*, (who ſeeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Towne of *Decelea*, which was neere to *Athens*, whence they ceaſed not with daily excurſions to harrie all the Countrie round about, and ſometimes giue alarme vnto the Citie it ſelfe.

In theſe extremities, the peruerſe obſtinacie of the *Athenians* was very ſtrange; who leaning at their backes, and at their owne doores, an enemie little leſſe mighty than themſelues, did yet ſend forth another fleet into *Sicil*, to inuade a people no leſſe puiſſant, which neuer had offended them.

It often happens, that proſperous euent makes fooliſh counſaile ſeeme wiſer than it was, which came to paſſe many times among the *Athenians*, whoſe vaine conceits *Pallas* was ſaid to turn vnto the beſt. But where vnſound aduice, finding bad proofe, is obſtinately purſued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be iuſtly blamed for a miſerable iſſue. This ſecond fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might haue ſerued to conuey home the former, that was defeated; after ſome attempts made to ſmall purpoſe againſt the *Siracuſans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Nauie, which was there before) quite vanquiſhed, and bard vp into the hauen of *Siracuſe*,

cuse, whereby the campe of the *Athenians*, vtterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driuen to breake vp, and flie away by Land, in which flight they were ouer-taken routed, and quite ouerthrown in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe well deserued fell vpon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicil*, whereas indeede there was not any meanes or possibilitie to haue made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this vnhappie enterprise, did rather choose to hazard the ruine of his Countrie by the losse of that Armie, wherin consisted little lesse then all the power of *Athens*; then to aduenture his owne estate, his life, and his honour, vpon the tongues of shameleſse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolued to condemne him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdome and necessitie required it. *For* (said he) *they shall giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would giue eare to any that would speak in our behalfe, but altogether harken to suspicious and vaine rumours that shall be brought against vs, yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safetie, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude*.

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth, and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may bee excused; since he had before his eies the iniustice of his people; and had well vnderstood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patterne, whereby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expectation of safetie then the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moone, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the camp break vp till seuen and twentie daies were past. His timorousnesse was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, & the course of Nature, would be as vniust as his *Athenians*, or might pretend lesse euill to the slothfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can alleage this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise then as the follie of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cassius* the *Roman*, he, who slew *Iulius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retyring, the broken remainder of *Crassus* his Armie defeated by the *Parthian* Archers was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answere that hee stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, then the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, hee made such a safe and honourable retrait, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule;

——— *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Gouernours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vniust men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

§. IX.

§. IX.

Of the troubles where-into the State of Athens fell, after the great loſſe of the Fleet, and Armie, in Sicilia.

THe loſſe of this *Armie* was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may bee well accompted a very little leſſe calamitie to that Eſtate, than was the ſubuerſion of the walls, when the Citie about ſeuen yeeres after was taken by *Lyſander*. For now began the ſubiects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebell, of whom, ſome they reduced vnder their obedience; others held out; ſome for feare of greater inconuenience were ſet at libertie, promiſing only to be their good friends, as formerly they had beene their Subiects; others hauing a kind of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among theſe troubles it fell out very vnſeaſonably, that the principall men of *Athens* being wearied with the peoples inſolencie, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Eſtate, and bring the gouernement into the hands of a few. To which purpoſe conſpiring with the Captaines which were abroad, they cauſed them to ſet vp the forme of an Ariſtocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, ſome that were moſt likely to withſtand this innouation, being ſlaine at *Athens*, the Commonaltie were ſo diſmaid, that none durſt ſpeake againſt the Conſpirators, whoſe number they knew not, but euerie man was afraid of his Neighbour, leſt he ſhould be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Maieſtie of *Athens* was vſurped by 400. men, who obſeruing in ſhew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cauſe al matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely ſuch as were firſt allowed in priuate among themſelues; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than only to approue and giue conſent: for whoſoeuer preſumed any further, was quickly diſpatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murder. By theſe meanes were many decrees made, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of this new Authoritie, which neuertheleſſe indured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was at the Ile of *Samos*, did altogether deteſt theſe dealings of the foure hundred vſurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of baniſhment, & by his aſſiſtance procured that the ſupplies which the *Perſian* King had promiſed vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tiſſaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the ſlow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the firſt beene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whileſt his ſeruice done to that State was not growne to be the obiect of enuie. But when it appeared that in counſaile and good peformance he ſo farre excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good ſucceſſe was aſcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; eſpecially *Agis* one of their Kings, whoſe wife had ſo far yeelded her ſelfe to the loue of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends ſhee could not forbeare to call her yong child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* ſhould be killed out of the way. But he diſcouering the *Spartan* trecherie, conueighed himſelfe vnto *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſo bewitched with his great beautie, ſweet conuerſation, and ſound wit, that he ſoone became the Maſter of that barbarous Vice-roies affections, who had free power to diſpoſe the great Kings treſures and forces in thoſe parts. Then beganne he to aduiſe *Tiſſaphernes*, not ſo farre foorth to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould quite ouerthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to helpe the weaker ſide, & let them one conſume another, whereby all ſhould fall at length into the hands of the *Perſian*. By this counſaile he made way to other practices, wherein by ſtrength of his reputation (as the only fauourite

of so great a Potentate) hee played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Gouernors; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the Common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being wearie of the tyrannie whereof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, & partly for that themselues, being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselues of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne authoritie, and the greatnesse of their Citie, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserue their owne power, or safetie at least, then the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundrie ouertures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wauering multitude; especially considering that the City of *Sparta* was gouerned by an *Aristocratie*, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages betweene the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the Citie of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which vpon iuster ground the enemie was much more auerse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not vnknowne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, hee receiued some small losses. Likewise the Nauie of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the Citie, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly haue beene regarded, then in this their decaied estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisdome, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the Citie, or to the Countries neere adioyning any terrour of the warre. For the dissension within the walls might soone haue done more good then could be receiued from the Fleet or Armie without, which indeed gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vnitie, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by meanes of these troubles, were faine to resigne their authoritie, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repel forraigne enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselues from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernment a full restitution of the soueraigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the Citie, but onely to fiue thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as assistance: herein seeming to doe little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeede into the handes of so many, it was soone agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should bee recalled from exile, and that the Armie at *Samos* should be requested to vndertake the gouernement: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How ALCIBIADES *wanne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe depoſed.*

THis eſtabliſhment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with ſome good ſucceſſe in the warres. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the *Athenian* fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning ſuch forces as he could raiſe, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydus*, his arriuall with eighteene ſhips, gaue the honour of a great battaile to the *Athenians*; he ouerthrew and vtterly deſtroyed the fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*, tooke the Townes of *Cyzicus*, and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſome their Citie, and fortified *Cryſopolis*. Hereupon letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians*, intercepting, found to containe the diſtreſſe of the Armie in theſe few words: *All is loſt*; MINDARVS *is ſlaine*; *the Souldiers want victualls*; *we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, tooke *Selymbria*, beſieged and wanne *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which euen in thoſe dayes was a goodly, rich, and very ſtrong Citie. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Nauie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driuen to baniſh himſelfe againe; only becauſe his Lieutenant, contrarie to the expreſſe command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his abſence, had loſt a great part of the fleet.

The ſecond baniſhment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmeful than the firſt; and the loſſe which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) leſſe to be pitied of others, than that which enſued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the firſt, he had ſought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to aduerſitie, he rather pitied their furie, who in time of ſuch danger had caſt out him that ſhould haue repaired their weake eſtate, than ſought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himſelfe after injurie receiued. Before they, who were inſtituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arriued at the fleet, he preſented battaile to *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, who was not ſo confident vpon his former victorie, as to vndertake *Alcibiades* himſelfe, bringing ſhips more in number (notwithſtanding the former loſſe of fifteene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had beene vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was publiſhed in the Nauie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himſelfe to a Towne vpon *Helleſpont*, called *Bizanthe*, where hee had built a Caſtle.

§. XI.

The battaile at Arginuſa, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.

AFter this time, the *Athenians* receiuing many loſſes & diſcomfitures, were driuen to flie into the Hauen of *Mytelene*, where they were ſtraightly beſieged both by Land and Sea. For the raiſing of this ſiege neceſſity inforced them to man all their Veſſells, and to put the vttermoſt of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile

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was fought at *Arginusa*, where *Callicraditas*, Admirall of the *Lacedæmonians*, losing the honor of the day, preserued his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue beene expected, that the ten Captaines, who joyntly had command in chiefe ouer the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good daies seruice, and so happy a victorie, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forth-with called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them vp, they might haue saued them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very iust answere; That they pursuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to saue those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had beene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very strange, that vpon such an accusation maintained with so slender euidence, men that had well deserued of their Countrie should bee ouerthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolue them, saue only *Socrates* the wise and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relieued by other vessells in the storme: but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was ouer-past, this judgement was reuersed, and the accusers called into question for hauing deceiued and peruerted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselues from the infamie of injustice; but the diuine justice was not a-sleepe, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

The battaile at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian Warre.

THe *Peloponnesian* fleet vnder *Lysander*, the yeere next following, hauing scowred the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Hellespont*, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged and tooke the Towne of *Lampsacus*. Hereupon all the Nauie of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding *Lampsacus* taken before their comming, they put in at *Sestos*, where hauing refreshed themselues, they sailed to the Riuer called, *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goates-brooke*, or the Riuer of the *Goate*; being on the Continent, opposite to *Lampsacus*: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampsacus* in the harbour. The next day after their arriuall they presented fight vnto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned againe to *Ægos-Potamos*, and thus they continued fiue dayes, brauing euery day the Enemie, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Castle of *Alcibiades* was not farre from the Nauie, and his power in those places was such as might haue greatly availed his Countrimen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercinaries, and making warre in his owne name vpon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiuing the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired vnto them, and shewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soone fore-see and preuent it. For they lay in a roade subject to euery

ry weather, neither neere enough to any Towne where they might furniſh themſelues with neceſſarie, nor ſo farre off as had beene more expedient. *Seſtus* was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Mariners reſorted, flocking away from the Nauie euerie day, as ſoone as they were returned from braiuing the Enemie. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Seſtus*, which was not farre off, or at the leaſt to conſider better how neere their enemie was, whoſe feare proceeded rather from obedience to his Generall, than from any cowardiſe. This admonition was ſo farre deſpiſed, that ſome of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not beene for theſe opprobrious words, hee could (as hee told his familiars) haue compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight vpon vnequall termes, or vttetly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that hee might ſo haue done by tranſporting the light-armed *Thracians* his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Straights, who aſſaulting the *Peloponneſians* by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or elſe to leaue their ſhips to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counſaile no better than hath beene rehearſed, he left them to their fortune, which how euill it would be he did prognoſticate.

Lyſander all this while defending himſelfe by the aduantage of his Hauen, was not careleſſe in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to ſend forth ſome of his ſwifteſt Veſſels after them, who obſeruing their doings, related vnto him what they had ſeene. Therefore vnderſtanding in what careleſſe faſhion they romed vp and downe the Countrie; he kept all his men a-boord after their departure, and the fift day gaue eſpeciall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceiued the *Athenians*, diſembarking, as their cuſtome was, and walking towards *Seſtos*, they ſhould forth with returne, and hang vp a braſen ſhield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyſander* being in a readineſſe, made all ſpeed that ſtrength of Oares could giue, to *Ægos Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-boord their Ships, not many neere them, and all in great confuſion vpon the newes of his approch.

Inſomuch that the greateſt induſtrie which the *Athenians* then ſhewed, was in the eſcape of eight or nine ſhips; which knowing how much that loſſe imported, gaue ouer *Athens* as deſperate, and made a long flight vnto the Ile of *Cyprus*, all the reſt were taken, and ſuch of the Souldiers as came in to the reſcue cut in pieces. Thus was the warre which had laſted ſeuen and twentie yeeres, with variable ſucceſſe concluded in one houre, and the glory of *Athens* in ſuch wiſe eclipſed, that ſhe neuer afterward ſhone in her perfect light.

Immediately vpon this victorie *Lyſander*, hauing taken ſuch Townes as readily did yeeld vpon the firſt fame of his exploit, ſet ſayle for *Athens*, and ioyning his forces with thoſe of *Agis* and *Pauſanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, ſummoned the Citie, which finding too ſtubborne to yeeld, and too ſtrong to bee wonne on the ſudden, hee put forth againe to Sea, and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and ſuch Townes of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to ſubmit themſelues to *Sparta*, hee did thereby cut off all prouiſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries, from the Citie, and inforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to theſe conditions: That the long walles, leading from the Towne to the Port, ſhould bee throwne downe; That all Cities ſubiect to their Eſtate, ſhould be ſet at libertie; That the *Athenians* ſhould bee Maſters only of their owne Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Towne; And that they ſhould keepe no more then twelue Ships; That they ſhould hold as Friends or Enemies, the ſame, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Warres.

Theſe

These articles being agreed vpon, the walls were throwne downe with great rejoycing of those who had borne displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the Citie, and laying waste the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie Gouernours, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolencie and injustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slauerie.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiuing this, aduertised the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contriued, and (as nowe domineering in euery quarter) soone effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* Warre. After which the *Lacedæmonians* abusing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to all *Greece*, and by Combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authoritie, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued *Athens*. The greatest foile that they tooke was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the Citie of *Sparta* (besides other great losses receiued) was sundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haughtie attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the seuerall Estates and Signories of *Greece*, were growne so jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argiues*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselues with the weaker partie, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so farre as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrie remained rather euenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whose forefathers had beene dependants, and followers, yea almost meere Vassalls to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found meanes, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the *Romanes* presenting them with a shew of libertie, did themselues indeede become their Masters.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponneſian Warre, or ſhortly following it.

§. I.

How the affaires of Perſia ſtood in theſe times.

DVRING the times of this *Peloponneſian* Warre, and thoſe other leſſe expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, hauing peaceably injoyed a long raigne ouer the *Perſians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Baſtard*, whom the *Greeke* Hiſtorians (lightly paſſing ouer *Xerxes* the ſecond, and *Sogdianus*, as Vſurpers, and for their ſhort raigne little to be regarded) place next vnto him, or to *Xerxes* the ſecond, who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (ſeeming to haue bene the ſonnes of *Heſter*) held the Kingdome but one yeere betweene them, the yonger ſucceeding his elder brother. It is not my purpoſe (as I haue ſaid before) to purſue the Hiſtorie of the *Perſians* from henceforth, by rehearſall of all the particulars, otherwiſe then as they ſhall be incident to the affaires of *Greece*. It may therefore ſuffice to ſay, That *Xerxes* the ſecond, being a vicious Prince, did periſh after a moneth or two, if not by ſurfeit, then by treachery of his as riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewiſe of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he ſlew vnjuſtly *Bagorazus* a principall *Eunuch*, and would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the *Baſtard*, had not hee foreſeene it; and by raiſing a ſtronger Armie than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leauie, ſeized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing ſlaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeeres. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Ægyptian* rebelled againſt him, and hauing partly ſlaine, partly chaſed out of the Land the *Perſian* Garriſons, allied himſelfe ſo firmely with the *Greekes*, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his poſteritie, who (notwithſtanding the furie of their ciuill Warres) maintained it againſt the *Perſian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his ſonne *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewiſe *Amorges*, a ſubject of his owne and of the Roiall bloud, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled againſt him; confederating himſelfe with the *Athenians*. But the great calamitie, before ſpoken of, which fell vpon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, hauing put new life into the *Spartans*, and giuen courage to the Ilanders and others, ſubject to the State of *Athens*, to ſhake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being deſtitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was impoſſible to aduance the warre againſt the State of *Athens*, that remained powerfull by Sea, were driuen to craue his aſſiſtance, which he granted vnto them, firſt vpon what conditions beſt pleaſed himſelfe, though afterwards the articles of the league betweene him and them were ſet downe in more preciſe termes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they ſhould make warre joyntly vpon the *Athenians*, and vpon all that ſhould rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Aſia*, which had formerly beene his, or his Predeceſſours, ſhould returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre enſung

suing (of which I haue already spoken) he recouered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* he got *Amorges* a-liue into his hands, who was taken in the Citie of *Iasus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuertheless *Ægypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot bee the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Paryſatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindfull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; and *Cyrus* the yonger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that euer *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leaue vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous eye vpon the doings of yong *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, tooke more vpon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the comming of his yonger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall haue occasion to speake somewhat in more conuenient place.

§. II.

How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place most conuenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greekes*, after the subuersion of the walls of *Athens*, which gaue end to that warre called the *Peloponnesian* warre, but could not free the vnhappy Countrie of *Greece* from ciuill broiles. The thirtie Gouernours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of such ancient Statutes, as were meetest to be put in practice: the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessitie of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being vncertaine, it was fit that such men should giue judgement in particular causes, to whose judgement the Lawes themselues, by which the Citie was to bee ordered, were become subiect. But these thirtie hauing so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserue it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who cõsidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themselues, how easie a thing it would be vnto these thirtie men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without due triall and proofe had beene once well allowed. Hauing thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of gouernement, they thought it best to fortifie themselues with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needes commit for the establishing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their owne companie to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keepe the City free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behoued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the *Lacedæmonians* to send them

them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a guard sent, the Captaine of which was so well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their misdeedes could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants beganne to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, inuaded the principall men of the City, sending armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of gouernement: whereby there was such effusion of bloud, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirtie) seemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discouered, caused his fellowes to bethinke themselues, and prouide for their owne security, and his destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Captaine of the discontented (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gaue vnto them some part of publike authority, the rest they disarmed; and hauing thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a-fresh to shead the bloud, not only of their priuat enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that euery one of them should name one man, vpon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* vttered his detestation of so wicked intent; then did *Critias*, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priuiledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but haue the accustomed trial) he took vpon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him vnder the triall and sentence of that order. It was well alleaged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the *Catalogue*, than any other mans, vpon which consideration, he aduised them all to conceiue no otherwise of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but (euery man choosing rather to preserue his owne life by silence, than presently to draw vpon him selfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neere him) the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poyson.

§. III.

The conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposition.

AFter the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie began to vse such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and causing them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their libertie, and the generall good of the City. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into consultation, and resolued to hazard their liues in setting free the Citie of *Athens*. The very thought of such a practice had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seuentie men, or thereabout, were the first vndertakers, who with their Captaine *Thrasybulus* tooke *Phyla*, a place of strength in the Territorie of *Athens*. No sooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than seeke meanes to preuent further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by meanes of snow that fell, and other stormie

weather, against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the Citie, which aboue all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horse, to wearie out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasybulus* were encreased from seuenty to seuen hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon those guards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred & twenty. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the suburbe of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their comming, the thirtie had resolued to fortifie the Towne of *Eleusine*, to their owne vse, whereinto they might make an easie retrait, and saue themselues from any sudden perill. It may well seeme strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of gouernement had brought them into such danger, they were so farre from seeking to obtaine mens good wil, that contrariwise, to assure themselues of *Eleusine*, they got al of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder forme of iustice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefes which they had alreadie done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of safetie, than by extending their crueltie vnto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprise *Thrasybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom although there were slaine to the number of seuentie, onely yet the victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, & one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piræus*, together with some exhortations vsed by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirtie were deposed. Neuertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who hauing communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernement could be established. For Embassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who crauing aide against *Thrasybulus*, and his followers, had fauourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by Land and Sea, vnder the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared first the iealousie, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians*, and *Corinthians*, who in the late warres had been the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alleaging that it stood not with their othes, to make warre against that people, who had not hither to broken any one article of the league: but fearing, indeede, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should annexe the Territorie of *Athens* to their owne Demaines. It is not to bee doubted, that *Pausanias* tooke this answere in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he enuied. Therefore hauing in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of warre, finally wrought such meanes, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and such others, as were like to giue cause of tumult, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing with-drawne themselues to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innouation; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captaines, as they were comming to Parlie, and slew them: which done, to auoide further inconuenience, a law was made, that all iniuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully obserued, the Citie returned to her former quietnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of CYRVS *the younger.*

§. I.

The grounds of CYRVS *his attempt against his brother.*

HE matters of *Greece* now standing vpon such termes, that no one Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of *Lacademon*; young *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully prosecuted the warre against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their loue might appeare no lesse to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous warre against the *Athenians*. To this request, being generall, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue a sutable answere, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all seruice that hee should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainely discouered himselfe, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of *Persia* should haue been the recompence of his deserts, or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the *Greekes* the waies, which vnder the *Macedonian* Enfignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and opening vnto them the riches, and withall the weakenesse of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he reserued to another generation; than to giue into their hands that mightie Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The loue which *Paryfatis*, the Queene-Mother of *Persia* bare vnto *Cyrus* her yonger sonne, being seconded by the earnest fauour of the people, and ready desires of many principall men, had moued this yong Prince, in his fathers old age, to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before beene shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; hee found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not safe to attempt any meanes of displanting him, by whose disfauour, himself might easily lose the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the lesse, and hardly bee able to maintaine his owne life. The neerest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, trecherie, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, vsing by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queene *Paryfatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mightie Empire. And it was very true, that *Paryfatis* had vsed the best of her endeuour to that purpose, alleaging that (which in former ages had bin much auaileable to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was borne whileft his father was a priuate man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned King. All which not sufficing; when the most that could bee obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adioyning: then did this *Tissaphernes* discouer his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very

easily beleeued, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent back into his owne Prouince.

§. II.

The preparations of CYRVS, *and his first entrie into the Warre.*

THe forme of gouernement which the *Persian* Lieutenants vsed in their seuerall Prouinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made Warre and Peace, as they thought it meete, not onely for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vsually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whatsoeuer it were, or they could coniecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waighting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat whilest yet his Mother liued, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first beganne to quarrell with *Tissaphernes*, and seized vpon many Townes of his iurisdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince; which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that hee was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, & cowardise despised, although he durst not aduenture to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet perceiuing that the *Milesians* were about to giue vp themselues into the hands of that yong Prince, as many other townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preserue his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he took not only the men of his owne Prouince, or of the Countries adioyning, whose liues were readie at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Gracian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessalie*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their seuerall warres, that the Souldiers might bee held in continuall exercise, and readie in armes vpon the sudden. *Cyrus* hauing sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came ouer to his assistance, being thirteene thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, hee could very easily haue forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be imploied in the accomplishment of higher designes. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the lesse, not subiect to the *Persian*, had inuaded his Territorie, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leauing *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was neuer leuied against the Rouers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause

cauſe taking a band of fiue hundred horſe, hee poſted away to carrie tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How CYRVS *tooke his iourney into the higher Aſia, and came vp cloſe to his Brother.*

THe tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, againſt *Paryſatis*, the Queene-Mother, whom ſhe called the Author and occaſioner of the warre. But whileſt the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haſtned vpon him very faſt. For *Cyrus* made great marches, hauing his numbers much increaſed, by the repaire of his Countrimen, though moſt ſtrengthned by the acceſſe of ſeuē hundred *Greeks*, and of other foure hundred of the ſame Nation, who reuolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the *Greekes* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muſter, which (to pleaſe the Queene of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greekes* by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the reſt of his Armie, which contained a hundred thouſand men, the whole Campe (not perceiuing that this was but a brauerie) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggagers forſaking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a ioyfull ſpectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the ſame temper, and the more vnlikely to make reſiſtance, becauſe they were preſt to the warre againſt their will and diſpoſitions, whereas his Armie was drawne a-long by meere affection and good will. Neuertheleſſe he found it a very hard matter to perſwade the *Greekes* to paſſe the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to ſeeke excuſes, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, and his owne great enemy, lay by the Riuer, againſt whom he requeſted them to aſſiſt him. By ſuch deuices, and exceſſiue promiſe of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where ſome of the *Greekes* conſidering, That whoſo paſſed the Riuer firſt, ſhould haue the moſt thankes, and might ſafely returne if the reſt ſhould refuſe to follow them, they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perſwaded to doe as ſome had begunne, and being allured by great hopes, they reſolued to ſeeke out *Artaxerxes*, where ſoeuer he was to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raiſed an army of nine hundred thouſand men, was not ſo confident vpon this huge multitude, as to aduenture them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thouſand men, had vnder-taken to make good the Straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a ſtrong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to ſeeme impregnable, had quitted the paſſage, and retired himſelf toward the Kings forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face, who deſpairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* fleete, by the benefit whereof to haue tranſported his Armie. I doe not finde that this cowardiſe of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, who arriued not at the Campe, till fiue daies were paſt after the battaile, receiued either puniſhment, or diſgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himſelfe, were all made of the ſame metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was vpon the point of retiring to the vttermoſt bounds of his Kingdom, vntill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perſwaded not to abandon ſo many goodly Prouinces to the Enemie, who would thereby haue gathered addition of ſtrength, and (which in the ſharpe diſputation of Title to a Kingdome is moſt auaileable) would haue growne ſuperior in reputation. By ſuch aduice, the King reſolued vpon meeting with his brother, who now began to be ſe-

cure,being fully perſwaded,that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King hauing caſt vp a Trench of almoſt fortie miles in length,about thirtie foot broad , and eighteene foote deepe, intended there to haue encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place,thinking nothing ſo ſafe, as to be farre diſtant from his enemies.

§. IIII.

The battaile betweene CYRVS *and* ARTAXERXES.

THe Armie of *Cyrus* hauing ouercome many difficulties of euil waies, and ſcarcitie of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*,& being paſt this trench,marched careleſly in great diſorder, hauing beſtowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beaſts of carriage; when on the ſudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the Kings approch. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themſelues,and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the ſide of the Riuer *Euphrates*,where they waited for the cõming of their enemies, whom they ſaw not till it was after-noone. But when they ſaw the cloud of duſt raiſed by the feete of that huge multitude,which the King drew after him, and perceiued by their neere approch how well they were marſhalled, comming on very orderly, in ſilence, whereas it had beene expected, that ruſhing violently with loude clamours, they ſhould haue ſpent all their force vpon the firſt brunt;and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were ſo vnequall in diſtent, being all embattailed in one bodie and ſquare,that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Perſian* maner) in the middeſt of his owne,did not with the corner,and vtmoſt point therof,reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile,who carried a front proportionable to his number,exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greekes* begin to diſtruſt their owne manhood,which was not accuſtomed to make proofe of it ſelf,vpon ſuch exceſſiue oddes. It was almoſt incredible,that ſo great an Armie ſhould bee ſo eaſily chaſed. Neuertheleſſe, it quickly appeared, that theſe *Perſians*, hauing learned (contrary to their cuſtome) to giue charge vpon their enemies with ſilence; had not learned(for it was contrary to their nature)to receiue a ſtrong charge with courage. Vpon the very firſt offer of on-ſet,made by the *Greekes*,all that beaſtly rabble of cowards fled amaine,without abiding the ſtroke, or ſtaying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and ſithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred,and *Cyrus* not twentie) did ſmall hurt that day, becauſe the driuers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This baſe demeanour of his enemies gaue ſo much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that ſuch as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainely, the Title had beene aſſured vnto him that day,had not he ſought how to declare himſelfe worthy of it,ere yet he had obtained it For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him voide, was about to encompaſſe the *Greeks*,and to ſet vpon them in the reare,he aduanced with ſixe hundred Horſe, and gaue ſo valiant a charge vpon a ſquadron of ſixe thouſand,which lay before the King, that he brake it,ſlaying the Captaine thereof, *Artagerſes*,with his owne hands,and putting all the reſt to flight. Hereupon his whole companie of ſixe hundred,very few excepted, began to follow the chaſe, leauing *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiuing where the King ſtood in troupe,vncertaine whether to fight,or leaue the field, could not containe himſelfe,but ſaid; *I ſee the man*: and preſently with a ſmall handfull of men about him ranne vpon his brother, whom he ſtrake through the Curace, and wounded in the breſt. Hauing giuen this ſtroke,which was his laſt,he receiued immediately the fatall blow,which gaue period at once to his ambition and life,being wounded vnder the eye with a dart,throwne by a baſe-fellow,wherewith aſtonied,

he

he fell dead from his horſe, or ſo hurt, that it was vnpoſsible to haue recouered him, though all which were with him, did their beſt for his ſafety; not caring afterwards for their owne liues, when once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Maſter was ſlaine. *Artaxerxes* cauſed the head and right hand of his brother to bee forthwith ſtricken off, and ſhewed to his people, who now purſuing them, fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and deſiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, & vtterly diſmaied ſuch *Perſian* Captaines, as were now, euen in their owne eies, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence *Artaxerxes*, making all ſpeede, arriued quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There hee met with *Tiſſaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was readie now to joyne with his Maſter in ſpoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, beene ſufficient to counteruaile all diſaſters receiued; the exploit of *Tiſſaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yeelded little comfort. For *Tiſſaphernes* had not ſlaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwiſe, when hegaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great ſlaughter through them, in ſuch wiſe, that he rather eſcaped as out of an hard paſſage, than forced his way through the ſquadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Maſters of the field, gaue chaſe to all that came in their ſight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after theſe *Greekes*, intending to ſet vpon them in reare. But theſe good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approch, turned their faces, and made head againſt him; who not intending to ſeeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purſued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a ſtand, rather in a brauerie, than with purpoſe to attempt vpon theſe bold-fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had ſecured his eſtate, whom he would ſeeme to haue ſlaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone ſufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preſerue wel enough, by ſhewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle diſplaied on the top of a Speare. This enſigne might haue encouraged his people, had not ſome of the *Greekes* eſpied it, who not meaning that he ſhould abide ſo neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King diſcouering their approch, fled vpon the ſpurre; ſo that none remained in the place of battaile, ſaue only the *Greekes*, who had loſt that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that hee was purſuing the Armie, they thought it was fitteſt for them, hauing that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, becauſe the expectation of the Kings comming had giuen them no leiſure to dine.

§. V.

The hard eſtate of the Greekes after the fight; and how ARTAXERXES *in vaine ſought to haue made them yeeld vnto him.*

IT was now about the ſetting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe ſpoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might ſerue for food: ſo that wanting victualls to ſatisfie their hunger, they refreſhed their wearie bodies with ſleepe. In the meane ſeaſon *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleaſure of his good fortune entire, becauſe he perceiued

perceiued that the baſeneſſe of his people, and weakeneſſe of his Empire, was now plainely diſcouered to the *Greekes:* which gaue him aſſurance, that if any of theſe who had beheld the ſhamefull demeanor of his Armie, ſhould liue to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they diſputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore hee reſolued, to trie all meanes, whereby hee might bring them to deſtruction, and not let one eſcape to carrie tidings of that which he had ſeene: to which purpoſe hee ſent them a braue meſſage the next morning; Charging them to deliuer vp their Armes, and come to his Gate, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It ſeemes that he was in good hope to haue found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceiued in that thought. For the *Greekes* being aduertiſed that morning from *Arieus*, a principall Cõmander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Maſter being ſlaine, he had retired himſelfe to the place of their laſt encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to diſlodge the next day, awaiting for them ſo long if they would joyne with him, but reſoluing to ſtay no longer: they ſent anſwere back to *Arieus*, that hauing beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durſt reſiſt them, they would place *Arieus* himſelfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and purſue the victorie. Before they receiued any reply to this anſwere, the Meſſengers of *Artaxerxes* arriued at the Campe, whoſe errand ſeemed to the Captaines very inſolent: One told them that it was not for the Vanquiſhers to yeeld their Weapons; another, that he would die ere hee yeelded to ſuch a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as hauing the victorie, required their Weapons; if ſo, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he deſired them in way of friendſhip; for then would they firſt know, with what courteſie hee meant to requite their kindneſſe. To this queſtion *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, waiting vpon *Tiſſaphernes*, anſwered; That the King hauing ſlaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdome, in the middeſt whereof he held them faſt encloſed with great Riuers, being able to bring againſt them ſuch numbers of men, as they wanted ſtrength to kill if they would hold vp their throats, for which cauſe he accounted them his priſoners. Theſe words, to them, who knew themſelues to be free, were nothing pleaſant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus*, that hauing nothing left, but their Armes & Valour, whileſt they kept their Armes, their Valour would be ſeruiceable, but ſhould they yeeld them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, ſaying; This yong man did ſeeme a Philoſopher, and made a pretty ſpeech; but that his deepe ſpeculation ſhewed his wits to be very ſhallow, if he thought with his Armes, and his Valour, to preuaile againſt the great King. It ſeemes that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imploied in a buſineſſe of importance, thought himſelf too profound a Statesman, to be checkt in his Embaſſage by a bookiſh diſcourſer. But his wiſdome herein failed him. For whatſoeuer he himſelfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an vnhoneſt meſſage to his owne Countrimen, perſwading them baſely to ſurrender their Weapons, & Liues, to the mercileſſe *Barbarians*) this yong Scholler by him deſpiſed, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were ſurpriſed by treacherie of the *Perſians*, being a priuate Gentleman, and hauing neuer ſeene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought ſafe into *Greece*, freeing it from all thoſe, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promiſed to be faithfull to the King, as they had beene to *Cyrus*, offering their ſeruice in *Ægypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vſe of them. But the finall anſwere was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themſelues from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* deliuered the Kings further pleaſure, which was to grant them Truce, whileſt they abode where they thẽ were, denouncing Warre if they ſtirred thence; Whereunto hee required their anſwere. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (ſaith *Phalinus*) muſt I vnderſtand

ſtand you? as chooſing peace if we ſtay, otherwiſe warre, ſaid *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politique Embaſſadour. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpoſe,) Let our doings tell you; and ſo diſmiſſed him, no wiſer than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feede vpon their Horſes, Aſſes, and other Beaſts, which they roſted with arrowes, darts, and woodden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greekes beganne to returne home-wards.

AT night they tooke their way towards *Arieus*, to whom they came at mid-night; being forſaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horſe, all *Thracians*, who fled ouer the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they been kindly vſed, it may well bee thought that ſome of them ſhould haue accompanied *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſerued as Stales to draw in the reſt. *Arieus* being of too baſe a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon ſeeking the Kingdome for himſelfe, with ſuch aſſiſtance as might haue giuen it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleaſed to make couenant with them for mutuall aſſiſtance vnto the laſt: Wherunto both parts hauing ſworne, he aduiſed them to take another way homeward, which ſhould bee ſomewhat longer, yet ſafer and fitter to relieue them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, hauing made a weariſome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coaſted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purpoſed themſelues to haue encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, becauſe hee would not ſeeme by declining them to ſhew feare, or weakeneſſe. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be ſtrange to any that hath conſidered their former behauiour; Nor ſtrange, that the *Græcians* being wearie and hungrie, and lying among enemies in an vnknowne Countrie, ſhould be very fearefull: but it is almoſt paſt beliefe, that the noiſe which was heard of theſe poore men, calling one to another tumultuouſly, as the preſent condition inforced them to doe, ſhould make the *Perſians* flie out of their Campe, and ſo affright the great King, that in ſtead of demanding their Armes, he ſhould craue peace of them. The next day very early, came meſſengers from *Artaxerxes*, deſiring free acceſſe for Embaſſadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that ſuch particulars doe beſt open the qualitie of the perſons, by whom things were managed, I ſhould hold it fitter, to runne ouer the general paſſages of thoſe times, than to dwel among circumſtances. But ſurely it is a point very remarkeable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Meſſengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, becauſe the *Greekes* (as he ſaid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* diſſembling the indignitie, was contented ſweetly to ſwallow downe this pill, ſending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plentie of victuals to relieue them.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How TISSAPHERNES, *vnder colour of peace, betraied all the Captaines of the Greekes.*

HItherto the *Greekes*, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselues into any straights or termes of disaduantage. But now came vnto them the subtile Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumuenting the chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischieuously entrappe them, to the extreme danger of the Armie. He told them, that his Prouince, lying neere vnto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not be vnthankefull for such a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearse the great seruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that aduertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and hauing not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth hee) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would giue me leaue to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suite I haue good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answere to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cause yee haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to giue gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should bee granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to affoord them an open Market. Hereunto both parties hauing sworne, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the King to take leaue, and end all businesse, came vnto them againe after twentie daies, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty daies, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breede doubt; the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arieus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did work him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that hee daily grew more strange to the *Greekes*, than formerly he had beene. This caused many to aduise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relie vpon couenants, and sit still whilest the King laied snares to entrap them. But he on the contrarie perswaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselues againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, wherewith hee saw no reason why the enemie should haue clogged himselfe if hee meant mischiefe, hauing power enough to doe them harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable Man (if honour may bee valued by greatnesse and place in Court) which caused his Oath to bee the more esteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his falshood was such, both in substance and in succesſe, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyar*. A lye may finde excuse when it growes out of feare, for that passion hath his originall from weakenesse. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almightie*, shall be made the supporter of vntruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, aduancing his owne strength against the diuine Iustice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable

table effects, and is followed with ſure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tiſſaphernes* found meanes to deſtroy all the Captaines, whom hee ſubtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himſelfe the meane to draw in all the reſt. The buſineſſe was contriued thus: Hauing trauailed ſome daies together in ſuch wiſe, that the *Perſians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, who were very jealous of the great familiaritie, appearing betweene *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Arieus*; *Clearchus* thought it conuenient to roote out of *Tiſſaphernes* his braines all cauſes of diſtruſt, whereof many had growne in that ſhort time. To which purpoſe obtaining priuate conference with him, he rehearſed the oath of Confederacie, which had paſt betweene them, ſhewing how religiouſly he meant to keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receiue by the helpe of *Tiſſaphernes*, he promiſed that their loue ſhould appeare to him not vnfruitful, if he would make vſe of their ſeruice againſt the *Myſians* or *Piſidians*, who were accuſtomed to infeſt his Prouince, or againſt the *Ægyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cauſe he deſired him, that whereas al diuine and humane reſpects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any cloſe accuſation or ſuſpition, whereby might grow ſudden inconuenience to either of them, vpon no juſt ground. The faithleſſe *Perſian* was very much delighted with this ſpeech, which miniſtred faire occaſion to the execution of his purpoſe. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wiſely conſidered, wiſhing him further to call to minde how many waies hee could haue vſed to bring them to confuſion, without perill to himſelfe, eſpecially by burning the Countrie, through which they were to paſſe, whereby they muſt needes haue periſhed by meere famine. For which cauſe hee ſaid that it had beene great folly, to ſeeke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were alreadie in his hands; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their ſafetie, not onely for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelfe, and the King, by their aſſiſtance: but for that he might by their friendſhip, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he inuited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captaines with him to the ſame place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſenſion between them. *Clearchus* himſelfe being thus deceiued, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the camp of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had beene to ſome common Faire. But being there arriued, *Clearchus* with other the fiue principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſigne was giuen, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlaine. Forthwith certaine bands of *Perſian* Horſe-men ſcoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the *Grecians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, eſcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had beene done. Hereupon the *Greekes* took Armes in haſte, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue aſſailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embaſſadours of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his owne brother, and *Arieus*, followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principall men in the Armie, ſaying, that they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Arieus* deliuered to this effect. That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Procenus*, two other of the fiue Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Armes, which were due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his ſeruant *Cyrus*. When ſome altercation had followed vpon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadours, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that he was in ſuch ſort puniſhed; but he willed them to ſend back

Menon

Menon and Proxenus, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised how to answere the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other foure were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandement their heads were striken off. I hold it not amisse to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Prouince wasted by the *Greekes*, against whom receiuing from his Master conuenient aide of men and money, hee did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) auailing him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the seruice which he could not doe, he was thought vpon priuate ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flye from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, hauing betrayed brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiefe vpon the whole Armie.

§. VIII.

How XENOPHON *heartened the Greekes, and in despight of* TISSAPHERNES *went off safely.*

GReat was the heauinesse of the Souldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no lesse their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not how to auoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadnesse of the whole Armie to be such, as hindred them from taking any course of preuenting the danger at hand, began to aduise the vnder-Officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whose familiar friend he had beene, to bethinke themselues of some meane, whereby their safetie might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoeuer might serue to giue them hope, and aboue al perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling vp such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeede in the places of those who were slaine, or taken. This being done, and order set downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselues for the losse of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had beene wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceede, marching towards the heads of those great Riuers, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, seruing all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greekes* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* prouide slings, wherewith he ouer-reached the enemy; and finding some Horses fit for seruice, that were imployed among the carriages, he set men vpon them; training likewise his Archers to shoote compasse, who had beene accustomed to the point blanke. By these meanes did hee beare off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gaue them chace with that band of fiftie Horse, which being well backt, with a firme bodie of footmen, and seconded with troupes of the light-armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemie to lie a-loofe. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with

these

theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſſe the tops of Mountaines, and places of aduantage, by which they were to paſſe. But finally, when their valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betooke himſelfe to that courſe, which was indeede the ſureſt, of burning the Countrie. With great ſorrow did the *Greekes* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some aduiſed to defend the Countrie, as granted by the enemie himſelfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to doe that which were the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile manner; But theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſaile was, that being neere vnto the *Carduchi*, a people enemie to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Countrie paſſing ouer ſome high Mountaines which lay betweene them. This courſe they followed, which could not haue auailed them, if *Tiſſaphernes* had begunne ſooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to ſeeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in paſſing through the Land of the Carduchi.

ENtring vpon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accuſtomed by force to defend themſelues againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greekes* in daring, but only in the Art of warre. They were verie light of foot, skilfull Archers; and vſed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrie were of much vſe againſt theſe poore trauailers, afflicting them in ſeuen daies which they ſpent in that paſſage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betweene the Territorie of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great Riuer, vpon which the *Greekes* refreſhed themſelues one day, reioycing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would proue eaſie. But the next morning they ſaw certaine troupes of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were leauied by the Kings Deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companies hauing taken their way towards *Ionia*. The Riuer was broade and deepe, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite bankes. To increaſe theſe dangers the *Carduchi* following vpon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountaine, within leſſe than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to diſcouer a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing ouer, did eaſily chaſe away the Subiects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending backe the moſt expedite men, gaue ſuccour to the Reare-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi* being ſlightly armed, could not on plaine ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeeme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of *Niphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tygris*; though *Ptolomie* place them far more to the Eaſt vpon the Riuer of *Cyrus* in *Media*, wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerue credit. Of the Riuer *Centrites* (as of many other Riuers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a coniecture, which may endure the ſeueritie of a *Critick*. For *Ptolomie*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, adde ſmall light to this expedition: only of this laſt, I thinke it the ſame which falleth into *Tigris*, not much aboue *Artaſigarta* ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardeua* in *Gordene*, a Prouince of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* hauing paſſed *Centrites* did arriue.

§. X.

How TERIBAZVS *Gouernour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greekes with termes of fained peace, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.*

THe Armie finding in *Armenia* good prouision, marched without any disturbance about fiftie or threescore miles to the heads of the Riuer *Tigris*, and passing ouer them, trauailed as farre further without resistance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus* at the Riuer *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small; but *Ptolomie* and others omit it. *Teribazus* gouerned that Countrie for the *Persian*, and was in great fauour with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seeme to haue beene a Schoole where the Art of falshood was taught as wisdome. He desired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made vpon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As soone as he had made this league, he leauied an Armie, & besetting the Straights of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped wel to make such benefit of their security, as might giue him the commendation of being no lesse craftily dishoneſt than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the *Greekes* to make many fires, and scatter themselues abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about seeking relieſe. By the fires he was discouered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was reuealed. Hereupon the *Greekes*, taking this captiue with them for a guide, sought him out; and comming vpon his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Armie could arriue there, the shout which was raised by the Vaunt-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Pauilion, wherein (besides many slaues, that were Artificers of voluptuousneſſe) verie rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie went northward, and passing *Euprates*, not far below the springs thereof, trauailed with much difficulty through deepe snow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found straggling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrie, through which they marched, had their wintring houses vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattaile, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Hauing refreshed themselues in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable iourney, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaues, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattaile) some Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Armie to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering vpon the Riuer of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the Riuer *Phasis*, neere whereunto the people called *Phasiani Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations ioyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the *Greekes* were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flie, euery one retyring to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrie the

the *Greekes* did enter were the *Taochi*, who conuaying all their prouiſion of victuals into ſtrong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great ſtore of cattaile were taken; the people, to auoide captiuitie, threw themſelues head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing downe firſt their owne children, and then caſting themſelues vpon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattaile, which ſerued to feed them, trauailing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but ſtrokes. The *Chalybes* were a very ſtout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke priſoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, ſinging and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions liuing; who were glad, when after ſeuen daies iourney they eſcaped from thoſe continuall skirmiſhes, wherewith they had been vexed by theſe *Barbarians*. Hence trauailing through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obſcure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord wherof, and of the Region adioyning, vſed them friendly, and promiſed to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might diſcouer the *Euxine*-Sea. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, deſiring them to waſte it with ſword and fire. After fiue daies march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Moſchici*, whence their guide ſhewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their courſe, and paſſing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themſelues, who borne in that place had beene ſold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arriued in the Land of *Colchos*, wherein ſtands the Citie of * *Trabiſond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hoſtilitie, were requited with the like; for the Armie hauing now good leiſure to repoſe themſelues among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did ſpoile the Countrie thirtie daies together; forbearing onely the Borderers vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens requeſt.

* *Trabiſond* a Colonie of the *Greekes*, ſituate in the bottome of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Armie beganne at Trabizond to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of Sinope, and there proſequnted the ſame purpoſe.

MAuing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were deſirous to take ſhipping, and change their tedious Land-iournies into an eaſie Nauigation. To which purpoſe *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedemonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promiſed by meanes of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedamonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would prouide Veſſels to embarke them. Hauing thus concluded; they likewiſe tooke order for the ſtaying of ſuch ſhips as ſhould paſſe that way, meaning to vſe them for their nauigation. Leſt all this prouiſion ſhould be found inſufficient for the tranſportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perſwaded the Cities adioyning to cleare the waies, and make an eaſie paſſage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were vtterly vnwilling to giue eare, being deſirous to returne by Sea, but the Countrie fearing what inconuenience might grow by their long ſtay, did readily condeſcend to *Xenophons* requeſt. Two ſhips they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and ſent to Sea: the one of them ſailed directly into *Greece*, forſaking their Companions, who had put them in truſt to bring ſhips into the Port of *Trabiſonde*: the other tooke Merchants and paſſengers, whoſe goods were ſafely kept for the owners, but the Veſſels were ſtaied to increaſe the fleet. After long abode, when victuals beganne to faile, by reaſon that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere vnto the Campe was alreadie quite waſted, they were faine to embarke their ſickmen, with

the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already prouided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greeke* Towne, where the fleet likewise arriued. Here the Armie being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men From hence they passed through the Countrie of the [a] *Mosynaci*, who were diuided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to ioyne with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

[a] *Mosynæci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocius*

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greeke* Towne likewise, and a *Colonie* of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainement which here they found was very churlish, hauing neither an open Market affoorded to them, nor the sick-men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in conuenient lodgings, taking into their owne hands the custody of the Gates. Prouision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnwelcome to [c] *Sinope*, whence Embassadours were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to ioyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That meere necessitie had enforced the Armie to teach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deale with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to which, if cause were giuen, they would lend assistance. Vpon this answere the Embassadors grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Cotyora* to relieue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping; letting them vnderstand how difficult the passage by Land would proue, in regard of the many and great Riuers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceiued, that the Citie of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; prouided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to embarke euery one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

[b] *Cotyora* a Port Towne in the same Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Towne in *Leucosyria*, a Colonie of the *Mylesians*.

§. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.

HItherto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather & wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to dissolue and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with priuate respects to their seuerall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast wheron they lay, thought it would be an honorable worke to build a Citie in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrie, diuining of his successe by the entrailes of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom hee imployed had receiued a great reward of *Cyrus*, for coniecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not giue battaile in ten daies: hee therefore, hauing preserued his money carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enioy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was diuulged, which was interpreted according to the diuersitie of mens opinions; some approuing the motion, but the greater

greater part reiecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraide, left the pouertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselues at home, should giue successe to the proiect. Which to preuent, they promised to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vndertooke to giue the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for *Greece*. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to leade them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon* who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions and professed openly that hee would haue them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arriued at their iournies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had vttered *Xenophons* purpose, was heereby staied from outrunning his fellowes, and driuen to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceiued, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Nauigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now resolued for the voiage, & that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution; thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Nauy whilest they were in good readinesse to depart, but to keepe the money to themselues. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselues in great danger of their men, whom they had deceiued with fair hopes, repented much of their hastie offers, & signifying as much to *Xenophon*, praied him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, and sayling to *Phasis*, where they might seize vpon Lands, & plant themselues in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to worke the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspition of *Xenophon*, as if he had wonne the rest of the Captaine to his purpose, and meant now to carrie the Armie quite another way from their owne home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadours from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents desired peace of the *Greekes*: the Embassadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to haue been sought, for that the *Greekes* hauing now their fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchors, and set saile for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admirall *Anaxibius*, who promised to giue the Armie pay as soone, as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIIII.

Another great dissension and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by XENOPHON.

THeneerer that they approched to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make prouision for themselues, that they might not returne home emptie-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, hee might the more conueniently procure the good of them all, they determi-

ned to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose fauour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedæmonians*, who were iealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitiue who forsooke the Armie at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moued by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill successe to his gouernment, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laied vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It seemes that *Xenophon*, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntarie Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yeelding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was by right or by wrong to get wealth wheresoeuer it might bee found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. *Cherisophus* had beene Generall but sixe or seuen daies, when he was deposed, for hauing been vnwilling to robbe the Towne of *Heraclea* which had sent presents to the Campe, and beene very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riuers, which would haue giuen impediment to their iourney by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somewhat for themselues; telling them that all their prouision would be spent in three daies, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrie, victuals and other necessaries could not bee had without money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and fiue hundred pound starling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the summe raised to tenne thousand *Cyzicens* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Least therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudencie and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their insolent message; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the Souldiers perceiued themselues to be disappointed of their rauenous purpose, they fel to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betraied them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians*, and *Achæans*, they forsooke immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. Aboue foure thousand and fiue hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Captaines, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way betweene *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the suddaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which smal band had done good seruice alreadie, and could not haue beene spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouernour of *Bizantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the Riuer *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conuey him ouer into *Greece*; for which cause he tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Countrie to the *Propont*. The Mutiners, who had landed at *Calpas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythinia*, diuided themselues into ten Companies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, fiue or sixe miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the countrie surprised on the suddaine, & sacked all at one time.

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The place of Rendeuous was an high peece of ground, where ſome of them arriued, finding no diſturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men eſcaping, the reſt were all put to the ſword. For the *Thracians* which had ſlipt at firſt out of the Souldiers hands, did raiſe the Countrie, and finding the *Greekes* loden with bootie, tooke the aduantage of their diſorder, cutting in pieces thoſe two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reſt, encompaſſing the hill whereon they encamped. One great aduantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleaſure make retrait from theſe *Arcadians*, & *Achæans*: who wanting the aſſiſtance of horſe, and hauing neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driuen to ſtand meerely vpon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds receiued, the Darts and Arrowes of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, and enforced to craue parly. Whatſoeuer the articles of compoſition were, the *Thracians* yeelded to all; but pledges for aſſurance they would giue none, without which the *Greekes* well knew, that all promiſes of ſuch people, eſpecially ſo incenſed, were nothing worth. In the meane time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of ſome Trauailers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Armie, paſſing along thoſe parts: and receiuing by them true information of the deſperate caſe into which theſe Gallants had fooliſhly throwne themſelues, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horſe-men hee ſent before to diſcouer, and to ſcowre the waies; the light-armed foot-men tooke the hill-tops on either hand, all of them ſetting fire on whatſoeuer they found combuſtible, whereby the whole Countrie ſeemed to be on a light-flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that ſome huge Armie had approched. That night he encamped on a Hill, within fiue mile of the *Arcadians*, encreaſing ſtill the number of his fires, which hee cauſed haſtily to be quenched ſoone after Supper. The enemies perceiuing this, thought certainely that hee would haue fallen vpon them in the darke, which cauſed them in all haſte to diſlodge. Early the next morning *Xenophon* comming thither in very good order, to haue giuen battaile, found that his deuice, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but hee marualled that the *Greekes* were alſo departed, concerning whom he learned by enquirie, that they remoued at breake of day, and perceiued by ſignes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calpas*, in which journey hee ouertooke them. They embraced Him, and His, with great ioy: Confeſſing that they themſelues had thought the ſame which the enemies did, looking that hee ſhould haue come by night, wherein finding themſelues deceiued, they were afraid leſt he had forſaken them, and therefore haſtened away, to ouertake him, and ioyne with him. So they arriued at the Hauen of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whoſoeuer from thenceforth made any motion to diſioyne the Armie, ſhould ſuffer death.

§. XV.

Of diuers pieces of ſeruice done by XENOPHON; *and how the Armie returned into Greece. The occaſions of the Warre betweene the Lacedæmonians and the Perſian.*

THe Hauen of *Calpas* lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very ſtrong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was alſo Timber for building and ſhipping, and a very conuenient ſeate for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to ſtay there, and to plant, cauſed

caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should finde some deuice to haue settled himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to liue at home, neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer sort were such as left the Parents, Wiues, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found aduantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrailes, did indeede forbid their departure: so long they were inforced to abide in the place till victualls failed, neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrie, vntill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needs aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neere at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Countrie lying in waite to entrap him, and an Armie of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*, which troupes falling vpon the *Greekes* that were scattered abroade in seeking bootie, slew fiue hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine thereby. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Armie to the rescue of those that suruiued, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemie, together with the present condition of the Armie, so disheartened and vnfurnished of necessaries, caused the *Greekes* to remoue their Campe to a place of more strength; which hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to indure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their Assistants. In this journey his demeanour was very Honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemie was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backes a wood scarce passeable) hee marched directly, telling his men plainely, that hee had rather follow the enemie with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarian*, hee would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victualls to sustaine them in the place, and ships, to carrie them away? wherefore hee willed them rather to fight well that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than an other day fasting; and not to regard the vneasie returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish vnto the Enemie a faire and easie way, by which hee might flie from them. These perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrie forthwith, remouing their Families, and leauing all that could not sodainely bee conueighed away, to the discretion of the *Greekes*, who at good leisure gathered the haruest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoile of the Countrie, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colonie on the Port of *Calpas*, Embassadours were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and

make

make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Souldiers had no minde to ſtay. Wherfore entring further into *Bythinia*, they tooke a great bootie, which they carried away to *Chryſopolis*, a Citie neere vnto *Chalcedon*, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, leſt their long ſtay in that Countrie might breede in them a deſire to viſite his Prouince, where they might haue found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, entreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them ouer into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condeſcending, promiſed to giue the Souldiers pay, as ſoon as they arriued at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Aſia* at the intreatie of the *Perſian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Riuers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Armes into his hands, and ſo to yeeld their liues to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized vpon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſacke, I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertaine little to the generall courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcouer the ſecrets of *Aſia*, and ſtirre vp the *Greekes* to thinke vpon greater enterpriſes, than euer their forefathers had vndertaken. Likewiſe it was the only remarkable action which the time affoorded. For the *Roman* warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of *Italie*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling inſolently, but without diſturbance. True it is, that the ſeedes of the Warre ſhortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already ſowne, before theſe companies returned out of the high Countries of *Aſia*. For the Townes of *Ionia*, which had ſided with yong *Cyrus* againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, if not againſt the great King, prepared to rebell, which they thought ſafer, than to fall into the hands of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* beſought the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them aide, whereby to recouer their libertie; and obtained their requeſt.

For a power was ſent ouer, vnder conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who beſtowed his men in ſuch Townes as had already reuolted, to ſecure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offenſiue Warre.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of XENOPHONS *Armie, to make Warre vpon* ARTAXERXES.

IT seemes that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceiue in how ill part *Artaxerxes* tooke their fauour shewed vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no aduantage might slip, which could serue to strengthen their estate, by finding the *Persian* worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Armie had reuealed the baseneſſe of those effeminate *Asiatiques*, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselues had gotten, vpon termes of extreme disaduantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of vndertaking vpon this huge vnweldie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to *Babylon*, and further, finding no power that was able to giue them resistance; in all that long journey of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty fiue furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of Englisſh miles about foure thousand two hundred foure score and one, a very painefull march of one yeere and three moneths. Neuertheleſſe the ciuill distraction wherewith *Greece* was miserably torne, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* Warre, which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew backe out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their owne estate; leauing it queſtionable whether *Ageſilaus*, hauing both the same, and farre greater forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeeres, which he spent in *Asia*, his deedes procured more commendation of magnanimitie and faire behauiour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly so euer it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carry no proportion to *Xenophons* owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of *Conon* the *Briton* with six thousand men from *Aquileia*, to his owne Countrie, through all the breadth of *Italie*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Ageſilaus* and his warres in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speake more in due place.

§. II.

§. II.

The proſperous beginnings of the warre in Aſia.

THIMBRO receiuing *Xenophons* men, beganne to take in Townes, and to entertaine all ſuch as were willing to reuolt from the *Perſian*, who were many, and ſome of them ſuch, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who ſeeme to haue had no other cauſe of diſcontent, than that they were to liue vnder the gouernement of *Tiſſaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Maſter did loue him. The managing of the warre begunne by *Thimbro*, was for his oppreſſions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaued himſelfe as a good man of Warre, and a wiſe Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of *Aſia* was diuided betweene *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, who did ill agree; *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in thoſe warres againſt the *Greekes*; *Dercyllidas* who did beare a priuate hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tiſſaphernes* was of a miſchieuous nature, and would not be ſorry to ſee his Corriuall throughly beaten, though to the Kings loſſe) made an appointment with *Tiſſaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was vnder the juriſdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Prouince, in few daies, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrie of *Æolis* had about the ſame time ſuffered a violent alteration, which gaue eaſie ſucceſſe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had beene Deputie to *Pharnabazus* in thoſe parts; after whoſe death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein ſhee behaued herſelfe ſo well, that ſhee not only was beloued of the people vnder her gouernement: but enlarged her Territorie, by the conqueſt of certaine Townes adjoyning; and ſundry times gaue aſſiſtance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres againſt the *Myſians* and *Perſians*. For ſhee had in pay ſome Companies of *Greekes*, whoſe valour by her good vſage did her great ſeruice. But ſomewhat before the arriuall of *Dercyllidas* in thoſe parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom ſhee truſted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to ſtifle her, and kill her ſonne of ſeuenteene yeeres old; which done, he ſeized vpon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treaſure lay, hoping to haue beene admitted into poſſeſſion of her whole eſtate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garriſon, he ſent Meſſengers with preſents to *Pharnabazus*, deſiring him to make him Gouernour in the place of *Mania*. His preſents were not only reiected by *Pharnabazus*, but reuenge of his foule treaſon threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driuen into tearmes of almoſt vtter deſperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held againſt *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne ſtood out foure daies (againſt the will of the Citizens, who were couetous of libertie) the Gouernour ſtriuing in vaine to haue kept it to the vſe of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities *Gergethe* and *Scepſis*, which the Traitour held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, ſent Embaſſadours to *Dercyllidas*, deſiring leaue to ſpeake with him, and pledges for his ſecuritie: vpon the deliuerie of which hee iſſued out of *Scepſis*, and comming into the Campe, made offer to joyne with the *Greekes* vpon ſuch conditions as might ſeeme reaſonable. But he was plainely told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to ſet the Citizens freely at libertie. And preſently vpon theſe words they marched toward *Scepſis*. When *Midias* perceiued that it was in vaine to ſtriue againſt the Armie, and the Townes-men, who were all of one minde; hee quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*; who remaining but a few houres in the Citie, did a ſacrifice to *Minerua*, and then leading away the Garriſon of *Midias*, he left the Citie free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forſake his Companie, but followed him, earneſtly intreating that hee might be ſuffered to re-

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taine *Gergethe*: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerua*. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercinaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had beene subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemie to the *Greekes*: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World hee might finde any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end hee tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Sommer ensuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, besides the wasting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Maine, was fortified, being foure or fiue miles in breadth, by which meanes eleuen Townes with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*; and made fit and able to victuall the Campe. Likewise the Citie of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with prouision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta*, to diuert the warre into *Caria*, where was the seate of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vneasie to recouer all the Townes of *Ionia*: *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yeerely Office) being appointed to joyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Thissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to assist his priuate enemie *Tissaphernes*, & so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne dores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the Riuer of *Maander*, and not looking to haue bin so soone encountered, marched carelesly through the Countrie: when on the very sodaine the whole Armie of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discouered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercinarie *Greekes*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in aduantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greeke* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Ilanders and others, of such places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselues to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainely discouer by their lookes, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians* regarding their honor, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs haue brought them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had beene followed, who perceiuing the opportunitie of so great a victorie, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, beganne to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greekes* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to craue parly; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, to last vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answere from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one part, that all the *Greekes* in *Asia* might enjoy their owne libertie and lawes, but contrariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedæmonians* should depart *Asia*, and leaue the Townes to the Kings pleasure. This Treatie was of none effect; only it serued to free the *Greekes* from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to auoide the warre by procrastination, which he durst not aduenture to finish by triall of a battaile.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke reuenge vpon the Eleans for old diſpleaſure. The diſcontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceiued againſt the State of Sparta.

IN the meane ſeaſon the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withſtand them in *Greece*, beganne to call the *Eleans* to accompt for ſome diſgraces receiued by them during the late warres, when leiſure was wanting to the requitall of ſuch pettie iniuries. Theſe *Eleans* being Preſidents of the *Olympiaque* games, had ſet a fine vpon the Citie of *Sparta*, for Non-paiment of which, they forbade them to come to the ſolemnitie; and publiquely whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for preſuming to contend againſt their decree. Likewiſe they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta*, from doing ſacrifice to *Iupiter*; and in all points vſed great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no buſineſſe that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore ſent a peremptorie meſſage to the *Eleans*, commanding them to ſet at libertie the Cities which they held in ſubiection. This was the vſuall pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of ſuch Townes, which they cauſed afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vaſſals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late warres with *Athens*, the ſtrong oppoſition which they found, cauſed this goodly Title of libertie to worke verie ſlowly; but hauing now to doe with a State of great ſpirit and ſmall force, it gaue preſent ſucceſſe to their deſires. Two yeeres together they ſent an Armie into the Countrie of the *Eleans*: the firſt yeere an earthquake (held in thoſe times a prodigious ſigne, and which did alwaies forbid the proſecution of any enterpriſe in hand) cauſed them to retire: the ſecond yeere, all the Townes of the *Eleans* did haſtily reuolt, and the Citie it ſelfe was driuen to ſubmiſſion; conſenting both to ſuffer their old ſubiects freely to enioy their libertie, and to haue her owne walls throwne downe. Only the Preſidentſhip of the *Olympian* games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vſe modeſtly, finding themſelues to ſtand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greekes* were aſſiſtant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, whoſe aide hauing been of as much importance in the late *Peloponneſian* Warre, as the force of *Sparta* it ſelfe, they could not ſmoother their diſlike of their vnequall diuiſion following the victorie; which gaue to *Sparta* the command of al *Greece*; to *Thebes*, and *Corinth*, only ſecuritie againſt *Athens*, but ſuch a ſecuritie as was worſe than the danger. For when the equall greatneſſe of two mightie Eſtates did counterpoiſe each the other, it was in the power of theſe Neutral Common-weales to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge iniuries, they had by mortall hatred proſecuted the warre to extremitie, leauing the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreaſed in both, it was then (if not neceſſarie to obey the greatneſſe which themſelues had made yet) fooliſh and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheleſſe, it was not the purpoſe of the *Spartans* to take occaſion of any quarrell, which they could not finiſh at pleaſure, till ſuch time as they had by victorie or compoſition made ſome good end with the *Perſian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IIII.

The passage of AGESILAVS *into Asia. His warre with* TISSAPHERNES. *How* TISSAPHERNES *was put to death, and the warre diuerted into another Prouince, through perswasion and gifts of* TITHRAVSTES *his successor. How carlesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

AGESILAVS newly made king of *Sparta*, was desirous to haue the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected vpon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Armie to ioyne with that of *Dercyllidas*, he tooke his way in great pompe to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, a Hauen, lying opposite to the Iland of *Eubœa*, in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the warre against *Troy*, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* hee meant also to do sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Countrie, would not permit, but saying that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers, they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then conuenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himselfe and his Countrie in any new warre; therefore waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Hauing landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treatie of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persian* should restore to liberty all the *Greek* Townes in *Asia*, was promised that the *King*, being first informed of his demand, should send answere to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therfore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, onely to winne time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whilest *Agesilaus* was busie in setling the Estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming down of these forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* receiued a plain message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forth-with depart out of *Asia*, or make good his aboade by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that hee was glad to heare that his enemies had by periurie deserued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to inuade them; and sending word to all the Townes which lay betweene him, and *Caria*, that they should prouide victuals and other necessaries for his Armie, did easily make *Tissaphernes* beleeue, that his intent was to inuade that Prouince wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was vnfit for Horse, in which part of his forces the *Persian* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his horse into the plaines of *Maander*, hoping thereby to stoppe the passage of a heauie foot-Armie, not suffering them to passe into that Countrie which was fittest for their seruice. But the *Greekes* left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they tooke great spoile without resistance, till such time as the Horse men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the *Greekes*, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight onely twelue men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the masterie of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes hauing enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted hee entred vpon the Countrie of *Tissaphernes*, as soone as the season of the yeere would permit, and not onely tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plaine of *Maander*, without assistance of their infanterie, hee gaue them battaile, and had a great victorie, taking their Campe in which hee found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heauie vpon

Tissaphernes

Tissaphernes, who either vpon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other businesse, was then at *Sardes*. For which cause his Master hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the *Greekes*, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a *Persian*, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeede him in the gouernment. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by periurie he could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wisdome, euen in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himselfe most perfect; for supposing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation hee should one way or other circumuent the *Greekes*, and make them weary of *Asia*; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would hee much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found such meanes whereby the danger it sefe might haue beene auoided: as not louing to haue warre, whilest by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* tooke at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadours to *Agesilaus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had beene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greekes* enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answere to this proposition, was by *Agesilaus* referred to the Councell of *Sparta*; in the meane season he was content to transferre the warre into the Prouince of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offensiue and on the defensiue part. For *Agesilaus* hauing entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbeare his seuerall Prouinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily bee taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Prouinces, which were subiect likewise to the same Crowne of *Persia*, so long as their own gouernement could be preserued free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so deseruedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein *Eunuches*, *Concubines*, and *Ministers* of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroade; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so vsuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrie giuen in charge vnto each of them receiued, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as euery one was desirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to assist his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sate still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not beene vneasie to recompence the spoile of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a third from farre greater miseries.

§. V.

The Warre and Treatie betweene AGESILAVS *and* PHARNABAZVS.

AGESILAVS hauing thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Countrie without resistance. Hee tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behauiour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious then profitable. For he did not winne Cities and Places of strength, which might haue encreased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were disontented and stood vpon bad termes with the great King, whom he lost againe as easily, by meanes of some slight iniurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neere as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not vneasie to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessitie, had beene so great, that when hee (obtaining parlie) did set before their eies his bountie towards them, and his loue (which had beene such, that besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driuen to runne a-shore at *Abydus*, aduentured to ride into the Sea as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-backe against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word or deede: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were inforced, against their will, to offend him. *Agesilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would reuolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Countrie wherein hee was at that time onely Deputie to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainely, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make warre against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemie; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey an other, he would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Armie should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor againe returne into it, whilest employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agesilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for want of more necessarie businesse elsewhere; but becausse his Countrie would yeeld great bootie; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemie, who afterwards requited their vnthankefulnesse with full reuenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hyred with gold from the Persian.

IN the meane while *Tithraustes*, perceiuing that *Agesilaus* meant nothing lesse then to returne into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, tooke a wise course whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not only driuen to looke to her owne, and giue ouer her great hopes of subuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had beene gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of her

her owne Territorie. Hee ſent into *Greece* fiftie talents of ſiluer, to be imployed in raiſing warre againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which treaſure was, by the ſubtile practice of him that was put in truſt with it, in ſuch wiſe diſperſed, among the principall men of the *Thebans*, *Argiues*, & *Corinthians*, that all thoſe Eſtates hauing formerly borne ſecret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now deſirous of nothing ſo much as of open war. And leſt this great heate of the incenſed multitude ſhould, for want of preſent exerciſe, begin to faint, and vaniſh away in idle wordes, occaſion was found out to thruſt the *Lacedæmonians* into Armes, that they themſelues might ſeeme Authours of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claime; but the *Phocians* either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adjudged vnto them, and receiued yeerly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perſwaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning ſo to loſe their Rent, made a diſtreſſe by ſtrong hand, recouering a great deale more than their owne; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an inuaſion made vpon *Phocis*, waſting that Countrie in the manner of open warre. Such were the beginnings of profeſſed hoſtilitie betweene *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the firſt breaking out of their cloſe enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embaſſadours came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requeſting ſuccour, they had very fauourable audience, and readie conſent to their ſuite; it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deferre the acknowledgement of injuries receiued, vntil occaſion of reuenge were offered, and then to diſcouer their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wills, hauing no other war to diſturbe them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Aſia* no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they ſent *Lyſander* to raiſe all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with ſuch forces as he could leauie, to attend the comming of *Pauſanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath beene ſhewed before, had two Kings) who ſhould follow him with the ſtrength of *Peloponneſus*. *Lyſander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in thoſe parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to reuolt from *Thebes*. *Pauſanias* likewiſe raiſed all *Peloponneſus*, except the *Corinthians*, (who refuſed to aſſiſt him in that enterpriſe) meaning to joine with *Lyſander*, and make a ſpeedie end of the war. The conſideration of ſo great a danger, approching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeeke what helpe they could abroade, foraſmuch as their owne ſtrength was farre too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mightie preparations. It was not vnknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart than they durſt vtter in countenance; but the good wiſhes of ſuch people were little auaileable, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was, that they ſhould doe as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiuerſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelues into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe, to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelfe on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, & make their partie ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendſhip lately ſhewne in their refuſall of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants, againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour ſake, they requeſted them of aide in the preſent warre, offering to doe the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former Eſtate and Dignitie. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who perſecuted by the thirtie, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courteſie which they had receiued. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not only refuſe to aide the *Lacedæmonians* in this Warre; but that it ſhould aſſiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelfe in their cauſe. Whileſt *Pauſanias* lay

ſtill, waiting the arriuall of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to doe ſomewhat that might aduance the buſineſſe in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had beene appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was ſlaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this victorie did encourage the *Thebans*, ſo the comming of *Pauſanias* with his great Army did againe amaze them, with preſentation of extreme danger; but their ſpirits were ſoone reuiued by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazard a new fight with them, but receiuing the bodies of thoſe that were ſlaine, by compoſition, departed out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardiſe or indiſcretion, he was at his returne to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitour, and driuen to flie into *Tegea*, where hee ended his daies in baniſhment.

§. VII.

How AGESILAVS *was called out of Aſia to helpe his Countrie. A victorie of the Spartans.* CONON *the Athenian, aſſiſted by* PHARNABAZVS, *ouercomes the Lacedæmonian fleet; recouers the maſterie of the Seas; and rebuilds the walls of Athens.*

THis good ſucceſſe, and the confederacie made with *Athens*, gaue ſuch reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argiues*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith ſide with them, & raiſing a ſtrong Armie, determined to giue battaile to the *Lacedæmonians* as neere as they might, to their owne dores; Conſidering that the force of *Sparta* it ſelfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adiunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of *Sparta* perceiuing the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeied them, and promiſing his friends in *Aſia* to returne ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Straights of *Helleſpont* into *Europe*. In the meane time the Cities of the new league had giuen battaile to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Aſſociates, but with il ſucceſſe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argiues* and *Thebans* returning from the chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, wonne from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victorie of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting *Ageſilaus* at *Amphibolis*, were by him ſent ouer into *Aſia*, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had ſince his departure ſeene the *Spartan* fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admirall ſlaine. The ſame man, whoſe endeuour had brought the *Athenians* into order, by aduancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of ſupplies, was now the occaſion that the power of *Athens* grew ſtrong at Sea, when the Citie was deſpoiled of her old reputation, and ſcarſly able to mainetaine an Armie by Land for her owne defence. *Pharnabazus* conſidering how much it imported the King his Maſter, to haue the *Greeks* diuided into ſuch factions, as might vtterly diſable them from vndertaking abroad, thought it the ſafeſt way for himſelfe, during theſe broiles, to take ſuch order, that he ſhould not need any more, to ſeeke peace by entreatie and commoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vn-prouoked had ſold his loue for thirtie Talents. To which purpoſe he furniſhed *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ſhips, who had eſcaped, when the fleet of *Athens* was ſurpriſed by *Lyſander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giuing him the command of a great Nauie, wherewith he requited the loſſe receiued at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like deſtruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victorie *Conon* ſailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberalitie of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victorie, ſo ſtrong a Nauie, and ſo much gold, as encouraged the

Athenians

Athenians to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signiorie which they had loſt.

§. VIII.

Of ſundrie ſmall victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians loſe all in Aſia; The Athenians recouer ſome part of their old Dominion.

NEuertheleſſe the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for ſome yeeres the honour of their eſtate, endangered very greatly by this loſſe at Sea. For *Ageſilaus* obtained the better with his horſe-men from the *Theſſalians*, who were accounted the beſt riders in *Greece*: He waſted *Bœotia*, and fought a great battaile at *Coronea* againſt the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whome he ouerthrew; and by his *Marſhall Gylis* forraged the Countrie of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gaine of theſe victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many loſſes, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battailes of *Coronea* vanquiſh the *Orchomenians*, who ſtood oppoſite vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Ageſilaus* charged them in the returne from the purſuit. Likewiſe *Gylis* was ſlaine with a great part of his Armie by the *Locrians*; and ſome other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed againſt the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equall damage receiued in the parts adioyning; many Townes being eaſily taken, and as eaſily recouered. The varietie of which enter-feates was ſuch, that the *Thebans* themſelues were drawne, by the loſſe of the hauen of *Corinth*, to ſue for peace, but could not get audience, till ſuch time as the newes came of a great victorie obtained by *Iphicrates*, Generall of the *Athenian*-forces at *Lecheum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embaſſadours being ſent for, and willed to doe their meſſage, required only in ſcorne, to haue a ſafe conduct giuen them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incurſions, wherin the *Achæans*, confederates of *Sparta*, felt moſt loſſe, their whole ſtate being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrarie ſide, vntill *Ageſilaus* repaied theſe inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did ſo afflict the *Acarnanes*, that they were driuen to ſue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of moſt conſequence, vpon which the ſucceſſe of all depended. For when the Townes of *Aſia* perceiued, that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in an hard war at home, but almoſt diſabled to paſſe the Seas, hauing loſt their fleet at *Cnidus*; they ſoone gaue eare to *Pharnabazus*, who promiſed to allow that they ſhould vſed their own lawes, if they would expell the *Spartan* Gouernours. Onely the Citie of *Abidus* did ſtand firme, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his beſt to containe all the Townes about *Helleſpont*, in the alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not doe, becauſe the *Athenian* fleet vnder *Thraſybulus* tooke in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The baſe conditions offered vnto the Perſian by the Lacedæmonians. Of ſundrie fights and other paſſages in the warre. The peace of ANTALCIDAS.

ABout this time the *Spartans* beganne to perceiue how vneaſie a thing it would bee, to maintaine the warre againſt men as good as themſelues, aſſiſted with the treaſures of *Perſia*: wherefore they craued peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering, not only to renounce the *Greekes* inhabiting

habiting *Asia*, & to leaue them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Ilanders, and euerie Towne in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute libertie whereby they said that all the principal Estates of their Countrie would so be weakened, that nō one, nor all of them should be able to stirre against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Countrie being so broken, and rent into many small pieces, could neither haue disquieted the *Persian*, by an offensiue warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would haue left it easie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the dominion of the Seas was like to returne to *Athens*, they chose rather to giue all from themselues and others, and make all a-like weake; than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselues, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalfe ioyned together against the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their seuerall Embassadours oppose themselues vnto it, and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interposing himself to bring friends and foes on the suddaine to an equalitie. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* did send as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did seeke to repay the harme done by *Agesilaus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off; *Thimbro* was sent into *Asia* to make war vpon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being scattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land grew almost to the manner of piracie and robberie, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthie of remembrance. *Thimbro* was slaine by *Struthas*, and in his place *Diphridas* was sent who demeaned himselfe more warily. *Dercyllidas* was remoued from his charge at *Abydus*, because he had not impeached *Thrasybulus* in his enterprises about *Hellespont*; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surprised and slaine in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasybulus*, departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was slaine by the way at *Aspendus*. The Citie of *Rhodes* had long before ioined with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Aristocratie*, or the Gouernment of a few the principall Citizens, where as contrariwise the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Soueraignetie into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselues, by erecting in the Townes of their Confederates a Gouernment like vnto their owne: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobilitie to fauour *Sparta*, and the Commons to encline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roued vpon the coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an Armie in *Ægina*, and besiege their towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, the Ilanders beganne a-new to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their ships againe, that returned beaten, hauing lost foure of thirteene. The losse of these ships was soone recompensed by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Ilanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seeme strange that the Citie of *Athens*, hauing but newly raised her walls; hauing not by any fortunate and important battaile secured her estate from dangers by land; but onely depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discouered themselues irresolute in the common cause; would send a fleet and an Armie to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Euagoras*, when the mastry of the Seas, was so ill assured, that an Iland lying in the eie of *Pyræus*, had abilitie to vexe the coast of *Attica*. But as the ouer-weaning of that Citie did cause it vsually to embrace more then it could compasse; so the insolencie and shameless iniustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselues farre out of sight, and to seeke emploiments at such distance as might secure them from the eies of the enuious, and from publike iudgements, out of which few

few or none eſcaped. For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſſe away much part of his time in the Iſle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carrie away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Countrie well could haue ſpared, with which he returned not when the buſineſſe in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new aduentures in *Ægypt*, whereby aroſe neither thankes to himſelfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſſe of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Hauen. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Gouernour of *Ægina*, conceiued a ſtrong hope of ſurpriſing the Nauie of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ſhips prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whoſe Mariners were aſleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tauernes. Wherefore he ſailed by night vnto the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, & few or none left aboord to make reſiſtance: by which meanes hee tooke many ſhips laden with marchandizes, many fiſher-men, paſſengers, and other Veſſels, alſo three or foure Gallies, hauing ſunke or broken, and made vnſeruiceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom hee liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the *Lacedæmonians* were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance, the fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuch wiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not haue needed the peace, which they themſelues procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giuing freedome to all the Cities of *Greece*, and diuiding the Countrie into as many ſeuerall States as there were pettie Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewiſe by his money become arbitrator & decider of Controuerſies betweene the *Greekes*, diſpoſing of their buſineſſe in ſuch wiſe as ſtood beſt with his owne good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Aſia* and *Cyprus* ſhould be his owne; the Iles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be ſubject to *Athens*; all other *Greeke* Townes, as well the little as the great, be ſet at libertie; and that whoſoeuer ſhould refuſe this peace, vpon them the approuers of it ſhould make warre, the King aſſiſting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ſhips, and treaſure. The *Athenians* were ſo diſcouraged by their loſſes at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by reuolt of their Confederates, and the neceſſitie of maintaining many Garriſons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miſeries of the warre, whereof they ſaw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did conſent vnto theſe Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking vpon themſelues the execution, did not only compell the *Argiues* to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garriſons, lately thruſt into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leaue *Bœotia* free, of which Prouince *Thebes* had alwaies held the gouernment: the *Thebans* themſelues being alſo comprehended vnder the name of the *Bœotians*; but cauſed the *Mantineans* to throw downe their owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleaging that they had formerly beene accuſtomed ſo to doe, though purpoſing indeede to chaſtiſe them, as hauing beene ill affected to *Sparta* in the late Warre. By theſe courſes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the ſmall Townes in *Greece* would, when occaſion ſhould require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities hauing loſt all their dependants, would be vnable to make oppoſition.

§. X.

§. X.

The ware which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.

WHileſt theſe warres, which ended without either victorie or profit, conſumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the Citie of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was growne ſo mighty, that ſhee did not only command her Neighbour-Townes, but was become terrible to places farre remoued, and to *Sparta* it ſelfe. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the vſuall pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſet at libertie the places ouer which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almoſt now driuen him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelues. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being neereſt vnto the danger of theſe incroching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would bee too ſtrong for al *Greece*, if ſome continuance of time ſhould giue it reputation, which only it wanted, wherefore they requeſted aſſiſtance, but in ſuch termes as did ſound of compulſion; proteſting that either they muſt warre vpon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject vnto her, and fight in her defence. Heereupon was made a haſtie leauie of men, two thouſand being preſently ſent away with promiſe to bee ſeconded by a greater Armie. Whileſt theſe two thouſand gaue ſuch beginning to the warre, as agreed with their ſmall number, the body of the Armie following them, ſurpriſed the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betraied into the hands of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by ſome of the Magiſtrates, who ſought to ſtrengthen their faction by the ſlauerie of their Countrie. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made betweene them; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of puniſhment; In concluſion, profit ſo farre ouer-weighed honeſtie, that the deede was approued, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driuen into baniſhment; and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernement of the Citie: by whoſe authoritie, and the force of the Garriſon, the *Thebans* were compelled to ſerue the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This acceſſe of power hauing ſtrengthned the *Lacedæmonians*, cauſed them to entertaine the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithſtanding the loſſe of one great battaile, and ſome other diſaſters) they compelled at length by famine to render it ſelfe to their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans recouered their libertie, driuing out the Lacedæmonian Garriſon.

AFter this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almoſt three yeeres, it ſeemed that no Eſtate in *Greece* was able to make head againſt that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found meanes to ſhake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the baniſhed men found by conference with a *Scribe* of the *Theban* Magiſtrates, comming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppreſſed, pleaſed him no better than it did thoſe who for feare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betweene theſe two, that ſoone found very good ſucceſſe, being managed thus. Seuen of the baniſhed men forſooke *Athens* priuily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where ſpending the next day ſecretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned

turned from worke, and ſo paſſed vndiſcouered vnto the houſe of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawne into the conſpiracie. The day following, a ſolemne feaſt being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidas* promiſed the Gouernours, who were inſolent and luſtfull men, that hee would conueigh vnto them that night the moſt beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they ſhould take their pleaſure. Hauing cheared them with ſuch hope, and plentie of good wine, hee told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promiſe, vnleſſe they would diſmiſſe their followers, becauſe the Gentlewomen, who attended without a Chamber, would not endure, that any of the ſeruants ſhould ſee their faces. Vpon this occaſion the attendants were diſmiſſed, and the Conſpirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking aduantage of the Gouernours looſe behauiour, ſlew them al vpon the ſodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then preſently caſting off their diſguiſe, they went to other places, where faining themſelues to come to the Gouernours vpon buſineſſe, they got admittance, and ſlew thoſe which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like deuice they brake into the priſon, ſlew the *Gaoler*; and ſet at libertie ſuch as they thought meete, and being followed by theſe deſperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants knowen. The Captaine of the Caſtle hearing the Proclamation, thought the Rebels to bee ſtronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwiſe miſtruſted, that it was a practice to diſcouer ſuch, as would be forward vpon occaſion of reuolting. But as ſoone as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes & beſieged the Caſtle, ſending haſtily to *Athens* for ſuccour. The Garriſon alſo ſent for aide vnto the Townes adioyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the reſcue, were defeated on the way by the horſe-men of *Thebes*. On the other ſide the baniſhed *Thebans* did not only make ſpeede to aſſiſt their Countrimen, but procured ſome *Athenians* to joyne with them, and thereby came ſo ſtrong into the Citie, that the Caſtle was yeelded, more through feare than any neceſſitie, vpon cõdition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which compoſition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the ſucceſſe arriued at *Sparta*, an Armie was raiſed forth-with, and all things prepared as earneſtly for the recouering of that Citie, as if ſome part of their ancient inheritance had beene taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Towne perfidiouſly vſurped by them, reſtored to her owne libertie, *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was ſent on this expedition, who hauing wearied his followers, with a toileſome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harme done; leauing *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Theſpies*, to infeſt the *Thebans*; who doing them ſome diſpleaſures, made large amends by a fooliſh attempt vpon the Hauen of *Athens*, which failing to take, hee waſted the Countrie adioyning, and draue away Cattaile, cauſing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which they were before very carefully ſeeking how to with-draw themſelues.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flouriſhing eſtate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leuctra to the battaile of Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens ioyned together againſt Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themſelues, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatneſſe.

THE *Lacedæmonians* were men of great reſolution, and of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one diſhonorable rule they held, That all reſpects withſtanding the commoditie of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, euen by the beſt and wiſeſt of them, did greatly blemiſh that Eſtate, but when it was put in execution by inſufficient ouerweening men, it ſeldome failed to bring vpon them in ſtead of profit vnjuſtly expected, both ſhame & loſſe. And ſo it befel them in theſe enterpriſes of *Phœbidas*, vpon the Caſtle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* vpon the *Pireus*. For howſoeuer *Ageſilaus* did ſpoile the Countrie about *Thebes*, in which hee ſpent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good ſucceſſe of ſome attempts, grew ſtronger than they were at the firſt.

The *Athenians* likewiſe beganne to looke abroade, ſailing to the Ile of *Coreyra*, where they ordered things at their pleaſure, and hauing in ſome fights at Sea preuailed, began as in the *Peloponneſian* warre, to ſurround *Peloponneſus* with a Nauie; afflicting ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their inſolencie wearied their friends, and cauſed them to ſeeke for peace, it had beene very likely that the end of this warre, ſhould haue ſoone come to a good end, which neuertheleſſe, being proſequuted by the *Thebans* (who oppoſed at once both theſe two great Eſtates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiuing how *Thebes* encroched euery day vpon her weake Neighbours, not ſparing ſuch as had beene dependants vpon *Athens*, and finding themſelues, whileſt engaged in ſuch a warre, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, reſolued to ſettle the affaires of *Greece*, by renewing that forme of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Perſian*. Wherefore they ſent Meſſengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily ſignifying, That it was their intent to finiſh the Warre; to which purpoſe they willed the *Thebans* to ſend Embaſſadours along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condeſcended, fearing otherwiſe that they ſhould be left out of the Treatie of peace, which came to paſſe, being ſo wrought by the couragious wiſdome of *Epaminondas*, who vnderſtood farre better than his Countrimen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did ſoone agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to ſweare to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*; *Ageſilaus* required them to ſweare in their owne name, and to leaue the *Bœotians* free, whom they had lately reduced vnder their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made anſwere, That the Citie of *Sparta* ſhould giue example to *Thebes* by ſetting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signorie of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly ſpoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Ageſilaus* bearing a vehement hatred vnto thoſe of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawne back out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, & diſappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieue by the *Perſian* Warre, did

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now very paſſionately vrge that point of ſetting the *Bœotians* at libertie, and finding it as obſtinately refuſed, he daſht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocis*, who receiued command from the Gouernours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power, which he did, and was there ſlaine at *Leuctra*, and with him the flowre of his Armie. This battaile of *Leuctra* being one of the moſt famous that euer were fought betweene the *Greekes*, was not ſo notable for any circumſtance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it ſelfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but eſpecially, for that after this battaile (betweene which and the concluſion of the generall peace there paſſed but twentie daies) the *Lacedæmonians* were neuer able to recouer the ſtrength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neere; whereas contrariwiſe the *Thebans*, whoſe greateſt ambition had in former times confined it ſelfe vnto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Eſtates, in ſuch wiſe, that ſoone after they brought an Armie of threeſcore and ten thouſand ſtrong vnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much doe the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly indured, aduance the affaires of the diſtreſſed, and guide them into the way of Conqueſt, by ſtiffening that reſolution with a manly temper, which wealth and eaſe had through luxurie, rechleſſeneſſe, and many other vices or vanities, made ruſtie and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians tooke vpon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles hence ariſing. EPAMINONDAS *inuadeth and waſteth the Territorie of Lacedæmon.*

THE *Athenians*, refuſing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*; did neuertheleſſe finely giue them to vnderſtand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themſelues the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which *Ageſilaus* (perhaps of purpoſe to make benefit of quarels that might ariſe) had left vnperfect, they aſſembled the Deputies of al the Eſtates confederated at *Athens*; where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well ſmall as great, was ratified, vnder the ſtile Of the *Athenians*, and their Aſſociates. Hereupon began freſh garboiles. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne pleaſure, did (as it were) in deſpight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their towne, reedifie it, & allie themſelues with ſuch of the *Arcadians* as ſtood worſt affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a ſtrong Nation, conſiſting of many Cities, were diſtracted with factions; ſome deſiring to hold good correſpondencie with the *Lacedæmonians*; ſome to weaken & keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durſt not giue impeachment to the *Mantineans*; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till ſuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraine helpe. Then was an Armie ſent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, againſt the *Mantineans*, but indeed againſt them both. *Ageſilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time ſubdued the *Phocians*, & were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, & many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponneſus* in fauor of the *Arcadians*, who had, vpon expectatiõ of their coming abſtained from giuing battaile to *Ageſilaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being diſmiſſed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Laconia* vvas inuaded and ſpoiled: a thing ſo ſtrange, that no Oracle could haue found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almoſt ſixe hundred yeeres were ſpent, ſince the *Dorians*, vnder the poſteritie of *Hercules*, had ſeized vpon *Laconia*, in all which time the ſound of an

enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie: Ten yeeres were not fully past, since all *Greece* was at the deuotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke vpon, nor the mightie forces of *Athens*, and other Enemie-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserue the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaues as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, and somwhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Corinth* and some Townes of *Peloponnesus* they receiued speedie assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battaile, hauing rebuilded the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselues.

§. III.

The composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans; who againe inuade and spoile Peloponnesus. The vnfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THis journie therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any maner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselues might be Generalls by Land. This had beene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be imploied at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to haue serued vnder the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the authority should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling fiue daies, the *Lacedæmonians* other fiue, & so successiuely that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very slowly aduanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inuasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so vnable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driuen out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Countrie without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by diuiding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like maner share the gouernement, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by encreasing whose greatnes they should strengthen their own yoke. Herevpon they began to demeane themselues very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing been made (which tooke not effect, because the City of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* and their friends was vpon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Persian; with the reasons why he most fauoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.

THe *Thebans* especially reioyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering, that, without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proued so ill, whereas they themselues had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoeuer they tooke in hand, and were become not only victorious ouer the *Lacedæmonians*, but patrons ouer the *Thessalians*, and Moderators of the great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*, where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the Sonne of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage vnto *Thebes*. Hauing therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of al *Greece*, they sought meanes of alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Embassadour the great and famous Captaine *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant vnto the *Thebans* all that they desired; whereof two especiall points were, That *Messene* should remaine free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbeare to send their ships of Warre to Sea; only the later of these two was somwhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom few or none receiued much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in *Greece*, did vpon many waightie considerations resolue, to binde the *Thebans* firmely vnto him; iustly expecting, that their greatnesse should bee on that side his owne securitie. The *Athenians* had beene ancient enemies to his Crowne, and, hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the *Persian* to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (sundrie grieuous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Grecks*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indiscretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious ouer *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they vndertooke the conquest of *Asia*, from which though, by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and settled things in *Greece*, it was not vnlikely, that they should vpon the next aduantage haue pursued the same enterprise, had not they been empeached by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had alwaies discouered a good affection to the Crowne of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his inuasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athens*: And finally, hauing offered much contumely to *Agesilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deseruings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroade; whereunto if perchance they should haue any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauen townes, which they could not seize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend vnto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as farre forth as he might without giuing open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill meanes which the *Greeks* had to disturbe *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficiall to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Prouinces. For had then the

affaires of *Greece* beene so composed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the rest haue transported an Armie, to assist the reuolting *Satrapæ*, or *Viceroies* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, humane reason can hardly find the meanes, by which the Empire could haue been preserued from that ruine, which the diuine Coũcel had deferred vnto the daies of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Prouinces, wanting a firme bodie of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiatiques* wearied quickly with the trauailes and dangers incident to warre, forsaking the common cause, and each man striuing to bee the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, & purchase withal his own promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a suddaine storme, rashly commenced, idlely followed, and foolishly laied downe, hauing made a great noise without effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole raigne of *Artaxerxes*, from the warre of *Cyrus*, to the inuasion of *Ægypt*, I finde nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitlesse journey against the *Caduſians* excepted) worthy of any mẽtion; much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enjoied the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could affoord vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queen-Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had bin the greatest enemies to her sonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poison and mischieuous practices shee had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, thenceforth she wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his own Daughter, & filling him with the perswasion, which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace, doe readily entertaine, That his owne will was the supreme law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or euill. In this imaginarie happinesse *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadours of *Greece*, both found and left him, but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the cõclusion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuitie, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a ful security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie laied by mortall men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadours to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be set at libertie, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Iudges of all controuersies that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being solemnely published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Embassadours, drawne thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for obseruation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatorie answere was made by the Embassadors, who said, that they were sent to heare the articles; not to sweare vnto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driuen to send vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relie vpon their owne swords.

§. V.

§. V.

How all Greece was diuided, betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the one ſide, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults riſing in Arcadia.

THe condition of things in *Greece* at that time did ſtand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatneſſe drawne all her followers into a cruell inteſtine warre, by which the whole Countrie, and eſpecially the Eſtate of theſe two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoyne their forces againſt the *Thebans*, who ſought to make themſelues Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the partie of theſe ancient gouerning Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits receiued, or in diſlike of thoſe, who by ſtrong hand were readie to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not ſuddenly aſpire without ſome injurie and much enuie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom neceſſitie had made warlike, and many victories in few yeeres had filled with great ſpirits, & being ſo mightie in dependants, that ſhee had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peleponneſus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beſide excepted) vnder ſuch acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meere Vaſſallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponneſus* to the like obedience, wherein alreadie ſhee had ſet good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argiues* had beene alwaies bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themſelues in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, hauing beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of looſing all: which cauſed them to ſuſpect and enuie nothing more than the greatneſſe and honor of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when ſhee was at reſt, and had leiſure to bend her whole force againſt them, but firmely ioyning with her enemies whenſoeuer they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the *Argiues* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, ſure friends of *Thebes*, ſo the *Arcadians*, tranſported with a great opinion of their owne worthines, had formerly renounced and prouoked againſt them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought conuenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to ſend an Armie into *Peloponneſus*, before ſuch time as theſe wauering friends ſhould fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And ſurely great cauſe there was to ſuſpect the worſt of them, conſidering that without conſent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very ſtrange, and ſeemed no leſſe to the *Athenians* themſelues, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the ſame time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did neuertheleſſe accept this new Confederacie, not relinquiſhing the old, becauſe they found that, howſoeuer theſe *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they ſhould hereby be drawne ſomewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was vnlikely to inuade *Peloponneſus* with a ſtrong Armie. But this did rather haſten, than by any meanes ſtay, the comming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way ſomewhat more cleare for him (becauſe the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay vpon the *Iſthmus*, and had beene aduerſe to *Thebes*, was now, by miſeries of this grieuous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occaſion hereby, and by ſome diſorders among the *Arcadians*, to viſit *Peloponneſus* with an Armie, conſiſting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had riſen in *Arcadia* about conſecrated money, which many principall men among them had laied hands on, vnder pretence of imploying it to publique vſes. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occaſion, ſuch, as had leaſt will to render account of the money which had come into their handes, procured the Captaine of ſome *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take priſoners many of their Countrimen, as people deſirous of innouation. This was done: but the vp-roare thereby

thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarse pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame vpon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to iudge of their fidelitie, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly wordes did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aide of so mightie a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to bee made against themselues. Hereupon such of them as had before sought meanes to settle the affaires of their Countrie, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with send to *Athens* for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadours to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselues to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now readie to be inuaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the comming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best prouisions, would bee no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatiues, they (who had been accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now verie gently yeeld to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible inuasion of Peloponnesus by EPAMINONDAS.

CErtaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a verie firme consent, and vniforme care of the common safetie. For beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argiues*, and *Messenians*, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with *Epaminondas*; who hauing lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, receiued there intelligence, that the Armie comming from *Athens* would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselues his. The common opinion was, that the first attẽpt of the *Thebans*, would be vpon such of the *Arcadians* as had reuolted; which caused the *Lacedæmonian* Captaines to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to send for *Agesilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good espiall vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hastie aduertisement of his purpose to *Agesilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the Citie of *Sparta* had suddenly been taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwithstanding any defence that could haue beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Agesilaus* in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arriuall of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harueſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans*, finding the warre to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would vse the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattell into their fields, whilest no enemie was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore hee turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might

be

be found without the Citie. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the Countrie; farre more intent vpon their harueſt-buſineſſe, than vpon the warre, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelues out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recouer the Towne, were in a deſperate caſe; and the Towne it ſelfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy ſhould haue taken all their prouiſion of victuals with ſo many of the people, as had not ouer-dearely beene redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſocietie with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* comming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at *Mantinea*, were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any couragious aduenture to deliuer thoſe who otherwiſe were giuen as loſt. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to bee the beſt Souldiers of all the *Greekes*, and the commendation of good horſemanſhip had alwaies beene giuen to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought vpon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no neceſſitie of her owne, but onely in deſire of relieuing her diſtreſſed friends, they iſſued forth of *Mantinea*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelues, or their horſes with meat, and giuing a luſtie charge vpon the enemie, who as brauely receiued them, after a long and hote fight, they remained maſters of the field, giuing by this victorie a ſafe and eaſie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arriued in the place ſoone after this battaile, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Aſſiſtants were not farre behinde.

§. VII.

The great battaile of Mantinea. The honourable death of EPAMINONDAS, *with his commendation.*

EPAMINONDAS, conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurpriſing *Sparta* and *Mantinea*, hauing failed, the impreſſion of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians*, would ſoone vaniſh, vnleſſe by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt grouth, and leaue ſome memorable character of his expedition; reſolued to giue them battaile, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtfull affections of his own Aſſociates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weake in ſpirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubjection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victorie ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be ſuch, as promiſed the accompliſhment of his owne deſire; he made ſhew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himſelfe in a place of more aduantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, hee might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward ſtrike their ſenſes with amazement, when hee ſhould come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceiued him not. For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſodaine a danger, the enemie ranne to Armes, neceſſitie enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that daies ſeruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie conſiſted of thirtie thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were ſhort of this number, both in horſe and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (becauſe the warre was in their Countrie) ſtood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing, the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of leſſe account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left wing of their owne battaile, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*,

cedæmonians, hauing by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubeans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thessalians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argiues* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flancks, only a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could joyne, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* preuailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skil, were ouer-laied with numbers, and so beaten vpon by *Thessalian* slings, that they were driuen to forsake the place, and leaue their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselues together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to haue giuen them ouer, and withall discouering some Companies of foot, which had beene sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the *Athenians* had not onely to doe with the *Argiues*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horse-men, in such wise that it beganne to open, and was readie to turne backe, when the *Elean* squadron of Horse came vp to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, so that equall courage and equal losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: vnlesse perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the first brunt, and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted, and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeeres, cannot be thought to haue gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiuing the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to bee such, as neither the badde successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them giue one foote of ground; taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom hee cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rancks, and cleaue the whole battaile in despight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day wonne by the *Thebans*, who may justly bee said to haue carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, hauing driuen the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the *Greekes*, and serued meerely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemie could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arriued at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonian* esquadron, and forced it to giue back in disaray, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiuing many wounds, hee nethertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, vsing against the Enemies many of their Darts, which hee drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, hee receiued so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaning the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his brest. Hereupon hee sunke downe, and was soone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his

fall

fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would haue got his bodie) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trauaile of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phisicians, That when the head of the Dart should be drawne out of his bodie, hee must needes die. Hearing this, hee called for his shield, which to haue lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. He bade them tell him which part had the victorie; answere was made, that the *Bœotians* had wonne the field. Then said he, it is faire time for mee to die, and withall sent for *Iolidas*, and *Diophantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both slaine; which being told him, He aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilest with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his bodie; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memorie should liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to bee matched in any Age or Countrie: for hee equalled all others in the seuerall vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustice, and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wisedome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferiour to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof hee so excelled, That hee could not properly bee called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Prouident Captaine; all these Titles, and many other, being due vnto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduct, made a perfect composition of an Heroique Generall. Neither was his priuate Conuersation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroade. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular easie, and of much mildnesse: a louer of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities that might winne and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer-more beene an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoyning, and the highest command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinæa. The voiage of AGESILAVS *into Ægypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betweene him and* POMPEY *the Roman.*

THis battaile of *Mantinæa* was the greatest that had euer beene fought in that Countrie betweene the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted

excepted which were vndertaken against forraine enemies, proouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this last fight all *Greece* was interessed, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victory with greater care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath beene related, it was found best for euery particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, euery one retaining what hee presently had, and none being forced to depend vpon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new league; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion; considering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well bee allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it affoorded leisure to seeke after wealth by forraine emploiment in *Ægypt*, whither *Agesilaus* was sent with some smal forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenarie, to serue vnder *Tachos* King of *Ægypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Acoris* King of *Ægypt*, went now as a voluntary, with such forces as he could raise, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same seruice. These *Ægyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius Nothus*, hauing retained the Country, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and forraine inuasions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceiued great hope, not onely to assure themselues, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adioyning, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprise might haue been, had it not fallen by Domesticall rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it selfe had soone come to nothing, if *Agesilaus* had not proued a false Traitor, ioyning with *Nectanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armie which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falshood *Agesilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his owne Countrie; though it seeme rather, that hee grudged because the King tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Armie, vsing his seruice onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howsoeuer it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betraied by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, who vpon his submission gaue him gentle entertainement; and *Nectanebus* (who seemes to haue beene the Nephew of *Tachos*) raigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set vp another King, to whom all, or most of the *Ægyptians* yeelded their obedience. But *Agesilaus* fighting with him in places of aduantage, preuailed so farre, that hee left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good seruice done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of siluer, with which bootie sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in warre, free from couetousnesse, and not reproched with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue euerie one of the Citizens (not caried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. Hee was nenertheless very arrogant, peruerse, vniust and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be ouerthrowne; with which conceipt being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans*, and their Allies, hee did euer after beare such hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meere necessitie to grow warlike, and able, to the vtter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations giuen to him by

Xenophon

Xenophon his good friend, haue cauſed *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance againſt *Pompey* the Great; whoſe actions (the ſolemne grauitie of carriage excepted) are very diſproportionable. Yet we may truely ſay, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder ſundrie Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imploiments all that were before him; ſo *Ageſilaus* had at one time or other, ſome quarrell with euery Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Aſia*, and meddled in the buſineſſe of the *Ægyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predeceſſours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein alſo they are very like; Each of them was the laſt great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his owne Lordly wilfulneſſe. We may therefore well ſay, *Similia magis omnia quàm paria*; *The reſemblance was neerer than the equalitie*. Indeede the freedome of *Rome* was loſt with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæſar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire ſtood, the forme of Gouernement only being changed: But the libertie of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it ſelfe, was not forfaited vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Ageſilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of *Sparta* was preſently loſt: and the freedome of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much bloud loſt, ill healed by the peace enſuing, did very ſoone, vpon the death of *Ageſilaus*, giue vp the Ghoſt, and the Lordſhip of the whole Countrie was ſeized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe actions are now on foote, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie paſſages of things, in any other Nation.

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Finis Libri Tertij.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the raigne of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the *eſtabliſhing of that Kingdome, in the race of* ANTIGONVS.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of PHILIP, *the Father of* ALEXANDER *the Great, King of Macedon.*

§. I.

What Kings raigned in Macedon before PHILIP.

THE *Greekes*, of whom wee haue alreadie made large diſcourſe, not as as yet wearied with inteſtine warre, nor made wiſe by their vaine contention for ſuperioritie, doe ſtill, as in former times, continue the inuaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their libertie, with as happie ſucceſſe, as euer Nation had, and with no leſſe honour, than hath euer beene acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a triall and experience, more than fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatſoeuer could be ſpared from their owne diſtraction at home, they tranſported ouer the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertaine and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euery man of marke in the world, that they vnder-fall, and periſh, by the hands and harmes which they leaſt feare; ſo fared it at

this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew euen then more violent in deuouring each other, when the fast-growing greatnesse of such a neighbour King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, haue serued them for a strong argument of vnion and accord. But the glorie of their *Persian* victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselues, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which sate neerer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakned them, and wonne vpon them, that they were not (as the *Graecians* perswaded themselues) in any one age, likely to recouer their owne, much lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decaied and broken banks, when great Riuers are once swollen, fast-running, and inraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themselues, in breaking downe those defences, which stood betweene them and this inundation: than seeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reason they might haue found to haue lien vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by OROSIVS: *Graeciae Ciuitates dum imperare singulae cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by striuing each of them to command all.*

Oroſius l. 3. c. 12.

The Kingdome of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the Sonne of *Osiris*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Iupiter* and *Aethra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Aegean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west, by *Thessalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argiues*; who are listed as followeth. About some sixe yeeres after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then gouerning *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as hee was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynie and tempestuous, hee espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, hasting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle beene directed, to follow the first troupe of those beasts, that should either lead him, or flye before him; He pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edessa*, and being vndiscouered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their Citie without resistance, and possest it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twentie yeeres. *Caenus* succeeded *Caranus*, and raigned twelue yeeres. *Tyrimas* followed *Caenus*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres.

Paul. Diac. Chuf. Theop. Antioſ. 6.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Perdiccas the first, the sonne of *Tyrimas*, gouerned one and fiftie yeeres: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others affirme, that he appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successours, at *Aegae*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay vp their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the *Temenidae* failed in him: a thing rather deuised after the effect, as I conceiue, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

Sol. c. 14. Plin. l. 4. c. 10.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Argaeus succeeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres.

Philip the first, his successour, raigned eight and twentie yeeres.

Europus followed *Philip*, and gouerned sixe and twentie yeeres: in whose infancie the *Illyrians* inuaded *Macedon*, and hauing obtained a great victorie, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resoluing either to recouer their former losse, or to loose at once both their

their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King present;) or rather they perswaded themselues that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being and Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his seruants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimoinus*, of *Clotarius* the sonne of *Fredegunda*. *Euseb. Iustin. Ammian. The. Ant. &c. Aimon. l.3 c.82.*

Alcetas succeeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twentie yeeres.

Amyntas the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and raigned fiftie yeeres; Hee liued at such time as *Darius Hystaspes*, after his vnprosperous returne out of *Scythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadours, as you haue heard before, were, for their insolent behauiour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, slaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amyntas*, and his Successour. *Her. Eus. Iustin. &c.*

Alexander, surnamed the rich, the sonne of *Amyntas*, gouerned *Macedon* three and fortie yeeres. He did not only appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadours, by giuing *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the bloud of *Persia*, but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region betweene the Mountaines of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be vnited to the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greekes*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the *Persian* Armie, *Alexander* acquainted the *Greekes* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sonnes, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*. *Her. l. 8. Plut. Euseb. Iust. &c.*

Perdiccas the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and raigned in all eight and twentie yeeres. The Warres which hee made were not much remarkeable: the Storie of them is found here and there by peices, in *Thucydides*, his first sixe bookes. Hee left behind him two sonnes; *Perdiccas*, who was very yong, and *Archelaus* who was base borne.

Perdiccas the third, being deliuered to the custodie and care of *Archelaus*, was at seuen yeeres of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misaduenture. But *Archelaus* staied not here: for hauing thus dispatched his brother, hee slew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the sonne of this *Alcetas*, his Cosen Germaine, and enioyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himselfe foure and twentie yeeres. *Plat. in Gorg. Arist. Pol. 5.*

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though hee made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet hee performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all meanes to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured *Eurypides* the *Tragœdian*. He had two sonnes, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father, and hauing raigned seuen yeeres, hee was slaine in hunting, either by chance or of purpose, by *Crataus*.

Orestes his yonger sonne was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the roial bloud of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupill; for *Æropus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which he held some sixe yeeres: the same who denied passage to *Agesilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired after his returne from the *Asian* expedition, to passe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This Vsurper left three sonnes, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and hauing raigned one yeere, hee was driuen out by *Amyntas* the sonne of *Philip*, the sonne of the first *Perdiccas*, the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preserued, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdicas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*, and his sonne *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* *Diod. Polyæn. Plut. in Demet.*

raigned (though very vnquietly) foure and twentie yeeres; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two yeeres dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours neere the *Ægæan* Sea, made themselues for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second had by his Wife *Eurydice*, the *Illyrian*, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: He had also by his second Wife *Gygea*, three Sonnes; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by their brother *Philip*: He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomie*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie *Alorus*, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second raigned not much aboue one yeere, in which time hee was inuaded by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. Hee was also constrained (for the payment of a great summe of money) to leaue his yongest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subiected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander*, being inuited by the *Aleuadæ* against *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entred into confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrie, with whom he also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practized the death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomie Alorites* did put in execution: by meanes whereof hee held *Macedon* for three yeeres, but was soone after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodor* hath it otherwise of *Philips* being made pledge; and sayth, That *Amyntas* his Father deliuered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conueied to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet liuing) was first ingaged to the *Thebans*, and deliuered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Diod. l. 15. & 16.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slaine *Alorites* his base-brother, gouerned *Macedon* fiue yeeres, and was then slaine in a battaile against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Iustine* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his Mother, as *Alexander* did.

Iust. l. 7.

§. II.

The beginning of PHILIPS *raigne; and how he deliuered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.*

PHILIP the second, the yongest sonne of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, hauing beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which hee had vnder *Epaminondas*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first yeere of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourscore and thirteene yeeres: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was inuironed, hee tooke on him, not as King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone ouergrew his modestie, and hee was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, The necessitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and actiue. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set vp in opposition *Pausanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*;

Diod. l. 16.

sonnes

ſonnes of the late Vſurper *Æropus*: each of theſe labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their owne Election. Theſe heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, he bought off the weightieſt by money, and by faire promiſes vnloded himſelfe of ſo many of the reſt, as he ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithſtanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thouſand *Macedonians*, beſide theſe that were wounded and taken priſoners; and that the *Pannonians* were deſtroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a fleet by Sea, and three thouſand Souldiers by Land vnder *Mantias*, did beat vpon him on all ſides and quarters of his Countrie: Yet after he had practiſed the men of warre of *Pannonia*; and corrupted them with gifts; and had alſo bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pauſanias*, he forthwith made head againſt the *Athenians* his ſtiffeſt enemies; and, for the firſt, he preuented their recouerie of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then purſue *Argæus* the ſonne of *Æropus*, ſet againſt him by the *Athenians*, and followed him ſo hard at the heeles, in his retrait from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argæus* loſt, hauing the greateſt part of his Armie ſlaine in the place. Thoſe of the *Athenians*, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a ſtrong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoiding thereby the preſent furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquiſhers life and libertie to returne into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the *Athenians* for that preſent, and for this clemencie he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*.

§. III.

The good ſucceſſe which PHILIP *had in many enterpriſes.*

NOw had *Philip* leiſure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconciliable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with ſo proſperous ſucceſſe, as hee ſlew *Bardillis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with ſeuen thouſand of his Nation, and thereby recouered all thoſe places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withall, vpon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierſt that Countrie, and after a maine victorie obtained, hee enforſt them to pay him tribute. This was no ſooner done, than (without ſtaying to take longer breath) he haſted ſpeedily towards *Lariſſa*, vpon the Riuer *Peneus* in *Theſſalie*, of which Towne hee ſoone made himſelfe maſter; and thereby he got good footing in that Countrie, whereof he made vſe in time following. Now although hee reſolued either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his owne againſt all others, becauſe the horſe-men of that Countrie were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it moſt for his ſafetie to cloſe vp the entrances out of *Thrace*, leaſt while hee inuaded *Theſſalie* and *Greece* towards the South, thoſe ample Nations, lying towards the North, ſhould either withdraw him, or ouer-runne *Macedon* as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, ſeated on the famous Riuer of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and wonne it. He alſo recouered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the Citie of *Crenides* (ſometime *Datus*) and called it after his owne name *Philippi*: to the people whereof S^t. *Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epiſtles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* ſtood, is very rich in Mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the aduancement of *Philips* affaires, he drew yeerely a thouſand talents, which make ſixe hundred thouſand *French* Crownes.

And that hee might with the more eaſe diſburden the *Thracian*-ſhores of the *Athenian* Garriſons, to which he had giuen a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the *Olynthians*; whom the better to faſten vnto him, he gaue them the Citie of *Pydna* with the Territorie, meaning

ning nothing lesse than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, many yeeres.

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the *Greeks*, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the Citie of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, from the tyrannie *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*. Who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the libertie of that State, they themselues (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former libertie. Which act of *Philip* did for-euer after fasten the *Thessalians* vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, bind them to his seruice.

§. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew PHILIP *into Greece.*

ABout this time, to wit, in the second yeere of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight yeeres after the battaile of *Mantinea*, and about the eighth yeere of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of euery great alteration in the World there is some preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceiued against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greekes* themselues beating downe their owne defences, to giue him an easie passage, and beating themselues, to giue him victorie without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slauerie, sauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the *Thebans* (made ouer-proude by their victorie at *Leuctres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the general Estates of *Greece*, in which, at that time, they swaied most, they caused both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater summes of money than they could well beare; the one for surprising the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolued not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and incouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refusall were exposed as *Sacrilegers*, and accursed to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to inuade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolued to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollo's* ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they resolued to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to preuaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was tenne thousand talents, which in those daies serued them to wage a great many men, and such was their successe in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe head-long ouer the Rockes.

In the meane while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselues against their bad-Neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselues to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That hee

that

that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof; *After* PHILIPPO; *Aster to* PHILIP; for so hee was called that gaue him the wound. This Citie he cured with the soile. *Plut. Vlpian. Strab. l 8.*

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* ingaged in the holy warre, entred *Thessalie* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped so to entertaine the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leisure to inuade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessalie*, but both the *Thessalians*, and *Macedonians*, (*Philip* being present) were vtterly ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessalie*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Baetia*, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and tooke from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late misaduenture, after he had re-enforced his Armie, returned with all speed into *Thessalie*, there to find againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time incountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie ouerturned, six thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part receiued by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*, but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recouered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of *Thessalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practices of PHILIP.

FRom hence *Philip* resolued to inuade *Phocis* it selfe, but the *Athenians* did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians* they retrencht his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon hee returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Townes, hee quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three sonnes by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two yonger held themselues within *Olynthus*; and that the receiuing of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the warre, *Iustine* affirmeth. But iust quarrels are ballanced by iust Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might any way serue his turne; all his affections, and passions, how diuers soeuer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and thereinto conuerted. For hee neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie; he esteemed no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter, Nor any Citie or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could loose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because hee thought it vaine to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the aduantage of a well compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere hee sate downe before the Citie it selfe: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Countrie and Common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaues by *Iust. l. 8.*

the

the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly inriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was hee aduised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That hee should make his assaults with siluer speares:* Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said.

Hor. Carm. Od. 16.

——— Diffidit Vrbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit aemulos,
Reges muneribus.———

By gifts the *Macedon* claue Gates a-sunder,
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spaine:*) So when in the contention betweene the Competitors for the Kingdome of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie and Iustice, but with a powerfull Armie and hauing beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

§. VI.

How PHILIP *ended the Phocian Warre.*

THE warre still continuing betweene the *Phocians*, and the Associates of the holy warre, the *Bœotians*, finding themselues vnable to subsist without some present aide, sent vnto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselues; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirtie talents, which makes a hundred & fourescore thousand Crownes: but when with these supplies they had still the worst in all their attempts against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of their strongest Cities within *Bœotia* it selfe, They then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would giue an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obey his Commandements in that Warre.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to giue the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedie pace towards *Bœotia*, where being arriued, *Phalleeus* who commanded the *Phocian* Armie, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leauing the *Phocians* to the mercie of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glorie of that warre called *Sacred*, which the *Gracians* with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten yeeres, and, besides the glorie, hee possest himselfe of *Orchomene*, *Coronea* and *Corsia*, in the Countrie of the *Bœotians*, who inuited him to bee victorious ouer themselues. Hee brought the *Phocians* into seruitude, and wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, reseruing to himselfe the yeerely tribute of threescore talents, which make sixe and thirtie thousand *French* Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of pietie for seruice of the Gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* sacriledge.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How PHILIP *with ill successe attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.*

PHILIP, after his triumphant returne into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Armie *Parmenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Illyrians*, and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their reuennues. But his next enterprise against the *Perinthians* staied his furie. *Perinthus* was a Citie of *Thrace*, seated vpon *Propontis*, in the mid-way betweene *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolued to defend their libertie against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* incouraged and assisted them. *Philip* sate downe before it with a puissant Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious assaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But hee was repel'd with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall assaults to wearie them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Persian* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium* which stood vpon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieued from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoeuer was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of *Byzantium*, by reason of their neighbour-hood, and the easie passage by water, gaue them often and readie helpe; *Philip* remoued with the one halfe of his Armie and besieg'd it, leauing fifteene thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could; but to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnder-take diuers enterprises at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon he made an Ouerture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it, to which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions; Yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence preuailed in the refusall. In the meane while, *Philip* hauing digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Marchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne *Alexander*, led them into *Scythya*; but hee was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mœsia* set on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How PHILIP *ouerthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Chæronæa, was chosen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of* PHILIP.

AMong these Northren Nations (part of which hee suppress, and part quieted) hee spent some eight yeeres; and in the ninth yeere, after the end of the holy warre, he was to his great aduantage inuited againe by the *Græcians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* hauing disobeyed the decree of the *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gaue countenance and aide to the *Amphissensians*, the rest were not of themselues able to constraine them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that *Philip* was not long in resoluing vpon this enterprise; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other disswasion than a mastring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and with as much

expedition

expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, wanne *Platæa*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to feare that a great part of this storme would fall on themselues, yet were they disswaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choise (hauing drawne the *Thebans* to joyne with them) to leaue the injoying of their estates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them deare. It is true that he could farre more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, then make them to be such as they were. Hee might repeate vnto them (with wordes mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but hee could not transforme the *Macedonians* into *Persians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrarie faction hee was at this time in disgrace, and not imployed: in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although some thousand of the *Athenians* abid the killing, and the like number well-neere of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of worthie men on that side to hold vp the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choise Captains of the *Macedonians*, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victorie that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despight of all the Nations interjacent) into *Persia*, *India*, and *Ægypt*; so it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the *Græcian* glorie: Yea their libertie (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion wonne with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to his disaduantage) to the end hee might obtaine the Soueraignetie ouer all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall against the *Persians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those *Athenians* that were taken at this battaile of *Cheronæa*, as he also forbare to attempt any thing against their Citie: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed ouer the rest) hee lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soone after (according vnto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soueraignetie) by the generall States at *Corinth*, stiled the first Commander of all the *Græcians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Armie of great strength, and vnder the commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same ouer the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, to begin the Warre. Of his enterprise against *Persia* hee sought the successe from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he receiued such another conuertible riddle, as *Cræsus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philips* ambitious desire to inuade *Persia* abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatned, he vnderstood to be deliuered of his enemie, whom he intended presently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, hee inuited all his Friends, and Allies, with the principall persons of the *Græcian* Cities, from whom he receiued much honour and many rich presents; but this was indeed the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe justice to one *Pausanias* a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to be carnally abused by diuers base persons, This *Pausanias* grew into so great detestation of the Kings partialitie in so foule a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the *Theater*, he drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had liued sixe and fortie yeeres, and raigned fiue and twentie.

Iustine

Iustine reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death shee boldly auowed, by the honour shee did vnto *Pausanias* in crowning his dead bodie, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces. *Iust. l. 9.*

§. IX.

What good foundations of ALEXANDERS *greatnesse were laied by* PHILIP. *Of his laudable qualities, and issue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastred all opposition on that side the Sea, and had seene the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection, yet he was herein happy that hee liued to see his sonne *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe been an eie-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laied so soundly for him, with so plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings were vnto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For besides the recouerie of *Macedon* it selfe, in competition betweene him and the sonnes of *Æropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*, and besides the regayning of many places possest by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northren Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and wonne vpon them; Hee left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choise Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and iudgement in the warre, were no lesse worthie of Crownes, than himselfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, vngratefull to so great vertue, impiously murdered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parmenio* neuer did any thing worthie of renowne; as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obay the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselues.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had inriched him with vertues. For besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this sauour of Pietie, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieued, than to suppresse them, Whereof (among many other) wee finde a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion*, and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; Hee answered them, That first it ought to bee considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to bee well spoken off; and this was shortly proued, for after *Philip* had relieued their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that he was a better Phisition for euill speech than they were.

His *Epistles* to *Alexander* his sonne are remembred by *Cicero*, and *Gellius*; and by *Dion*: and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Frontinus*, his wise sayings by *Plutarch*, And albeit hee held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his raigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof: for *Amyntas* the sonne of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection *Cic. Of. 2. Gell. l. 9. c. 3. Dion. 2. de Regn.*

protection during his infancie) had the right. This *Amyntas* hee married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* base sonne *Aridæus*, her Vncle by the mothers-side: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extreme torments: *Eurydice* shee strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians*, (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexanders* death slaine at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an *Illyrian*, his second wife, hee had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicesipolis*, the Sister of *Iason*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, hee had *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married, but shee was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra*, the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Perdiccas*. Him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder on *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* hee had likewise a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers breast.

Athen. l. 13. c. 2. *Iust. l. 3.*

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

Hee had also two Concubines, *Arsinoe*, whom, after hee had gotten with child, hee married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie*, King of *Ægypt*, called the sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the sonne of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine, a publike Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom wee shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

Chap. II.

Of Alexander the Great.

§. I.

A briefe rehearsall of Alexanders doings, before hee inuaded Asia.

Alexander, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and inriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. Hee began his raigne ouer the *Macedonians* foure hundred and seuenteene yeeres after *Rome* built, and after his owne birth twentie yeeres. The strange dreames of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as fooliſh tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a worke the most magnificent of the World) was burnt vpon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three seuerall victories, obtayned by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkeable,

remarkeable, and might with the reaſon of thoſe times be interpreted for ominous, and foreſhewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppreſt, beganne to conſult about the recouerie of their former libertie, and to aduenture it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* yong-yeeres gaue them hope of preuailing, and his ſuſpected ſeuerity increaſed courage in thoſe, who could better reſolue to die, than to liue ſlauiſhly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to thoſe ſwelling humours, which might ſpeedily haue endangered the health of his eſtate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conſpirators againſt his Father, whom he ſlew vpon his Tombe; and the celebration of his Funeralls, hee firſt faſtened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily ſlauerie, other than their ſeruice in his warres; and vſed ſuch Kingly auſteritie towards thoſe that contemned his yong yeeres, and ſuch clemencie to the reſt that perſwaded themſelues of the crueltie of his diſpoſition, as all affections being pacified at home, He made a preſent journey into *Peloponneſus*, and ſo well exerciſed his ſpirits among them, as by the Counſell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great deſire of his heart, elected Captaine-Generall againſt the *Perſians*, vpon which war *Philip* his Father had not only reſolued, (who had obtained the ſame title of Generall Commander) but had tranſported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Armie, to recouer ſome places on *Aſia*-ſide, for the ſafe deſcent of the reſt.

This enterpriſe againſt the *Perſian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; thoſe faire markes of riches, Honour, and large Dominion, hee now ſhot at both ſleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grieuous or hatefull. But a contrary winde ariſeth; for hee receiueth aduertiſement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had vnited themſelues againſt him, and, by aſſiſtance from the *Perſian*, hoped for the recouerie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perſwaded by *Demoſthenes*, himſelfe being thereto perſwaded by the gold of *Perſia*; the deuice he vſed was more ſubtile than profitable, for hee cauſed it to be bruted that *Alexander* was ſlaine in a battaile againſt the *Triballes*, & brought into the aſſembly a Companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, That himſelfe was preſent and wounded in the battaile. There is indeede a certaine Doctrine of Policie (as Policie is now a-daies defined by falſhood and knauerie) that deuiſed rumours and lies, if they ſerue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly auaileable. It is true that common people are ſometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by falſe alarums in the Warres; but in all that I haue obſerued, I haue found the ſucceſſe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as thoſe that finde themſelues at one time abuſed by ſuch like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and in occaſions perilous, ſummoned to aſſemble; ſo doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of ſuch trumperie, and for them feare vpon neceſſarie occaſions to entertaine the truth it ſelfe. This labour vnlooked for, and loſſe of time, was not only very grieuous to *Alexander*, but by turning his ſword from the ignoble and effeminate *Perſians*, againſt which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Grecians*, of whoſe aſſiſtance he thought himſelfe aſſured, his preſent vndertaking was greatly diſordered. But he that cannot indure to ſtriue againſt the winde, ſhall hardly attaine the Port which hee purpoſeth to recouer: and it no leſſe becommeth the worthieſt men to oppoſe misfortunes, than it doth the weakeſt children to bewaile them.

Hee therefore made ſuch expedition towards theſe Reuolters, as that himſelfe, with the Armie that followed him, brought them the firſt news of his preparation. Hereupon all ſtagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the firſt that moued, ſo were they the firſt that fainted, ſeeking by their Embaſſadours to pacifie the King, and to be receiued againe into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in reſoluing; for the *Perſians* perſwaded him to pardon the *Grecians*. Wiſe men are not eaſily drawne from great purpoſes by ſuch occaſions as may eaſily be taken off, neither hath any King

euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And hauing now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolued to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Tracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other saluage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessours, but euen *Philip* his Father: with all which, after diuers ouerthrowes giuen them, hee made peace, or else brought them into subiection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than libertie; the *Greekes* had enjoyed it ouer-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirty thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand horse, before the Citie, and gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolue, being euen heart-sicke with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So vnwilling, indeede, he was to draw bloud of the *Grecians*, by whom hee hoped to serue himselfe elsewhere, that hee offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliuer into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to bee deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Prouinces, could either haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacie. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Armie assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaues, at the price of foure hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Grecian* Cities.

Many Arguments were vsed by *Cleadas*, one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbeare the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to beleiue that they were rather misse-led by giuing hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his Successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that Citie, yea that his Ancestor *Hercules* was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggrauate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at libertie *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the libertie of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This Noble-woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him rauished, hee threatned to take her life vnlesse she would confesse her treasure: she led the *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to looke into the Well, she suddainly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had receiued into their Citie so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second reuolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines, wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the prouidence of God, made all the resistance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Grecians* betooke themselues to the seruice of the *Persian*, whom after a few daies he inuadeth.

§. II.

§. II.

How ALEXANDER *paſsing into Aſia, fought with the Perſians vpon the Riuer of Granicus.*

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the truſt of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the firſt of the Spring did paſſe the *Helleſpont*, and being readie to diſ-imbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Aſian* ſhore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waſte in their owne Territorie, or to burne, or deface thoſe buildings which themſelues were preſently, and in the future to poſſeſſe. He landed his Armie, conſiſting of two and thirtie thouſand foot, and fiue thouſand horſe, all old Souldiers, neere vnto *Troy*, where he offered a ſolemne ſacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Anceſtor.

But before he left his own coaſt, he put to death, without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinſmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly aduanced, not ſparing ſuch of his owne as he ſuſpected. Hee alſo tooke with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whoſe fidelitie he doubted; thinking by vniuſt crueltie to aſſure all things, both in the preſent and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the iuſtice of God; for all that he had planted, who ſoone after withered, and rooted vp; thoſe, whom he moſt truſted, were the moſt traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by ſuch another mercileſſe ſword as his own, and all manner of confuſion followed his dead bodie to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Aſia* ſide was brought to *Darius*, hee ſo much ſcorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had ſo contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himſelfe, as hauing ſtiled him his ſeruant on a letter which hee wrote vnto him, reprehending his diſloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himſelfe King of Kings, and the Kinſman of the gods) hee gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the leſſer *Aſia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* aliue, whip him with rods, and then conuay him to his preſence: that they ſhould ſinke his ſhips, and ſend the *Macedons* taken priſoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into *Æthiopia*, or ſome other vnhealthfull part of *Affrica*.

In this ſort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleſſe, multitude which he commanded, diſpoſe of the alreadie-vanquiſhed *Macedonians*; But the il deſtinies of men beare them to the ground, by what ſtrong confidence ſoeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, then any diſcouragement at all. For beſides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to preuaile againſt thoſe of leſſe courage than themſelues, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and ſiluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuaſion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themſelues with yron and ſteele againſt the ſharpe pikes, ſwords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I ſay, beſides all theſe, euen the opinion they had of their owne numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne ſafetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians* as they came to fight, and therby to enrich themſelues with the gold and iewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed, ſo the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtraine them in aſſembling themſelues for his ſeruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had moſt power ouer them, they only then obeied, when their rebellion againſt ſo ſeruile a paſſion did iuſtly and

violently require it. For saith VEGETIVS: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est in pugnâ vsum amplius prodesse quàm vires; As the well-practised Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one feares it: for we must vnderstand, that in fight it more auailes to haue beene accustomed vnto the like, than only to haue rude strength.* What maner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discouered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that writ his Storie, That it was hard to iudge, whether his daring to vndertake the Conquest of an Empire so wel peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the Riuer of *Granick*, which seuereth the Territorie of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Persians* sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the riuer to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and scale from the Leuel of the water; Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* preuailed. But it seemes to mee, that the victorie then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twentie thousand *Persian* foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kil'd in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twentie thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horse-men, or after *Plutarch*, two thousand and fiue hundred horse-men, died with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not haue bought their liues at so small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie of all sorts of his owne. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Persian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhœsaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Græcians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselues in one bodie vpon a piece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance hauing beene made, yet of *Alexanders* Armie there fell but twelue Foote-men, and two and twentie Horse-men?

§. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granick.

THE winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terror vpon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as hee obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inuasions, where the Nations inuaded haue once beene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Riuers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will soone haue perswaded themselues, that such an enemie vpon equall termes and euen ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiauels* counsell, that he which resolueth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficultie of the waies. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Countrie be distracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often haue the *Alpes* giuen way to Armies, breaking into *Italie*? Yea, where shall we finde that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they such, as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no securitie to those that lie behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The Townes of *Lumbardie* perswaded themselues that they might enioy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had vndertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from descending into the Duchie of *Milan*: but whilest these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their owne dwelling in those Mountaines

Mountaines had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſeruice, were buſied in cuſtodie of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lumbardie*, to ſo much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leſſe they had expected his arriuall. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leaue but one gate open? The Straights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, haue ſeldome beene attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldome (if euer) haue they been attempted in vaine? *Xerxes* and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopylæ*; *Cyrus* the yonger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoeuer they had beene locked & barred, yet were thoſe countries open enough to a fleet that ſhould enter on the backe-ſide. The defence of Riuers how hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all hiſtories that beare good witneſſe. The deepeſt haue many Foords; the ſwifteſt and broadeſt may bee paſſed by Boates, in caſe it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath alſo enow to beat his enemie; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his loſſe, than by ſtriuing in vaine to hinder the paſſage, as a matter tending to his owne diſaduantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill caſe, hauing their meanes of ſafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of ſuch as are too good for them. Certainely, if a Riuer were ſufficient defence againſt an Armie, the Iſle of *Mona*, now called *Angleſey*, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea; had beene ſafe enough againſt the *Romans*, inuading it vnder conduct of *Iulius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to ſpend the time in making veſſels to tranſport his forces, did aſſay the foords. Whereby hee ſo amazed the enemies attending for ſhips and ſuch like prouiſion by Sea, that ſurely beleeuing nothing could bee hard or inuincible to men, which came ſo minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the *Britaines* were men ſtout enough; the *Perſians* very daſtards.

It was therefore wiſely done of *Alexander*, to paſſe the Riuer of *Granick* in face of the enemie; not marching higher to ſeeke an eaſier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by ſome ſafer meanes. For hauing beaten them vpon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no leſſe of their reputation, than of their ſtrength, leauing no hope of ſuccour to the partakers and followers of ſuch vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victorie he recouered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magneſia*, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, he receyued with great grace, ſuffring them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For he obſerued it well; *Nouum Imperium inchoantibus vtilis clementiæ fama*; *It is commodious vnto ſuch as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignety, to haue the fame of being mercifull.* He then by *Parmenio* wanne *Miletus*, and by force maſtred *Halicarnaſſus*, which becauſe it reſiſted obſtinatly, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had beene caſt out of all that ſhee held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, preſented her ſelfe vnto him, and adopted him her ſonne and ſucceſſor; which *Alexander* accepted in ſo gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her diſpoſing. Hee then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, and obtained al the Sea-coaſts, and ſubiecting vnto him *Piſidia*, he directed himſelfe towards *Darius* (who was ſaid to be aduanced towards him with a maruellous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Aſia* the leſſe, bordering vpon the Sea, his firſt victorie layed vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and ſetling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, the ſent *Cleander* to raiſe ſome new Companies in *Peloponneſus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas* ſeated on the Riuer *Maander*, which was abandoned vnto him, the Caſtle onely holding out, which alſo after fortie daies was giuen vp: for ſo long time he gaue them to attend ſuccour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he paſt

on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till hee came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, hee cut it a-sunder with his sword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promise to him that could vntie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the maner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the propheſie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the East, hee tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Scio*, and *Coos*, the charge whereof hee committed vnto two of his Captaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most cõuenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoile gotten, hee sent threescore talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he remoued to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, standing on the same Riuer of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there hee mustred his Armie, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselues vnto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where he left *Catus* Gouernour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arriued.

Heere he vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which hartned him greatly to passe on towards him, for of this only Captaine hee had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vndertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrined victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, conuerted the fearefull passions of his owne followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits haue beene stirred vp in sundry Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the infinit Spirit of the *Vniuersall*, piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did were maruellous, and would hardly haue beene vndertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue inuaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discouered the Riuer of *Indus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherwith he ranne ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountred by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, then Desart places, and the meere length of tedious iournies could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to bee admired for the workemanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainely the things performed by *Xenophon*, discouer as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But hee that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselues, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still preuailed ouer those, that would not haue yeelded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldome liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardie and well-ordered State, than to tread downe and vtterly subdue a multitude of seruile Nations, compounding the body of a grosse vnweildie Empire. Wherefore these *Paruo Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpõ enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the

substance

ſubſtance of their actions, than the exquiſite managing: exactneſſe and greatneſſe concurring ſo ſeldome, that I can finde no inſtance of both in one, ſaue onely that braue *Roman Ceſar*.

Hauing thus farre digreſſed, it is now time that wee returne vnto our Eaſterne Conqueror; who is trauailing haſtily towards *Cilicia*, with a deſire to recouer the Streights thereof before *Darius* ſhould arriue there. But firſt making a diſpatch into *Greece*, he ſent to thoſe Cities, in which he repoſed moſt truſt, ſome of the *Perſian* Targets which he had recouered in his firſt battaile; vpon which, by certaine inſcriptions, he made them partakers of his victorie. Herein he well aduiſed himſelfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaineth in the Warres, as hee doth of the ſpoiles, ſhall neuer be long followed by thoſe of the better ſort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often ſatisfie themſelues with the purchaſe of glorie; as the weake in fortune, and ſtrong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and ſiluer.

The Gouernour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* comming on, left ſome Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defencible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, hee beganne ouer-late to priſe and put in execution the Counſell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduiſed him to waſte all the prouiſions for Men and Horſe, that could not be lodged in ſtrong places, and alwaies to giue ground to the Inuader, till hee found ſome ſuch notable aduantage as might aſſuredly promiſe him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an inuading Army is beſt broken, by delaies, change of diet, and want, eating ſometimes too little, and ſometimes too much, ſometimes repoſing themſelues in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. Theſe and the like ſuddaine alterations bring many diſeaſes vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and ſleepe, and refuſing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horſe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, hee might perchance haue ſaued his owne life, and his eſtate. For it was one of the greateſt incouragements giuen by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and laſt fatall battaile, that they were to fight withall the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

Xerxes, when hee inuaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, loſt onely his men; but *Darius* being inuaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by beeing beaten, loſt his Kingdome; *Pericles*, though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Becauſe wee reade Hiſtories to informe our vnderſtanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue ſome inſtances of thoſe that haue periſhed by aduenturing in their own countries, to charge an inuading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brinke of their deſtruction.

Pompey was well aduiſed for a while, when hee gaue *Ceſar* ground, but when by the importunitie of his Captaines he aduentured to fight at *Pharſalia*, hee loſt the battaile, loſt the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confuſion, though it was told him by a man of ſound judgement, that thoſe Counſels which promiſe ſuretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Conſtable of *France* made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fift, when he inuaded *Prouence*, by waſting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; ſo did the Duke of *Alua* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and diſſolue the boiſterous Armie of the Prince of *Orenge* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, inuading their Countrie, and could not be perſwaded to linger the time, and ſtay their aduantage; but they loſt eight and twenty thouſand vpon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* ſet vpon King *Edward* at *Creſſie*, and King *Iohn* (when the *Engliſh* were well-neere tired out, and would in ſhort time by an orderly purſuit haue

haue beene walled to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, neere *Poitiers*, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the Fift of *France* made another kinde of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *English* burnt and walled many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbeare blowes, and followed his aduice which told him, That the *English* could neuer get his inheritance by smoke; and it is reported by *Bellay* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that hee wanne from him the Duchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-liued, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound aduice: The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexitie, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne; or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* beene wasted whilest *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* beene defended by *Arsenes*, Gouernor of that Prouince, with the best of his forces: hunger would not haue suffered the enemie, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not haue beene maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure haue beene so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should haue beene broken, by seeking out miseries with painefull trauaile.

But *Arsenes* leauing a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Armie with him, to waste, & spoile the Countrie; or rather, as may seeme, to finde himselfe some worke, by pretence of which he might honestly runne further away from *Alexander*. Hee should rather haue aduentured his person in custodie of the Streights, whereby hee might perhaps haue saued the Prouince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would haue beene conueighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driuen from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainement within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, hee gaue the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arsenes* made all haste to joyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, beganne to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countrie behinde their backs, had exposed themselues vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they saw that *Arsenes* himselfe could well forbeare) they speedily followed the foote-steps of their Generall, gleaning after his Haruest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had beene alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

§. IIII.

Of the vnwarlike Armie leuied by DARIVS *againſt* ALEXANDER. *The vnaduiſed courſes which* DARIVS *tooke in this expedition. He is vanquiſhed at Iſſus; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made priſoners. Of ſome things following the battaile of Iſſus.*

IN the meane ſeaſon *Darius* approched; who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred & ninetie thouſand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations; *Iuſtine* muſters them at three hundred thouſand Foot, and a hundred thouſand Horſe; *Plutarch* at ſixe hundred thouſand.

The manner of his comming on, as *Curtius* deſcribes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to ſet out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his owne ſafety, perſwading himſelfe, as it ſeemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and ſumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the *Perſians* worſhipped, attended by their *Prieſts*, and after them three hundred and threeſcore and fiue yong-men, anſwering the number of the daies of the yeere, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Iupiter* drawne with white Horſes, with their Riders cloathed in the ſame colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horſe of the *Sunne*: Next after theſe followed ten ſumptuous Chariots, inlaied and garniſht with ſiluer and gold, and then the Vantguard of their horſe, compounded of twelue ſeuerall Nations, which the better to auoide confuſion, did hardly vnderſtand each others language, and theſe marſhalled in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerue very fitly to diſorder all that followed them; in the taile of theſe Horſes the Regiment of foote marched, with the *Perſians* called immortall, becauſe if any died, the number was preſently ſupplied: and theſe were armed with chaines of gold, and their coates with the ſame metall imbrodered, whereof the ſleeues were garniſhed with pearle, baites, either to catch the hungrie *Macedonians* withall, or to perſwade them that it were great inciuilitie to cut and to deface ſuch glorious garments. But it was well ſaid: *Sumptuosè inductus miles, ſe virtute ſuperiorem alijs non exiſtimet, cum in præliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non veſtimentis muniri, quoniam hoſtes veſtibus non debellantur; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth thoſe in valour, whom hee exceedeth in gay garments, for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought againſt the *Samnites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all ſware either to preuaile or die, thirtie thouſand of them hauing apparelled themſelues in white garments, with high creſts and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aſide all feare: *Non enim criſtas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum; For theſe plumed creſts would wound no bodie, and the Roman pile would bore holes in painted and gilded ſhields.*

To ſecond this Court-like company, fifteene thouſand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede the more terrour) and theſe were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinſmen. Then came *Darius* himſelfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was ſupported with the gods of his Nation, caſt and cut in pure gold; theſe the *Macedonians* did not ſerue, but they ſerued their turnes of theſe, by changing their maſſie-bodies into thinne portable and currant coine. The head of this Chariot was ſet with precious ſtones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged-Eagle of the ſame metall: The hinder part being raiſed high whereon *Darius* ſate, had a couering of ineſtimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thouſand Horſe-men, their Lances plated with ſiluer, and their heads

heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrew in the *Macedonian* bloud, for feare of marring their beautie. He had for the proper Guard of his person two hundred of the bloud Royall, bloud too Royall & precious to be spilt by any valorous aduenture, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdie fellowes, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more seruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if hee had meant to haue vsed, he would haue marshalled somewhat neerer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by *Sisygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawne in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-back, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, and the wiues of the Nobilitie, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses, and *Eunuchs*, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had beene *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troupe was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battailes. Betweene these and a company of slight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on sixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came this *May-game-King* into the field, incombred with a most vnnecessarie traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and for the most part so effeminate, & so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue incouraged the nakedest Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatsoeuer else hath been wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches. The rich ships are boorded vpon all disaduantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our *English* Nations haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and runne vpon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistolets, which had they been put to it vpon the like disaduantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Countrie, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had beene brought without reason to the Butcherie and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to shunne perill, and men that haue well to liue, doe rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car on il ny' a rien a gaigner, que des coups volontiers il ny' va pas*; *No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his South-saiers, hee would haue satisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrailes of Beasts for successe. For leauing the description of this second battaile (which is indeede no-where well described, neither for the confusion and hastie running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threescore thousand *Persian* footmen were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horse-men, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred and fourescore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleeue, that this smal number rather died with the ouer-trauaile and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes receiued from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any sauour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers; they would neuer haue sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters,

ters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honor beene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings safetie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banished *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when hee made a view of his Armie about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which hee had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would bee found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would deuour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse squadrons, which they call their *Phallanx*, well couered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great aduantage, would make so little accompt of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertaine (hauing so great aboundance of treasure to doe it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Grecians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, hee would repent him ouer-late, as taught by the miserable successe like to follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had beene accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore *Grecian* should be presently slaine: who while hee was a sundring in the Tormentors hand, vsed this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom hee had giuen this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deserued punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduice.

It was the saying of a Wise man: *Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formatæ sunt, vt asperæ quæ vtilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum accipiat; That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, whose eares iudge all that is profitable to bee too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasant.*

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; Libertas consilij est eius vita, & essentia, qua erepta consilium euanescit.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduice giuen him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that serued him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: but had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men beene able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Grecians*, vnder their Captaine *Amyntas*, held firme, and marched away in order in despight of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraits haue beene made by them, though the rest of the Armie in which they haue serued, hath beene broken.

At the battaile of *Rauenne*, where the Imperialls were beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemures*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not intire by their escape, hee was ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truely said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminenti is mali opus ipsum quantumuis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischiefe hanging ouer their heads may bring*: and as truely of those that know the warres but by heare-say. *Quod valentes sunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They haue abilitie enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeede comes, they get them gone.*

These *Grecians* also that made the retract, aduised *Darius* to retire his Armie into the plaine of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might

might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once then might haue beene well marshalled and conducted. But this counsell was so contrarie to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuirone the *Græcians* which gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisedome of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the Gouernours, so as they can neither giue nor discerne of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a straightned piece of ground, neere vnto the Citie of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduice of *Parmenio* staied there, as in a place of best aduantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Græcians* his followers had perswaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Iewels, and Honour: It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserued, and their Iewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* mastred his affections towards them all: onely it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who raigned before *Darius*, and the Wiues and Children of all the Nobilitie of *Persia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to sixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullion* fiue hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leauing his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

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It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompanie, and could not gouerne his felicitie.

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returned him a more scornefull answere vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leafe, the one a resolued well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdained the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

§. V.

How ALEXANDER *besieged and wanne the Citie of Tyre.*

ALEXANDER comming neere to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankefully, returning them answere, That he desired to offer a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tel him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adioyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolued to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, hauing great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more then once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torne asunder, yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arriued (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he ouercame al difficulties and preuailed, after he had spent seuen months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, hee put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserued for slaues (saith *Diodore*) thirteene thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirtie thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that serued *Alexander*, conueied great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie.

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Arrian. l.

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How DARIVS *offered conditions of peace to* ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER *winnes Gaza; and deales graciously with the Iewes.*

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How DARIVS *offered conditions of peace to* ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER *winnes Gaza; and deales graciously with the Iewes.*

IN the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laieth the losse of the last battaile to the straightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by theatning to encompasse him in the plaine Countries, he bids him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*,

Tigris, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to present vnto another. All the Kingdomes betweene the Riuer of *Alys*, and the *Hellespont*, hee offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offred him nothing but his own, and that which victorie and his own vertue had possest him of; That he was to giue conditions, and not to receiue any, and that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdained to thinke of resistance in transporting himselfe ouer Riuers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Ægypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Betis* a faithfull seruant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that hee was forst to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise crueltie. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Iosephus* calleth *Babemesis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Assailants; he bored holes through his feete, and caused him to bee drawne about the streets, whilest he was as yet aliue; who being as valiant a man as himselfe, disdained to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that crueltie hath alwaies somewhat to couer her deformitie.

Ioseph. Ant. l.11. c.8.

Lib.1.c.vlt.

From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Army towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well known vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subiect and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Iewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embrodered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Leuits in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a maner so vnusual, stately and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it; Howsoeuer it was, I am of opinion, That he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the propheſie of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Iosephus*) That in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, when his minde laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eies; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phœnicians*, (who hoped to haue sackt and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Iewes* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enioy their owne Religion.

§. VII.

§. VII.

ALEXANDER *winnes Ægypt: and makes a iournie to the Temple of* HAMMON.

FRom *Ierusalem Alexander* turned againe towards *Ægypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astaces*, receiued him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this wee see that the Kings of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valiantest man hee had but the command of one Citie, and to the veriest coward the gouernement of all *Ægypt*. When he had set things in order in *Ægypt*, he beganne to trauaile after *God-head*, towards *Iupiter Hammon*, so fooliſh had prosperitie made him. He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but haue perished, had not a maruailous showre of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreme despaire. All men that know *Ægypt*, and haue written thereof, affirme, That it neuer raines there; but the purposes of the Almightie God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when hee had lost his way in those vast desarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the Armie; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast backe, guided them ouer those pathlesse sands to *Iupiters* Temple.

Arrianus from the report of *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagus*, saies, That he was led by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true; But many of these wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the Storie of *Alexander*, as that an Eagle lay houering directly ouer his head at the battaile of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Æropus*, practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrians* made their defensiue engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fel drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West-*Indies* haue many such pretie tales; telling how they haue been assisted in battaile, by the presence of our *Ladie*, and by *Angels* riding on white horses, with the like *Romish* miracles, which I thinke themselues do hardly beleeue. The strangest things that I haue read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Nouarra*, all the Dogges which followed the *French* Armie, ranne from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had beene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Triuulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these *Imperial Switzers* vtterly broken and put to ruine. *Arrian. l. 3.*

The place of this Idol of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, betweene whom and the Territorie of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the superiour *Ægypt*, with the Mountaine of *Lybia*, and the Riuer of *Nilus*, are interiacent, and on the North he ioynes it to a Nation, called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwracke, whereas the Temple or groue of this Idoll hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*. *Ptol. Af. Tab. 3.*

When *Alexander* came neere the place, hee sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might bee giuen in all things, agreeable to his madde ambition, who affected the title of *Iupiters* sonne. And so he was saluted, *Sonne of Iupiter*, by the Deuils prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defectiue in the *Greeke* tongue; For whereas he meant to say *Opaidion*, he said *Opaidios*, that is; *O sonne of Iupiter*, in stead

of, *O deare ſonne*: for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded,& a rumor preſently ſpred, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had formerly conſulted with this Oracle, The one,when he was imploied againſt *Gorgon*, The other, againſt *Anteus* & *Buſiris*; and ſeeing theſe men had deriued themſelues from the gods, why might not hee? By this it ſeemes,that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles,though indeede he made himſelfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his *Deitie*, hee had practized the Prieſts to giue anſwere to ſuch as conſulted with the Oracle, that it ſhould be pleaſing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Sonne. *Curt.li.4.*

Who this *Ammon* was,and how repreſented,either by a boſſe carried in a Boate, or by a *Ramme*, or a *Rammes*-head ; I ſee that many wiſe-men haue troubled themſelues to finde out ; but, as *Arrianus* ſpeakes of *Dionyſius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued ſaith St. *Auguſtine* in *Moſes* time) *Ea quæ de dijs veteres fabulis ſuis conſcripſere,non ſunt nimium curioſè perueſtiganda* ; *We muſt not ouer-curiouſly ſearch into the fables,which the Ancients haue written of their gods.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Goſpel beganne to be preached in the world, the Deuill in this and in all other Idols became ſpeechleſſe. For that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæſar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witneſſe.

There is found neere his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons ſolis* (though *Ptolomie* in his third *African* Table ſets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce,to which I cannot but giue credit, becauſe I haue heard of ſome other Wells of like nature,and becauſe it is reported by Saint *Auguſtine*, by *Didore*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others, and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

§. VIII.

How ALEXANDER *marching againſt* DARIVS, *was oppoſed very vnskilfully by the Enemie.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philoſopher *Pſammones*, who, belike vnderſtanding that he affected the title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to ſay, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children ſaue good men.

He gaue the charge of the ſeuerall Prouinces of *Ægypt* to ſeuerall Gouernours, following the rule of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, That *a great Dominion ſhould not bee continued in the hands of any one*: whom therein the *Roman* Emperours alſo followed,not daring to commit the gouernment of *Ægypt* to any of their *Senators*, but to men of meaner ranck and degree. He then gaue order for the founding of *Alexandria* vpon the Weſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*. And hauing now ſetled (as hee could) the eſtate of *Ægypt*, with the Kingdomes of the leſſer *Aſia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, (which being but the pawnes of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happie victorie would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which paſſage though the ſame was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without reſiſtance paſt it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a Riuer for the ſwiftneſſe thereof called by the *Perſians*, The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reaſon it ſelfe tels vs, might *Darius* eaſily haue repelled the inuading *Macedonian*: for the violent courſe of the ſtreame was ſuch, as it draue before it many waightie ſtones, and thoſe that moued not but lay in the bottome, were ſo round and well poliſhed by continuall rolling, *Ariſt.Pol.l.5.* *Curt.l.4.*

rolling, that no man was able to fight on ſo ſlipperie a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the Riuer, otherwiſe than by ioyning their hands and enterlacing their Armes together, making one waightie and entire body to reſiſt the ſwift paſſage and furious race of the ſtreame. Beſides this notable helpe, the Channell was ſo deepe towards the Eaſterne ſhore, where *Darius* ſhould haue made head, as the footmen were inforſt to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts ouer their heads to keepe them from being moiſtned, and made vnſeruiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and vnderſtandingly ſaid of *Homer*.

Talis eſt hominum terreſtrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq́; Deorumq́;.

The mindes of men are euer ſo affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Eſtates of the World, by the ſurfeit of miſgouernement haue beene ſubiect to many grieuous, and ſometimes mortall diſeaſes: So had the Empire of *Perſia* at this time brought it ſelfe into a burning and conſuming Feauer, and therby become frantick and without vnderſtanding, foreſhewing manifeſtly the diſſolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recouered the Eaſterne ſhores of *Tygris*, without any other difficultie, thã that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the paſſage both of *Euphrates* and it) preſented himſelfe to the *Macedonians*, followed with certaine companies of Horſe-men, as if with vneuen forces hee durſt haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forſooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could eaſily haue ouercome. But it is commonly ſeene, that fearefull and cowardly men doe euer follow thoſe waies and counſels, whereof the opportunitie is already loſt.

It is true that he ſet all prouiſions a fire wherewith the *Macedonians* might ſerue themſelues ouer *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to haue diſtreſſed them; but the execution of good counſell is fruitleſſe when vnſeaſonable. For now was *Alexander* ſo well furniſhed with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competencie of the Armie which he conducted. Thoſe things alſo which he ſought to waſte, *Alexander* being now in ſight, were by his Horſe-men ſaued and recouered. This, *Mazeus* might haue done ſome daies before at good leiſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of horſe-men, as the *Macedonians* durſt not haue purſued them, leauing the ſtrength of their foote out of ſight, and farre behinde.

§. IX.

The new prouiſions of DARIVS. *Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.*

DARIVS, vpon *Alexanders* firſt returne out of *Ægypt*, had aſſembled all the forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arriued; Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerued to make vp the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all ſorts ten hundred thouſand, and of horſe foure hundred thouſand, beſides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Curtius* who muſters the Armie of *Darius* at two hundred thouſand foote, and neere fiftie thouſand horſe, comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number; and yet ſeeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaſſals, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all ſorts ſome three or foure hundred thouſand,

with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of *Assyria* to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the inuading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre.

Veget. *In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent præstare victoriam; In euerie battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacitie.*

While *Alexander* gaue rest to his Armie after their passage ouer *Tygris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine presage of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs bee called the Sonne of *Iupiter*, they should all perish; For he not only inforst them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselues.

Hereupon *Alexander* being readie to march forward made a *halt*, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the *Ægyptian Astrologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moone was a certaine presage of good successe; for that it was natural they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserued the knowledge to themselues, so as a sorrie Almanack-maker had beene no small foole in those dayes.

Of this kind of superstitious obseruation *Cæsar* made good vse, when hee fought against *Ariouistus* and the *Germans*: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainely lose the battaile, *Cæsar* forst them to abide it, though they durst not giue it, wherein hauing their mindes already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole armie in effect perished.

These *Ægyptians* gaue no other reason than this, That the *Grecians* were vnder the aspect of the *Sunne*, the *Persians*, of the *Moone*; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of falling, and their glorie of being obscured. This iudgement of the *Ægyptian* Priests being noised through all the Armie, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obserued then. *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captaine leade his Armie to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terrour.*

It is truely obserued by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we finde it in all Stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and propheſies, the people of this Land haue been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neere the *Persian* Armie, certaine letters were surprized written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmenio* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppresst with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the first bruit suspected that some dishonourable violence had beene offered her, but being satisfied by an *Eunuch* of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian Empire*, then it would please them to conferre on so iust and continent an enemie as *Alexander*, to whom he once againe before the last triall by battaile offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and resigne all *Asia* the lesse, and with *Ægypt*, all those Kingdomes between the *Phœnician* Sea, and the Riuer of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his

other

other Daughter thirtie thouſand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leaue his Sonne *Ochus* in hoſtage: To this they ſought to perſwade *Alexander* by ſuch arguments as they had. *Alexander* cauſing the Embaſſadours to be remoued, aduiſed with his Counſell, but heard no man ſpeake but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perſwaded him to accept of theſe faire conditions. Hee told him, that the Empire betweene *Euphrates* and *Helleſpont* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Perſian* priſoners was a great cumber, and the treaſure offered for them of farre better vſe than their perſons, with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his aduice, and bounded his ambition within thoſe limits, he might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himſelf a Succeſſor of able age to haue enjoyed his eſtate, which afterward, indeed, hee much inlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himſelfe: who to aſſure themſelues of what they had vſurped vpon his iſſues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeeres after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going ſo far into the Eaſt, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a juſt and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduiſed and gratefull: and beeing taught new leſſons by aboundance of proſperitie, became a louer of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extreme crueltie. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obſerued, the taint of one vniuſt ſlaughter, amongſt many, defaced and withered the flouriſhing beautie of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Perſian* Embaſſadours ſtay his anſwere, which was to this effect, That whatſoeuer hee had beſtowed on the Wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne naturall clemencie and magnanimitie, without all reſpect to their Maſter, that thanks to an enemie was improper; that he made no warres againſt aduerſitie, but againſt thoſe that reſiſted him; not againſt Women and Children, but againſt armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great ſummes of money to perſwade his friends to attempt vpon his perſon, hee had reaſon to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet hee could not (were it otherwiſe and faithfull) reſolue in haſte to accept the ſame, ſeeing *Darius* had made the Warre againſt him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by ſecret and baſe practice; That for the Territorie offered him, it was alreadie his owne, and if *Darius* could beate him back againe ouer *Euphrates*, which he had alreadie paſt, he would then beleeue that hee offered him ſomewhat in his owne power: Otherwiſe he propounded to himſelfe for the reward of the Warre, which hee had made, all thoſe Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* poſſeſſion, wherein, whether he were abuſed by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following ſhould determine. For concluſion, he told them, that he came into *Aſia* to giue, and not to receiue; That the Heauens could not hold two Sunnes: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance bee perſwaded to giue him conditions fit for a ſecond Perſon, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not be ſo ſtrongly fought as report hath made it.

WIth this anſwer the Embaſſadors returne; *Darius* prepares to fight, and ſends *Mazeus* to defend a paſſage, which he neuer yet dared ſo much as to hazard. *Alexander* conſults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perſwades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; ſo that the multitude of enemies might not moue terrour in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* diſdaines to ſteale the victorie, and reſolues to bring with him the day-

day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell giuen by *Parmenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est nocti tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, hee staggers and intrenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And wheras *Darius* for feare of surprise had stood with his Armie in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gaue his men rest and store of foode, for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuq; refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exterius; Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight; if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steele without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were fortie thousand foot, and seuen thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* Armie; for hee had besides both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, animumq; victoribus auget, & aduersarijs aufert; One victorie begets another, and puts courage into those that haue alreadie had the better, taking spirit away from such as haue beene beaten.*

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Reare-guard was broken and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, *Fortune* her selfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* deliuers vs in accompt but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies-worke, saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas* and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the *Persians* there fell fortie thousand (saith *Curtius*,) thirtie thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninetie thousand, if we beleeue *Diodor*. But what can wee judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the *Persians* vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of these foure or fiue hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, euery man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as sixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fiftie or threescore thousand of this great multitude, onely with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that Riuer so easily, much lesse the Riuer of *Tygris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had *determined*, He abandoned all places of aduantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so farre into the bowels of his Kingdome, as al hope and possibilitie of escape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented vnto them the choise, either of death or victorie; to which election *Darius* could no way constraine his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that inuaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Suſa.

DARIVS after the rout of his Armie recouered *Arbela* the ſame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpoſe of making a retrait into *Media*, perſwading them that the *Macedonians*, greedie of ſpoile and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Suſa*, and other Cities, filled with treaſure, than purſue the vanquiſhed. This miſerable reſolution his Nobilitie rather obeied than approued.

Alexander ſoone after *Darius* his departure arriues at *Arbela*, which with a great maſſe of treaſure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred vnto him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, tooke nothing with it but ſhame and diſhonour. Hee that had beene twice beaten, ſhould rather haue ſent his treaſure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, ſo neere the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had beene victorious, he might haue brought it after him at leiſure, but beeing ouer-come, hee knew it vnpoſſible to driue Mules and Camels laden with gold from the purſuing Enemie, ſeeing himſelfe, at the ouerthrow hee had in *Cilicia*, caſt the Crowne from his head, to runne away with the more ſpeed. But errors are then beſt diſcerned when moſt incurable. *Et præterita magis reprehendi poſſunt quam corrigi*; *It is eaſier to reprehend than amend what is paſt.*

From *Arbela Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus* in whom *Darius* had moſt confidence rendred himſelfe, his children and the Citie. Alſo the Captaine of the Caſtle, who was keeper of the treaſure, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowres, burnt frankinſence vpon Altars of ſiluer as *Alexander* paſſed by, and deliuered vnto him whatſoeuer was committed to his truſt. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* Aſtrologers) followed this Captaine in great ſolemnitie to entertaine their new King: after theſe came the *Babylonian* horſemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene theſe (though not greatly to be feared) and himſelfe, *Alexander* cauſed his *Macedonian* foote-men to march. When he entred the Caſtle, he admired the glorie thereof, and the aboundance of treaſure therein found amounting to fiftie thouſand talents of ſiluer vncoyned. The Citie it ſelfe I haue elſewhere deſcribed with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and the Circuite, with the wonderful place of pleaſure about two miles in Circuite, ſurrounded with a Wall of foureſcore foote high, and on the top thereof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Groue of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is ſaid that one of the Kings of *Babylon* cauſed to be built, that the Queene and other Princeſſes might walke priuately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but moſt of all in Voluptuous pleaſures, the King reſted himſelfe and the whole Armie foure and thirty daies, *An. b. Alex.* conſuming that time in banquetting and in all ſorts of effeminate exerciſe, which ſo much ſoftned the mindes of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the ſeuere diſcipline of warre which taught them the ſufferances of hunger and thirſt, of painefull trauaile, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Heere it was that thoſe bands of a thouſand Soldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were ſtiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honor thoſe Captaines which were found by certaine ſelected Iudges to haue deſerued beſt in the late warre. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies conſiſted but of fiue hundred. Certainely the drawing downe of the foote-bands in this latter age hath been the cauſe (ſaith the *Marſhal Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath beene beſtowed on euery *Picque Bœuf* or Spurn-Cow, for when the Captaines of foote had a thouſand Souldiers vnder

one

one Ensigne,and after that fiue hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honorable, and the Kings were lesse charged, and farre better serued. K. *Henry* the eighth of *England* neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good ships,but to men of knowne valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* sent him sixe thousand foote and fiue hundred horse,out of *Macedon*,of *Thracians* three thousand foot,and the like number of horse,and out of *Greece* foure thousand foote and foure hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthned: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*,could hardly be brought againe, *De quitter la plume pur dormir sur la dure*; *To change from soft beds to hard boords.*

Hee left the Castle and Citie of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge with three of his owne Captaines, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*,and *Appoliderus*; to supply all wants a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the citie vnto him,he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Bagistines* that gaue vp the Castle,and hauing distributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treasure,he left *Babylon* and entred into the Prouince *Satrapene*: from thence hee went on towards *Susa* in *Persia*,the same with *Ptolomie*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*,situate on the riuer *Euleus*, a Citie sometime gouerned by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also,gouernour of this famous Citie gaue it vp to the Conqueror,with fifty thousand talents of siluer in bullion,and twelue *Elephants* for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort did those Vassals of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kings treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well aduised, that whatsoeuer titles he gaue to the *Persians*, yet hee left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*,with other Cities and Prouinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Persia* would haue returned to their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings, are neuer to bee vsed alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor euer to bee trusted with the defences of any frontier-Towne, or Fortresse of waight, by the rendring whereof they may redeeme their libertie and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience,when *Don Pedro de Nauarra*, being banished out of *Spaine*,was trusted with *Fonterabe*, in the yeere 1523.

Diodor speaketh of more than fortie thousand talents in bullion,and of nine Millions of gold, *sub dorica forma excusi.*

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might haue furnisht the King from *Babylon*,and while he staied foure and thirtie daies at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might haue holpen him from *Susa*: and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might haue relieued him, for the great masse of treasure was laied vp in that Citie. But who hath sought out and friended fearefull aduersitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious,but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselues, doe in all changes of fortune onely consult the conseruation of their owne greatnesse.

The gouernement of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, hee committed to his owne *Macedonians*, making *Abulites* who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others,in giuing them Titles,but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* Mother and her children to repose themselues.

It is said, that *Charles* the fifth hauing promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the gouernement of *Marseilles*, if he could haue forst it,and whereof he made sure accompt,told some of his neerest Counsellers, that he meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise,because hee should thereby haue left the Duke (reuolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to haue recouered his fauour.

§. XII.

§. XII.

How ALEXANDER *came to Perſepolis, and burnt it.*

FRom *Suſa* *Alexander* leadeth his Armie toward *Perſepolis*, and when hee ſought to paſſe thoſe Mountaines which ſunder *Suſiana* and *Perſia*, hee was ſoundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended againſt him thoſe Straights, called *Pylæ Perſidis*, or *Suſcidæ*; and after the loſſe of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forſt to ſaue himſelfe by retrait, cauſing his foote to march cloſe together, and to couer themſelues with their Targets from the ſtones tumbled on them from the Mountaine-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, liuing in that Countrie, diſcouered vnto him, and came thereby ſuddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforſt to fight vpon euen ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Perſepolis*, but (after that they of *Perſepolis* had refuſed to receiue him) hee returned and gaue a ſecond charge vpon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was ſlaine. In like manner did King *Francis* the firſt, in the yeere 1515. finde a way ouer the *Alpes*; the *Switzers* vndertaking to defend all the paſſages, who, if their footmanſhip had not ſaued them vpon the Kings deſcent on the other ſide, they had beene ill paied for their hard lodging on thoſe Hils.

Foure thouſand *Greekes*, ſaith *Curtius*, (*Iuſtine* numbers them but at eight hundred) hauing been taken priſoners by the *Perſians*, preſented themſelues to *Alexander* now in ſight of *Perſepolis*. Theſe had the barbarous *Perſians* ſo maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noſes, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue beene knowne to their Country-men, but by their voices; to each of theſe *Alexander* gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and ſuch Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his falſe-hearted *Grandes*, hearing of *Alexanders* approch, made him know that *Perſepolis* was ready to receiue him, and praied him to double his pace, becauſe there was a determination in the people to ſpoile the Kings treaſure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon *Alexanders* arriuall, and they that ſtaied followed the worſt counſell, for all was left to the libertie of the Souldiers, to ſpoile and kill at their pleaſure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had beene laied in ballance with *Perſepolis*, would haue waighed it downe. *Babylon*, indeede, and *Suſa*, were very rich; but in *Perſepolis* lay the bulke and maine ſtore of the *Perſians*. For after the ſpoile that had beene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and ſiluer, and other jewels; there remained to *Alexander* himſelfe one hundred and twentie thouſand talents. He left the ſame number of three thouſand *Macedonians* in *Perſepolis*, which he had done in *Suſa*, and gaue the ſame formall honor to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the truſt of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The bodie of his Armie he left here for thirtie daies, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thouſand horſe and certaine troupes of choſen foote, hee would needs view in the Winter-time thoſe parts of *Perſia*, which the Snow had couered, a fruitleſſe and fooliſh enterpriſe, but as *Seneca* ſaies: *Non ille ire vult, ſed non poteſt ſtare*; *He hath not a will to goe, but he is vnable to ſtand ſtill.* It is ſaid and ſpoken in his praiſe: That when his Souldiers cried out againſt him, becauſe they could not indure the extreme froſt, and make way, but with extreme difficultie, through the ſnow, that *Alexander* forſooke his horſe, and led them the way. But what can bee more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremitie, thereby to ſhew how well himſelfe can indure it? His walking on foote did no otherwiſe take off their wearineſſe that followed him, than his ſometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirſt, that could leſſe indure it. For mine owne little judgement I ſhall rather commend that Captaine, that makes carefull prouiſion for thoſe that follow

follow him, & that seekes wisely to preuent extreme necessitie, than those witlesse arrogant fooles, that make the vaunt of hauing indured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glorie and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admirall of *France*; *That whoso will shape that beast* (meaning Warre) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberalitie, of his clemencie, towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the companie and familiaritie of base Harlots, he beganne to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, hee caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and Citie of *Persepolis*, to bee consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrarie, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby alene their hearts: For they might well beleeue that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Fere vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur*; *Crueltie doth commonly follow drunkennesse*: For so it fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt. l. 5.

Sen. Epist. 84.

§. XIII.

The Treason of BESSVS *against* DARIVS. DARIVS *his death.*

ABout this time he receiued a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to finde *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Armie, which hee meant to haue increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* comming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as hee had, which was numbred at thirtie or fortie thousand) hee determined once againe to trie his fortune. He therefore cals together his Captaines & Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the yce, and protesting that hee could neuer be beaten by any aduersitie of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) hee approued the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes*, and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Gouernour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master, and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselues to bee an enemie: this preamble *Naburzanes* vsed, & in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise, that the warres ended, the Empire should again be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdaine prest towards *Naburzanes* to haue slaine him, but *Bessus* & the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time, seeing

seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that hee would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made, which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yeelded, vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who remooues his Armie. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand *Greekes*, which had in all the former Battailes serued *Darius* with great fidelitie, and alwayes made the retrait in spight of the *Macedonians*, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*, but it was not in his destinie to follow their aduice who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell: but hee inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greekes* with *Patron* their Captaine were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirtie thousand of the Armie, promising them all those things, by which the louers of the World and themselues are wont to bee allured, to wit, riches, safetie, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainely discouered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being ouercome with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnnaturall Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull seruant to depart from him, and to prouide for himselfe. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all saue a few of his *Eunuchs*; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Persians* being most base Cowardes, durst not vndertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand *Greekes* to ioyne with him, who had beene able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man followes. It had beene farre more Man-like and King-like to haue dyed in the head of those foure thousand *Greekes*, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to bee bound like a Slaue by those ambitious Monsters that layd hand on him, whom neyther the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honours he had giuen them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his present aduersitie, which aboue all things should haue mooued them, could pierce their viperous and vngrateful hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it, for infidelitie hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and layd in a Cart, couered with Hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not bee discouered; and to adde despight and derision to his aduersitie, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold, and so drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* perswaded themselues to redeeme their liues and the Prouinces they held, eyther by deliuering him a Prisoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themselues Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselues by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villanie, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retyred towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his comming, hasted after him with a violent speed, and because hee would not force his Foot-men beyond their powers, hee mounted on horse-backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best armed, and with sixe thousand other Horse, rather ranne than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* tooke, and how neere hee was at hand: for many men of worth daily ranne from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-gard being discouered by *Bessus* his Reare, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to saue himselfe. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and slew two poore Seruants that attended his person. This done, they all

all fled that could, leauing the reſt to the mercie of the *Macedonian* Swords.

Polyſtratus a *Macedonian*, being by purſute of the vanquiſhed preſt with thirſt, as he was refreſhing himſelfe with ſome water that he had diſcouered, eſpying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beaſts breathing for life, and not able to moue, ſearched the ſame, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne bloud. And by a *Perſian* captiue which followed this *Polyſtratus*, he vnderſtood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie. *Darius* alſo ſeemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can bee comforted) that hee caſt not out his laſt ſorrowes vnheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on thoſe Traitors, which had dealt no leſſe vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this Meſſenger, which hee beſought him to purſue, not becauſe *Darius* had deſired it, but for his owne honor, and for the ſafetie of all that did, or ſhould after weare Crownes. Hee alſo, hauing nothing elſe to preſent, rendred thankes to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vſed towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, deſiring the immortall Gods to ſubmit vnto him the Empire of the whole world. As hee was thus ſpeaking, impatient death preſſing out his few remaining ſpirits, he deſired water, which *Polyſtratus* preſented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the beſt things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his laſt breath, where-with to deſire the Gods to reward his compaſſion.

§. XIIII.

How ALEXANDER *purſued* BESSVS, *and tooke into his grace* DARIVS *his Captaines.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their trauells were neere an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, hee was greatly grieued; for the bounded earth ſufficed not his boundleſſe ambition. Many arguments hee therefore vſed to draw on his Armie farther into the Eaſt, but that which had moſt ſtrength was, that *Beſſus*, a moſt cruell Traitor to his Maſter *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the *Hyrcanians*, and *Bactrians*, would in ſhort time (if the *Macedonians* ſhould returne) make himſelfe Lord of the *Perſian* Empire, and enioy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In concluſion, hee wanne their conſents to goe on: which done, leauing *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with ſixe thouſand Horſe in *Parthenia*, hee enters not without ſome oppoſition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine paſſages for a while. Hee paſſeth the Riuer of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, diſſolues it ſelfe in the *Caſpian* Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountaines, which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it ſelfe vnder ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riſeth againe and followeth its former courſe. In *Zadracarta* or *Zendracarta*, the ſame Citie which *Ptolomie* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, hee reſted fifteene dayes, banquetting, and feaſting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greateſt Commanders, with other of his beſt followers, ſubmit themſelues to *Alexander*, and were reſtored to their places and gouernements. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* moſt highly for his approued & conſtant faith to his Maſter *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thouſand and fiue hundred *Greekes*, the remainder of all thoſe that had ſerued *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arriued, but in the end they render themſelues ſimply without promiſe or compoſition: he pardons all but the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he impriſoned, their Leader hauing ſlaine himſelfe. Hee was alſo wrought,

though

(though to his great diſhonour) to receiue *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Beſſus* to murder *Darius*.

§ XV.

Of THALESTRIS *Queene of the Amazons; where, by way of digreſſion it is ſhewed, that ſuch Amazons haue beene, and are.*

HEre it is ſaid, that *Thaleſtris* or *Minothea*, a Queene of the *Amazones*, came to viſite him, and her ſute was, (which ſhee eaſily obtayned) That ſhee might accompanie him till ſhee were made with childe by him: which done (refuſing to follow him into *India*) ſhe returned into her owne Countrie.

Plutarch citeth many Hiſtorians, reporting this meeting of *Thaleſtris* with *Alexander*, and ſome contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himſelfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in thoſe parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* buſineſſe, may juſtly breede ſuſpition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iuſtly may we ſuſpect it as a vaine tale, becauſe an Hiſtorian of the ſame time reading one of his bookes to *Lyſimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage; was laught at by the King for inſerting ſuch newes of the *Amazons*, as *Lyſimachus* himſelfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He tolde how the King had fought ſingle with an Elephant, and ſlaine it. The King hearing ſuch ſtuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the Riuer of *Indus*; ſaying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inſerting ſuch fables, diſparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as wee beleeue and know that there are Elephants, though it were falſe that *Alexander* fought with one; ſo may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of ſuch *Amazons*, whether it were true or falſe that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaues the matter vndetermined. Therefore I will heere take leaue to make digreſſion, as well to ſhew the opinions of the ancient Hiſtorians, Coſmographers, and others, as alſo of ſome moderne diſcouerers touching theſe warlike Women, becauſe not onely *Strabo*, but many others of theſe our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any ſuch kinde of people. *Iulius Solinus* ſeates them in the North parts of *Aſia* the leſſe. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the Riuer *Thermodoon*; the other, neere the *Caſpian* Sea; *Quas* (ſaith hee) *Sauromatidas appellant; Which the people call Sauromatidas*. The former of theſe two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum eſt* (ſaith *Vadianus*, who hath Commented vpon MELA) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuiſſe; It is certaine that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazones*. PTOLOMIE ſets them farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountaines *Hippaci*, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Aſia* it ſelfe toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tells vs; Where they gouerned a people called the *Pandeans*, or *Padeans*, ſo called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the reſt deriue themſelues. *Claudian* affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he ſpeakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Sol.c.27.& 65.

Lib.1.

Pt.l.6. Aſia.Tab.2. Plin.l.6.c.20.

Medis lenibuſq; Sabæis
Imperat hic ſexus: Reginarumq; ſub armis,
Barbaria pars magna iacet.

Claud.de cap. Proſerpinæ.

Ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes
This female ſexe: and vnder armes of Queene,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remaines.

L. 2. *Diodorus Siculus* hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith hee) than those which kept the bankes of *Thermodoon*, a Riuer falling into the *Euxine* Sea neere *Heraclium*.

Herodotus doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom hee tells vs that the *Scythians* call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the lesse, sackt *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* and *Auentinus* report, which they performed fortie yeeres after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it selfe wee reade of *Penthesilea*, That shee came to the succour of *Priamus*.

Æneiad. 1. l. 3.

L. 22. c. 7. *Am. Marcellinus* giues the cause of their inhabiting vpon the riuer of *Thermodoon*, speaking confidently of the Warres they made with diuers Nations, and of their ouerthrow.

Plutarch in the life of *Theseus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellanicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queene of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him giuen to *Theseus*, though some affirme, That *Theseus* himselfe got her by stealth when shee came to visit him aboord his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speakes of certaine companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aide the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom, after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and hee saith farther, That these women entertaine the *Gelæ* and *Lelages* once a yeere, Nations inhabiting betweene them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times; *Fran. Lopez* who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the Riuer of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the yeere 1542. (vpon which Riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed sixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the *Indies*, That hee both saw those women and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

Hister. Ind. part. 2. c. 28.

It is also reported by *Vlricus Schmidel*, that in the yeere 1542. where he sailed vp the Riuers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Countrie, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the *Tropick* of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crowne of siluer, which hee had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopes, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right brest, and liue a-part from men, saue at one time of the yeere, when they feast and accompanie them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteene degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East *Indian Portugals* know.

I haue produced these authorities, in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was deliuered mee for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how vpon the Riuer of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoueries called *Amazons*) that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

§. XVI.

How ALEXANDER *fell into the Perſians Luxurie: and how hee further purſued* BESSVS.

NOw as *Alexander* had begunne to change his condition after the taking of *Perſepolis*: ſo at this time his proſperitie had ſo much ouerwrought his vertue, as hee accompted clemencie to bee but baſeneſſe, and the temperance which hee had vſed all his life-time, but a poore and deiected humour, rather becomming the inſtructers of his youth, than the condition and ſtate of ſo mighty a King, as the world could not equall. For hee perſwaded himſelfe that he now repreſented the greatneſſe of the gods; he was pleaſed that thoſe that came before him, ſhould fall to the ground, and adore him; he ware the Robes and garments of the *Perſians*, and commanded that his Nobilitie ſhould doe the like; hee entertained in his Court, and Campe, the ſame ſhameleſſe rabble of Curtiſans, and *Sodomiticall Eunuches*, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and deteſted manners of the *Perſians*, whom hee had vanquiſhed. So licentious is felicitie, as notwithſtanding that hee was fully perſwaded, that the Gods whom he ſerued (deteſting the vices of the inuaded) aſſiſted him in all attempts againſt them, he himſelfe, contrarie to the Religion he profeſt (which how Idolatrous ſoeuer it were, could not be but fearefull vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearefull Monſter than *Darius*, from whoſe tyrannie hee vaunted to haue deliuered ſo many Nations. Yea, thoſe that were deareſt and neereſt vnto him, began to be aſhamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like ſcornefull diſcourſe; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of ſo many trauailes, more impoueriſhed in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to iudge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baſer ſlaues. Neither were theſe opinions ſo reſerued, but that the noiſe of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts ſought to pacifie the better ſort, and thoſe of whoſe iudgements he was moſt iealous; and making it knowne to the Armie, that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the title of a King, and called himſelfe *Artaxerxes*, and that hee had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, hee had arguments enow to perſwade them to goe on, to the end that all alreadie gotten, might not with themſelues (ſo farre ingaged) be caſt away. And becauſe they were peſtered with the ſpoiles of ſo many Cities, as the whole Armie ſeemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much vnlike the warfare of the *French*) hauing commanded euery mans ſardells to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne, cauſed all to bee conſumed with fire. Certainely, this could not but haue prooued moſt dangerous vnto him, ſeeing the common-Souldiers had more intereſt in theſe things which they had bought with their painefull trauailes, and with their bloud, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obſerued) his happie temeritie ouer-come all things. As hee was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had eſtabliſhed in his former gouernement ouer the *Arrians*, was reuolted; whereupon leauing the way of *Bactria*, he ſought him out, but the Rebell, hearing of his comming, fled to *Beſſus*, with two thouſand Horſe. Hee then went on towards *Beſſus*, and by ſetting a great pile of wood on fire, with the aduantage of a ſtrong winde, wonne a paſſage ouer an high and vnacceſſable Rocke, which was defended againſt him, with thirteene thouſand foote. For the extremitie of the Flame and ſmoke, forced them from the place, otherwiſe inuincible. I ſaw in the third ciuill warre of *France*, certaine Caues in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which wee knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at laſt, by certaine bundels of ſtraw, let downe

by an yron chaine, and a waighty ſtone in the middeſt, thoſe that defended it, were ſo ſmothered, as they rendred themſelues with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were alſo ſome three yeeres before my arriuall in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, ſmothered to death, together with their Horſes, by the Countrie-people, who did ſet the long dry graſſe on fire to the Eaſtward of them, (the winde in thoſe parts being alwayes Eaſt) ſo as notwithſtanding their flying from the ſmoke, there was not any one that eſcaped. Sr. *Iohn Borrowes* alſo, with a hundred *Engliſh*, was in great danger of being loſt at *Margarita*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, by hauing the graſſe fired behinde him, but the ſmoke being timefully diſcouered, hee recouered the Sea-ſhore with the loſſe of ſixetene of his men. I remember theſe things, but to giue caution to thoſe that ſhall in times to come inuade any part of thoſe Countries, that they alwayes, before they paſſe into the Land, burne downe the graſſe and ſedge to the Eaſt of them; they may otherwiſe, without any other enemie, than a handfull of ſtraw ſet on fire, die the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hiue.

§. XVII.

A Conſpiracie againſt ALEXANDER. *The death of* PHILOTAS *and* PARMENIO.

ALEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where reſiſted, till he came into *Aria*, to the Eaſt of *Bactria*, where the chiefe City of that Prouince, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the reuolt of *Sartibarzanes*, but in the end hee receiued the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new ſupply of fiue thouſand and fiue hundred foote, and neere fiue hundred Horſe, out of *Greece*, *Theſſalie*, & other places. His iournie out of *Perſia* into theſe parts, is very confuſedly deſcribed. For hauing (as all his Hiſtorians tell vs) a determination to find *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyreania*; from thence hee wanders Northward towards the obſcure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caſpian*-Sea, and thence ouer the Mountaines *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treaſon of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the ſonne of *Parmenio* was accuſed, as acceſſarie, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conſpired with ſome others againſt the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a yong man whom hee loued, into the ſame treaſon. The Youth, although hee was firſt bound by oath to ſecrecie, when he heard ſo foule a matter vttered, beganne to proteſt againſt it ſo vehemently, that his friend was like to haue ſlaine him for ſecuritie of his owne life. So, conſtrained by feare, hee made ſhew as if hee had beene wonne by perſwaſion, and by ſeeming at length to like well of the buſineſſe, hee was told more at large what they were, that had vndertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke; whoſe names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterpriſe) reckoned vp to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no ſooner freed himſelfe from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Hiſtorie: whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with leaſt ſuſpition) ſhould goe to the Court, and vtter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole buſineſſe; deſiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which hee promiſed to doe, but did not. Two dayes paſſed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter, but ſtill excuſed himſelfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leiſure. This his coldneſſe bred ſuſpition, and cauſed *Ceballinus* to addreſſe himſelfe to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* preſence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had paſſed betweene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perſwade himſelfe that this concealement of the treaſon,

ſon, argued his hand to haue beene in the buſineſſe. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other queſtion then this: *Wherein haue I ſo offended thee, that thou ſhouldeſt thinke* PHILOTAS *more worthie to be King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiuing, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had ſo wounded himſelfe, that he liued no longer, than to giue his laſt groane in the Kings preſence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the ſuſpition, which his ſilence might juſtly breede. His anſwere was, That when the practice was reuealed vnto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but friuolous, did forbeare to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This errour of his, (if it were onely an errour) although *Alexander*, for the notorious ſeruices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himſelfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for aſſurance; yet by the inſtigation of *Craterus*, hee againe ſwallowed his Princely promiſe, and made his enemies his Iudges: *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this buſineſſe; How hee perſwaded himſelfe, that hee could neuer finde a better occaſion to oppreſſe his priuate enemie, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towardes the King. Heereof a Poet of our owne hath giuen a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*.

See how theſe great men cloathe their priuate hate,
In theſe faire colours of the publike good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection ſtood,
And arm'd with power and Princes jealouſies,
Will put the leaſt conceit of diſcontent
Into the greateſt ranke of treacheries,
That no one action ſhall ſeeme innocent;
Yea valour, honour, bountie, ſhall be made
As acceſſaries vnto ends vnjuſt:
And euen the ſeruice of the State muſt lade
The needfull'ſt vndertaking with diſtruſt,
So that baſe vilenſſe; idle Luxurie,
Seeme ſafer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were ſo, that the King, following the aduice of *Craterus*, had reſolued the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very euening of the ſame night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and diſcourſed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him beganne to binde him; he cryed out vpon the King in theſe wordes: *O* ALEXANDER, *the malice of mine Enemies hath ſurmounted thy mercie, and their hatred is farre more conſtant than the word of a King*. Many circumſtances were vrged againſt him by *Alexander* himſelfe; (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in perſon examine the accuſations of treaſon) and this was not the leaſt (not the leaſt offence, indeede, againſt the Kings humour, who deſired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Hammon*; Hee anſwered, That hee could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that ſacred Fellowſhip of the gods, and yet hee could not but withall grieue for thoſe that ſhould liue vnder ſuch a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (ſaith *Alexander*) a firme perſwaſion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that hee held my glory in deſpight. See what a ſtrange Monſter Flatterie is, that can perſwade Kings to kill thoſe that doe not praiſe and allow thoſe things in them, which are of all other moſt to bee abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration againſt him: he was brought forth in vilde garments, and bound like a Theefe; where hee heard himſelfe, and his abſent Father the greateſt Captaine of the World, accuſed, his two other Brothers,

Hector,

Hector and *Nicanor* hauing beene loſt in the preſent Warre. Hee was ſo greatly oppreſt with griefe, as for a while he could vtter nothing but teares, and ſorrow had ſo waſted his ſpirits, as hee ſunke vnder thoſe that led him. In the end the King asked him, in what language he would make his defence; he anſwered, In the ſame wherein it had pleaſed the King to accuſe him, which hee did, to the end that the *Perſians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderſtand him. But hereof the King made his aduantage, perſwading the aſſembly, that hee diſdained the language of his owne Countrie, and ſo with-drawing himſelfe, left him to his mercileſſe enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, ſeeing the King, who had ſo ſharpely inueyed againſt him, would not vouchſafe to heare his excuſe. For, not his enemies onely were imboldened thereby againſt him, but all the reſt, hauing diſcouered the Kings diſpoſition and reſolution, contended among themſelues, which of them ſhould exceede in hatred towardes him; Among many other arguments, which he vſed in his owne defence, this was not the weakeſt; That when *Nicomachus* deſired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conſpiracie (as ſeeming vnwilling to aduenture himſelfe with meane and baſe Companions) *Dimnus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and ſome others, but ſpake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horſe, would greatly haue valued the partie, and haue incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeede, as *Philotas* ſaid well for himſelfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though hee had neuer dealt with him in any ſuch practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents, that practiſed againſt the King, there was not any one of the Conſpirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwiſe, that could accuſe him, and it is true, that aduerſity being ſeldome able to beare her owne burden, is for the moſt part found ſo malicious, as ſhee rather deſires to draw others (not alwayes deſeruing it) into the ſame danger, than to ſpare any that it can accuſe. Yet at the laſt, howſoeuer it were, to auoide the extremity of reſiſtleſſe and vnnaturall torments, deuiſed by his profeſt enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Epheſtion*, and others, *Philotas* accuſed his owne ſelfe; being perſwaded that they would haue ſlaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miſerable hope, and ſuffering all that could be layd on fleſh and bloud, hee was forc'd to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatſoeuer beſt pleaſed their cares, that were farre more mercileſſe than death it ſelfe.

Of this kinde of judiciall proceeding S. *Auguſtine* greatly complaineth as a matter to bee bewayled, ſaith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l.19.c.6.* *Quid cum in ſua cauſa quiſq; torquetur: & cum quæritur vtrum ſit nocens cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto ſcelere certiſſimas pœnas: non quia illud commiſiſſe detegitur, ſed quia non commiſiſſe neſcitur? What ſhall we ſay to it, when one is put to torture in his owne caſe; and tormented whileſt yet it is in queſtion whether he be guiltie; and being innocent, ſuffers aſſured puniſhment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie, not becauſe he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but becauſe other doe not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* ſafety, if *Philotas* had beene put to death without torment, the reſt would not much haue grieued thereat, becauſe hee was greatly ſuſpected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conſpired againſt him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greateſt motiue of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, ſpeaking of *Alexander*, ſaith thus: *Sen. de Clem. l.1.* *Crudelitas minime humanum malum eſt, indignum tam miti animo; ferina iſta rabies eſt ſanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abiecto homine, in ſilueſtre animal tranſire; Crueltie is not a humane vice; it is vnworthy of ſo milde a ſpirit. It is euen a beaſtly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and caſting away the nature of man, to become a ſauage Monſter.*

For the concluſion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confeſſion that *Philotas* made, were to giue end to the torments which hee could not any longer indure, or that the ſame was true indeede; For (ſaith hee) in this caſe, they that ſpeake truely, or they that deny falſly, come to one and the ſame end. Now,

while

while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, ſonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had beene three yeeres in priſon, ſhould be ſlaine: The ſame diſpatch had all thoſe that *Nicomachus* had accuſed: others there were that were ſuſpected, becauſe they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had anſwered for themſelues that they knew no way ſo direct to winne the Kings fauour, as by loſing thoſe whom the King fauoured; they were diſmiſt. But *Parmenio* was yet liuing; *Parmenio*, who had ſerued with great fidelitie as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himſelfe; *Parmenio* that firſt opened the way into *Aſia*; That had depreſt *Attalus* the Kings enemie; that had alwaies, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leſſe prudent in counſell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of Warre, and, to ſay the truth, hee that had made the purchaſe for the King of the Empire of the Eaſt, and of all the glorie and fame hee had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlikely that hee would haue diſhonoured his fidelitie in his eldeſt age, hauing now liued threeſcore and ten yeeres) yet vpon thoſe that by the witchcraft of flatterie had poſſeſt themſelues of his affection; it was reſolued that he ſhould be diſpatcht. *Polydamas* was imployed in this buſineſſe, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loued beſt, who (to bee ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, ſlew him walking in his Garden, while hee was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus* PARMENIONIS *fuit, militiæ domiq; clari viri; Multa ſine Rege proſperè, Rex ſine illo nihil magnæ rei geſſerat; This was the ende of* PARMENIO (ſaith CVRTIVS) *who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing worthy of praiſe.* Lib.7.

§. XVIII.

How ALEXANDER *ſubdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How* BESSVS *was deliuered into his hands. How hee fought with the Scythians.*

WHen theſe things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Araſpians* or *Euergitans*; hee made *Amenides* (ſometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouernour; then he ſubdued the *Arachoſians*, and left *Menon* to commaund ouer them. Heere the Armie, ſometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, conſiſting of twelue thouſand *Macedons* and *Greekes*, with whom he paſt through ſome cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length hee came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the Eaſt, where he built a Citie which hee honoured with his owne name, and peopled it with ſeuen thouſand of his olde *Macedons*, worne with age and with trauailes of the warre, The *Arians*, who ſince hee left them were reuolted, hee ſubdued againe by the induſtrie and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*; And now he reſolues to finde out the new King *Beſſus* in *Bactria*. *Beſſus*, hearing of his comming, prepares to paſſe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Gouernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Beſſus*; The *Macedonian* Armie ſuffereth for want of Water, inſomuch as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, then *Alexander* had loſt in any one battaile againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after obiect vnto him) hee fought againſt women, not againſt men, and not againſt their perſons but their ſhadowes. Hee found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materialls, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forſt to ſow together the Hides that couered his carriages, and ſtuffe them with ſtraw, and on them in ſixe daies to paſſe ouer his Armie; which *Beſſus* might eaſily haue diſtreſt, if he had dared but to beholde the *Macedonian* Armie afarre

farre off. Hee had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the bankes of *Tigris*, and other passages, and yet now, when this traiterous slaue had styled himselfe a King, hee durst not performe any thing worthy of a slaue. And therefore those that were neereſt vnto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, *Spitamines*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Armie, moued both by the care of their owne safetie, and by the memorie of *Bessus* his Treason and crueltie against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that hee had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his neck like a mastiffe Dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemie.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arriued at a certaine Towne inhabited with *Greekes* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*, whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Countrey-language. These most cruelly (after they had receiued him with great ioy) hee put to the sword, and destroyed their Citie. At this place he receiued *Bessus*, and hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he receiued a shot in the leg, the arrow head sticking in the flesh, so as hee was carried in a Horse-Lytter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foote. L.7.

Soone after hee came vnto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compasse threescore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Heere he receiued the Embassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Auians*) who offered to serue him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly againe with the *Sogdians* stirred to Rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were resoluedly defended against him, all which, after victorie, hee defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these hee receiued a blow on the necke which strucke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many daies after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recouered *Maracanda*, against whom hee imployed *Menedemus* with three thousand foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may beleeue *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais*; vpon whose banke he built another *Alexandria* threescore furlongs in compasse, which hee beautified with houses within seuenteene daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is said to haue beene occasion of a warre betweene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderstand, why the *Scythians*, offering warre in such terrible manner that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit sickneſse for very feare, should neuertheleſse make suite for peace: neither finde I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those Northerne desarts, but onely the defence of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further then they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victorie described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ranne beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* haue greatly mistaken this Riuer which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Iaxartes*, that runnes betweene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past ouer, while *Menedemus* was imployed in the recouerie of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais* which diuides *Asia* from *Europe*, is neere two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way desart & vnknowne. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Iaxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and many others to swimme ouer, ere he could recouer *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue discouered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imployed all the time that he liued in *Asia* in that trauaile.

Where-

Wherefore it is enough to beleeue, that the *Aſiatique Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturbe the erection of this new Citie, which was like to giue ſome hindrance to their excurſions, were driuen away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſiue Armes, eaſily chaſed ſome tenne or twelue miles; which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iournie; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not verie farre into that waſte Countrie, where hee could finde nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſſe than to ſet vp a monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedons* are ſaid to haue beene ſlaine, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might eaſily be in paſſing a great Riuer, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeede it is hardly poſſible, to ſet downe the numbers of ſuch as periſh in battell: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath beene ſo inquiſitiue into the greatneſſe of their owne ſucceſſe, that writers haue beene able to deliuer ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to ſet downe what wee finde; eſpecially when it ſerues to giue light to the buſineſſe in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not vſuall in *Curtius*, who forbeares nothing that may ſet out the greatneſſe of *Alexander*) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this warre was no better than the repulſion of a few roning *Tartars* (the like being yeerely performed by the *Moſcouite*, without any boaſt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelfe of thoſe *Scythians* bordering vpon *Iaxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was ſlaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlaine, to wit, two thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the rebellion, and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burnes, and laies waſte all before him; not ſparing the innocent children, and ſo departs, leauing a new Gouernour in that Prouince.

To repaire this loſſe he receiued a great ſupply of nineteene thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Armie, hee returnes towards the South, and paſſeth the Riuer of *Oxus*; on the South-ſide whereof hee built ſixe Townes neere each other for mutuall ſuccour. But hee finds a new ſtart-vp-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirtie thouſand Souldiers that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had ſought in vaine to winne by faire words, hee made choiſe of three hundred yong-men, and promiſed ten talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſſe of ſome two and thirtie of their men, and then made a ſigne to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was alreadie mounted vp, yeelded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercie, and was (with all his kinred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerued for neglecting to keepe good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeemes by the deſcription, might eaſily haue beene defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot doe; Mans wit, being the moſt forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarke*, ioyning to *Garnſey* and of that gouernement, was in Queene *Maries* time ſurpriſed by the *French*, and could neuer haue beene recouered againe by ſtrong hand, hauing cattell and corne enough vpon the place to feede ſo many men as will ſerue to defend it, and being euery way ſo inacceſſible, that it might bee held

held againſt the Great *Turke*. Yet by the induſtrie of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. Hee anchored in the roade with one Ship of ſmall burden, and, pretending the death of his Marchant, beſought the *French*, being ſome thirtie in number, that they might burie their Marchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Iſle; offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch Commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come a-ſhore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *French-men* yeelded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaſſe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuſſes; The *French* receiued them at their landing; and ſearching euery of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vp the Rockes with great difficultie; ſome part of the *French* tooke the *Flemiſh* Boat and rowed aboord their Ship, to fetch the commodities promiſed, and what elſe they pleaſed, but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, ſhut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, ſet vpon the *French*; they runne to the Cliffe and cry to their Companie aboord the *Fleming* to come to their ſuccour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themſelues and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth ſometimes helpe well to piece out the Lions-skinne, that elſe would be too ſhort.

§. XIX.

How ALEXANDER *ſlew his owne friends.*

AFter theſe *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Warres, we reade of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other friuolous matter, and that hee committed the Gouernment of *Maracanda*, & the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he ſlew him ſoone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the ſonne, or rather becauſe he obiected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for therein hee toucht him to the quicke, the ſame being deliuered in publike and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deſerued as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular ſaued his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himſelfe, and when it was too late. Yet to ſay the truth, *Clytus* his inſolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, ſo the King in his (for neyther of them were themſelues) forgat whom he went about to ſlay, for the griefe whereof he tare his owne face and ſorrowed ſo inordinately, as, but for the perſwaſions of *Calliſthenes*, it is thought he would haue ſlaine himſelfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceding miſchiefes are not amended by ſucceeding bewailings: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obſtantem malis conatibus verecundiam remouet; vbi poſſedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, ſed protrahit; Drunkenneſſe both kindles and layes open euery vice; it remooues out of the way that ſhame which giues impediment vnto bad attempts; where wine gets the maſtrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkenneſſe indeed rather diſcouers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who ſlew *Beſſus*, and had lately reuolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* alſo ſeized vpon his fellow-conſpirator *Dataphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all theſe pettie-Rebels, diſpoſed of the Prouinces which he paſt ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gabaza*, where it ſuffered ſo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he loſt in one Tempeſt a thouſand of his Traine. From hence he inuaded the *Sacans*, and deſtroyed their Countrie. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cohortanes*, who ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him, feaſted him greatly, and preſented him with

Curt. lib. 9.

thirtie

thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst vse any freedome of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, hauing so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twentie thousand armed men.

In the meane while he would needes bee honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, hee imploied two pernitious Parasites, *Hegis* and *Gleo*; whom *Callisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments vsed to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdaine the gift of God-head from his Vassalls; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowsing feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lined, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to be reuenged on *Callisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death, not for that he had betraied the King to others: but because hee neuer would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Callisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne a-sunder vpon the racke: This deed, vnworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est* ALEXANDRI *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia: opponitur, &* CALLISTHENEM: *Quotiens dictum erit, Occidit* DARIVM: *opponitur, &* CALLISTHENEM. *Quotiens dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentauit nouis classibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciæ vsque ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicetur, sed* CALLISTHENEM *occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus* CALLISTHENES; *This is the eternall crime of* ALEXANDER, *which no vertue nor felicity of his in Warre shall euer be able to redeeme. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew* CALLISTHENES: *When it shall be said, He slew* DARIVS, *it shall be replied, and* CALLISTHENES; *When it shall bee said, He wanne all as farre as to the very Ocean, thereon also he aduentured with vnusuall Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the vtmost bounds of the Orient, It shall be said withall; But he killed* CALLLISTHENES. *Let him haue out-gone all the ancient examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts makes so much to his glory, as* CALLISTHENES *to his reproch.*

§. XX.

Of ALEXANDERS *iourney into India. The battaile betweene him and* PORVS.

WIth the Armie before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselues vnto him, hee entertained louingly, the rest hee constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. Hee then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he remoued to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feasts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, hee went on towards *Dedala*, and thence to *Acadera*,

Countries ſpoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reaſon whereof, victuals failing, he diuides his Armie: *Ptolomie* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himſelfe the reſt. They take many Townes, whereof that of greateſt fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thouſand men; but after ſome reſiſtance, it was yeelded vnto him by *Cleophe* the Queene, to whom againe he reſtored it; at the ſiege of this Citie he receiued a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyſperchon*, and a Rocke of great ſtrength by himſelfe: he wanne alſo a paſſage vpon one *Eryx*, who was ſlaine by his companie, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. This is the ſumme of *Alexanders* doings in thoſe parts, before ſuch time as he arriued at the Riuer of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Epheſtion*, who (being ſent before) had prepared boates for the tranſportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arriuall, had perſwaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country to ſubmit himſelfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, ſoone vpon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* preſented himſelfe with all the ſtrength of his Country, and ſixe and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his ſeruice and aſſiſtance. Hee made *Alexander* know, that hee was an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiaſares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleaſed, hoping by this diſvnion to make his owne victorie by farre the more eaſie. Hee preſented *Alexander* with a Crown of gold, ſo did he the reſt of his Commanders, and withal foureſcore talents of ſiluer coine, which *Alexander* not onely refuſed, but to ſhew that hee was couetous of glory, not of gold, he gaue *Omphis* a thouſand talents of his own treaſure, beſides other *Perſian* rarities. *Abiaſares*, hauing heard that *Alexander* had receiued his enemie *Omphis* into his protection, reſolued to make his owne peace alſo: For, knowing that his owne ſtrength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, he thought it an ill match when *Alexander*, who had alreadie beaten vnder foote all the greateſt Princes of *Aſia*, ſhould make himſelfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to ſtand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he ſent a commandement, that he ſhould attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* hee receiued this manly anſwere; That hee would ſatisfie him in his firſt demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was reſolued to take counſell of his Sword. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolues to paſſe ouer the Riuer *Hydaſpes*, and to find *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thouſand foot, foureſcore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troupe of Horſe. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had ſurely ſtaied ſomewhat longer ere he had ſeene *India*. The Riuer was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and ſwift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well ſhadowed with wood, and of good capacitie. *Alexander* ſent *Ptolomie* vp the Riuer with a great part of the Armie, ſhrowding the reſt from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his firſt incamping, ſets himſelfe downe oppoſite to *Ptolomie*, ſuppoſing that the whole Armie of *Macedon* meant to force their paſſage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recouers the farther ſhore without reſiſtance. He orders his troups and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at firſt rather beleeues, that *Abiaſares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come ouer *Hydaſpes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had paſt it. But he finds it otherwiſe, and ſends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thouſand horſe, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vſe: for there had fallen ſo much raine, and thereby the fields were ſo moiſtned, as the horſes could hardly trot. The *Scythians* & *Dahans* had the Vantguard, who ſo galled theſe *Indians*, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the waggons, and thoſe in them. *Perdiccas* alſo gaue vp the *Indian* horſ-men, and the one & the other were forſt to recoile. *Porus* moues forward with groſſe of his

Armie

Armie, that thoſe of his Vantguard ſcattered might recouer his Reare: *Alexander* being followed with *Epheſtion*, *Ptolomie*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horſe-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to inuade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, hee directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of foote, ſtrengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himſelfe being carried vpon one of them of the greateſt ſtature. By theſe beaſts the *Macedonian* foot were moſt offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long and ſtrong Pikes of the *Macedons*, ſo galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foote that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulneſſe of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victorie fell to *Alexander*, who alſo farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for beſides the *Macedonians* and other Eaſterne and Northern Nations, *Porus* was aſſailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his owne perſon he neuer gaue ground otherwiſe then with his ſword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his army, he became a priſoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he receiued his eſtate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How ALEXANDER *finiſhed his expedition, and returned out of India.*

I Forbeare to trouble my ſelfe and others with a friuolous diſcourſe of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in theſe their trauailes: or of thoſe pettie Wars which *Alexander* made betweene the ouerthrow of *Porus*, and his ſailing downe the Riuer of *Indus*. The deſcriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by meanes of our late Nauigations into thoſe parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of thoſe Kings we could in no ſort be perſwaded to beleeue, till our owne experience had taught vs, that there were many ſtranger things in the World, than are to bee ſeene betweene *London* and *Staines*.

Our great traueller *Mandeuile*, who died in the yeere 1372. and had ſeene ſo much of the World, and of the Eaſt *India*, wee accompted the greateſt fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witneſſe the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers *Guillimins* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keepe ſome things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de ſon Excellence*; *For an honourable memorie of his Excellencie*, ſaith *Guichardine*. *Guic. in Diſc. of the Low Countries.*

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where thoſe many Riuers of *Hydaſpes*, *Zaradris*, *Aceſines*, and the reſt, fall into the maine ſtreame, are now poſſeſt by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlane*, who commands all that tract betweene *Perſia* and *Indus* towards the Weſt, as alſo a great extent of Countrie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Aſcenſion*, a ſhip of *London*, ſuffered ſhipwracke, in the yeere 1609. and ſome of the company trauailed ouer Land till they came to *Agra*, the ſame great Citie (as I take it) which our later Coſmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionyſopolis*.

Phyloſtratus in the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, ſpeaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the Eaſt *India*, tells vs, that thoſe two great Captaines (whom *Alexander* ſought by all meanes to out-fame) when they indeuored to ſubiect vnto them the *Oxydracæ*, a people inhabiting betweene the Riuers of *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the aſſault of their cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderſtood by the great Ordinance that thoſe people had then in vſe. For it is now certainely known, that the great Kings of the vttermoſt Eaſt, haue had the

vse of the Canon, many hundreds of yeeres since, and euen since their first ciuilitie and greatnesse, which was long before *Alexanders* time. But *Alexander* pierst not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that hauing alreadie ouer-wearied his Armie, hee discouered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the Riuer of *Ganges*, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twentie thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed, than euer to proceede in this discouerie and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander ouer those great deserts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasiue Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, deuised a prettie tricke, wherewith he hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for the Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than his Horses could feede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horses to bee made larger than would serue for vse; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Sauages. Proportionable to these he raised vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his iournies end. This was a readie way to encrease the fame of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing saue a suspition, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he stroue so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Acesines*, and there determined to set vp his fleet where *Acesines* and *Hydaspis* incounter, where to testifie by a surer monument, how farre he had past towards the East, he built by those riuers two Cities: the one he called *Nicea*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloued Horse *Bucephalus*. Here againe he receiued a fourth supply of sixe thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* fiue and twentie thousand Armours, garnished with siluer and gold, which hee distributed among his Souldiers. About these Riuers he wanne many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he lept from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Beuis* of *Southampton*, friuolous and incredible. Finally, hee past downe the Riuer with his fleete, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arriuall of an hundred Embassadours from a King of *India*, who submitted himself vnto him. He feasted these Embassadours vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could bee deuised, who soone after their dispatch returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirtie Waggons, and to each foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailes towards the South, passeth through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolomie* (afterward King of *Ægypt*) was wounded, and cured by an hearbe which *Alexander* dreamt that he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden shuffled one vpon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie bankes of the Riuer,

uer, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed, but after he had a few daies obſerued wel the courſe of the Sea, he paſt out of the riuers mouth ſome few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune* returned: and the better to informe himſelfe, he ſent *Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus*, to diſcouer the coaſt towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his ſixt Booke hath written this paſſage downe the Riuer of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Veſſels, in which hee tranſported his Army, the Commanders that were vſed therein, and other the maruellous prouiſions made.

Neere the out-lets of this Riuer, he ſpent ſome part of the Winter, and in eighteene daies march from thence recouered *Gedroſia*, in which paſſage his Armie ſuffered ſuch miſerie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twentie thouſand foot, and twelue thouſand horſe, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned aliue.

§. XXII.

Of ALEXANDERS *Riot, Crueltie, and death.*

FRom *Gedroſia*, *Alexander* led his Armie into *Carmania*, and ſo drawing neere to *Perſia*, hee gaue himſelfe wholly to feaſting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swiniſh vice bee hatefull enough in it ſelfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. *For* (ſaith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feaſt, for* ASPASTES *one of his Prouinciall Gouernors he commanded to be ſlaine, ſo as neither did the exceſſe of voluptuouſneſſe qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie hinder in ought his voluptuouſneſſe.*

While he refreſhed his Army in theſe parts, a new ſupply of fiue thouſand foote and a thouſand horſe, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellowes, that had been imploied in the killing of *Parmenio*. Againſt theſe Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were ſo outragious, as *Alexander* was perſwaded, that, had they not altogether deſpaired of his returne out of *India*, they durſt not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occaſion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had ſlaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with ſixe hundred Souldiers by them imploied, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euery one reioycing that the Ire of the King was at laſt executed on the miniſters of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Oneſicritus* were now returned from the coaſt, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other ſtrange things; whereupon they were commanded to make ſome farther diſcouerie: which done, that they ſhould enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he viſited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Paſargada*, now called *Chelquera*: where he was preſented with many rich gifts by *Orſines*, one of the Princes of *Perſia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But becauſe *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in eſpeciall fauour with the King, was neglected, he not only practiſed certaine looſe fellowes to witneſſe againſt *Orſines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but he aſſiſted the Hang-man with his owne handes in tormenting him. At which time alſo *Alexander* cauſed *Phradates* to be ſlaine, ſuſpecting his greatnes. *Cæperat* (ſaith CVRTIVS) *eſſe præceps ad repræſentanda ſupplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to ſhed bloud, and to beleeue falſe reports.* It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men wearie of his gouernement, ſeeing crueltie is more fearefull, than all the aduentures that can be made againſt it.

Arrianus hath a farre different deſcription of *Cyrus* Tombe.

At this time it is ſaid, that *Calanus* the Philoſopher burnt himſelfe, when hee had liued threeſcore and thirteene yeeres. Whether herein he followed the cuſtome of his Countrie, being an *Indian*, Or ſought to preuent the griefe and incommoditie of

elder age,it is vncertaine: but in this the Historians agree,that fore-seeing and foreshewing *Alexanders* death,he promised to meete him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where hee married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giuing her younger sister to his beloued *Ephestion*, and fourescore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were sixe thousand guests inuited to the feast,to each of which he gaue a cup of gold.Here there came vnto him three thousand yong souldiers out of his conquered Prouinces,wherat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured.*Harpalus*,his Treasurer in *Babylon*,hauing lauishly consumed the monies in his keeping,got him going with fiue thousand talents,and sixe thousand hired Souldiers,but he was reiected in *Greece*,and there slaine. *Alexander* greatly reioyced at the fidelitie of the *Greeks*,whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stirre: yet he sent commandement,that they should againe receiue their banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselues, (except the *Athenians*) though they resolued,that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a maruellous discontentmēt in his Army,because he had resolued to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which could no longer indure the trauell of Warre,and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. He vsed many orations to satisfie them,but it was in vaine during the tempest of their fury. But afterward,as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine threed, when they haue tumbled a while, so are the vnconsiderate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart,he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*,*Thessaly*, and *Thrace*,which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence,discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fidelity,and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainely,if *Alexander* had not taken counsel of his cups,he would haue cast some better colour on this alteration,and giuen *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remoue, than to haue imploied him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*,the warre being now at an ende. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remoue,but the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenio*,and the rest. With this *Antipater*,the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes,though iealous,doe not stand in doubt of euery man ill-affected though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vnderstanding,which is many times so fearefull vnto them,as they take leaue both of Law and Religion,to free themselues thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a iourney into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephestion*,whom he fauoured most of all men,dies. The King according to the greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse; hangs his Phisicion; and bestowes vpon his Monument twelue thousand talents: After which he returnes to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to free himselfe.For if we beleeue *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gaine-say) *Antipater* by his Sonnes,*Cassander*,*Philip*, and *Iolla*,who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gaue him poison,*Thessalus* (who was of the conspiracie) hauing inuited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than *Hercules* himselfe,he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainely the Princes of the World haue seldome found good,by making their ministers ouer-great,and therby suspicious to themselues.For he that doth not acknowledge fidelitie to be a debt, but is perswaded,that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals,will neuer please himselfe with the price giuen. The only restoratiue,indeed, that strengthens it,is the goodnes and vertue of the Prince,and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be obserued.It may be that *Antipater* hauing commanded two or three Kingdoms twelue yeeres,knew not now how to play any other part;no more than *Cæsar* did,after he had so long a time gouerned the *Gaules*,where he vtterly forgat the art of obedience.A most cruel

and

and vngratefull traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* doe not belie him: For though he feared ſome ill meaſure vpon his remoue (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calliſthenes*, hauing been ſo lately acted) yet hee knew nothing to the contrarie, but that the King had reſolued to haue giuen him ſome other great gouernement in *Aſia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, hauing perchance deſired to be gouerned by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

§. XXIII.

Of ALEXANDERS *Perſon and qualities.*

MOwſoeuer it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot bee excuſed, no more than his vanitie to be eſteemed the ſonne of *Iupiter*, with his exceſsiue delight in drinke and drunkenneſſe, which others make the cauſe of his feuer and death. In that hee lamented his want of enterpriſing, and grieued to conſider what hee ſhould doe when hee had conquered the World, *Auguſtus Cæſar* found juſt cauſe to deride him, as if the well gouerning of ſo many Nations & Kingdomes, as he had alreadie conquered, could not haue offered him matter more than aboundant, to buſie his braines withall. That he was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot bee doubted. S^r *Francis Bacon*, in his firſt booke of the aduancement of learning, hath proued it ſufficiently. His liberalitie I know not how to praiſe, becauſe it exceeded proportion. It is ſaid, That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of modeſtie refuſe it, as diſproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replyed, That hee did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to giue: of which SENECA; *Animoſa vox videtur & regia, cum ſit ſtultiſſima. Nihil enim per ſe quenquam decet. Refert, quid, cui, quando, quare, vbi, &c ſine quibus facti ratio non conſtabit; habeatur perſonarũ & dignitatum proportio, & cum ſit vbiq; virtutis modus, æque peccat quod excedit, quã quod deficit; It ſeemes a braue & royall ſpeech, whereas indeede it is very fooliſh. For nothing ſimply conſidered by it ſelfe beſeemes a man. Wee muſt regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which conſiderations no act can be approued. Let honours be proportioned vnto the perſons: for whereas vertue is euer limited by meaſure, the exceſſe is as faultie as the defect.* L.2.de Ben.c.1.

For his Perſon, it is very apparant, That he was as valiant as any man, a diſpoſition taken by it ſelfe, not much to be admired; For I am reſolued that hee had ten thouſand in his Armie as daring as himſelfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended ſimply, wee ſhould confound that vertue with the hardineſſe of Theeues, Ruffians, and maſtife Dogges. For certainely it is no way praiſe-worthie but in daring good things, and in the performance of thoſe lawfull enterpriſes, in which we are imployed for the ſeruice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who haue bought their glorie with ſo great deſtruction, and effuſion of bloud, I thinke him farre inferiour to *Cæſar*, and many other that liued after him, ſeeing hee neuer vndertooke any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted, nor was euer encountred with any Armie of which he had not a moſt maſtring aduantage, both of weapons and of Commanders, euery one of his Fathers old Captaines by farre exceeding the beſt of his Enemies. But it ſeemeth, Fortune and Deſtinies (if we may vſe thoſe termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomes, that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For concluſion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who ſpeaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Sonne, giues this judgement of them. *Quod non minores fuere peſtes mortalium quàm inundatio, qua planum omne perfuſum eſt, quàm conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exarſit; That* Natur. quæſt. l.3.q.1.

they

they were no lesse plagues to mankinde, than an ouer-flow of waters, drowning all the leuill; or some burning droughth, whereby a great part of liuing creatures is scorched vp.

CHAP. III.

The raigne of ARIDÆVS.

§. I.

Of the question about succession to ALEXANDER.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Armie (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Polyphemus*, hauing lost his only eye. For, that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vneffectuall, and harmefull chiefly to themselues. The causes whereof (vnder the diuine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainetie of Title to succession in the Kingdome of *Macedon*, partly the stubborne pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to bee his Heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leauing euery one to his owne fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soone taught vnto spirits reflecting vpon their owne worth, when the reuerence of a greater obiect faileth.

It hath formerly beene shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) gouerning in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed vnto himselfe the Kingdome, not rendring it vnto *Amyntas*, (the Sonne of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he assured the Crowne vnto himselfe: *Amyntas* neuer attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) hee did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his raigne. Wherefore *Eurydice* the sole issue of his marriage, ought in reason to haue beene acknowledged Queene after *Alexander*; as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they liued, vnlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbade the raigne of women. But the excellent vertue of those two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that *Macedon* it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deseruing to be laied in ballance against the demand of their posteritie, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seate.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues, had issue by none of the principall of them. *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian* had borne vnto him a yong Sonne: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnely married) was left by him great with child. But the baseneſse of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of the Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra

Cleopatra the ſiſter of *Alexander*, widdow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridæus* his baſe brother (ſonne to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Ladie *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in courſe. Of *Cleopatra* there was no ſpeech, which may giue ſuſpicion, that either Law or Cuſtome had made that ſexe vncapable of the Soueraignetie. *Aridæus* (beſides his baſtardie) was neither for perſon nor qualitie fit to rule as King; yet vpon him the election fell, but ſlowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counſailors hauing ouer-labored their diſagreeing wits in deuiſing what was beſt, were content for very wearineſſe to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomie (ſoone after King of *Ægypt*) concurring with them who reiected all mention of the halfe-*Perſian* broode, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all ſhould be giuen to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them ſhould be decreed: ſo farre was hee from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomie* was called the ſonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who hauing vſed the company of *Arſinoë Ptolomeis* mother, deliuered her in marriage to *Lagus* being great with child. Therefore, whether it were ſo, that he hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of thoſe diſſenſions, which are incident vnto the conſultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with ſubiection to one, deſeruing regard by his bloud, and truſt for his euen carriage; or whether hee deſired onely to get a ſhare to himſelfe, which could not haue come to paſſe, had all beene giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himſelfe; and therefore gaue ſuch counſaile as fitted his owne and other mens purpoſes. Yea, this deuice of his tooke place in deede, though not in forme as he had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to haue aſſembled at *Alexanders* emptie chaire, as *Ptolomie* had conceiued the forme of their conſultations, or to ſet in the chaire ſuch a King as *Aridæus*, no wiſer then the chaire it ſelfe. Alſo the controuerſies ariſing were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puiſſance.

But as theſe counterfait ſhewes of diſſembling aſpirers, doe often take check by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to goe more directly to worke: ſo was it like to haue fared with *Ptolomie* and the reſt, when *Ariſtonus*, another of the Captaines, interpreted the words of *Alexander*; ſaying, That he left his Kingdome to the worthieſt, as deſigning *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) hee deliuered his ring. It ſeemed good in reaſon, that *Alexander* ſhould bee diſpoſer of his owne purchaſes; and thoſe tokens of *Alexanders* purpoſe appeared plaine enough, ſo long as no man would interpoſe another conſtruction: euery one being vncertaine how the ſecret affections of the reſt might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or becauſe they would not be of the lateſt, vrged *Perdiccas* to take vpon him the eſtate Royall. He was no ſtranger to the Royall bloud; yet his birth gaue him not ſuch reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom hee had beene very inward, and that eſpecially ſince the death of *Epheſtian* (a powerfull Minion) into whoſe place he was choſen. For his owne worth hee might well bee commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much proofe of his priuate valour. But very ſurly hee was: which qualitie (joyned with good fortune) carried a ſhew of Majeſtie: being checkt with miſaduenture, it was called by a true name *Pride*; and rewarded with death.

In the preſent buſineſſe a fooliſh ouer-weening did him as great harme, as it had beene great happineſſe to haue ſucceeded *Alexander*. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approuing the ſentence of *Ariſtonus*, he would needs counterfait modeſtie; thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the waightie burden of an Empire, which would bee the leſſe enuious, the more ſolemnity he vſed in the acceptance. It is truely ſaid, He that faineth himſelfe a ſheepe, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Meleager*, (a man by nature enuious,

uious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) tooke aduantage of his irresolute behauiour, and very bitterly inueighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, that whosoeuer was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he inuited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The election of ARIDÆVS, *with the troubles there-about arising; the first diuision of the Empire.*

DVring this vp-rore, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Armie. *Meleager* hauing with-drawne himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inuesting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolue what course to follow, reiecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But this child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Python* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with fiue hundred men, and *Ptolomie* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* bodie lay: but the Armie conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, & inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the interceſſion of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of the Roiall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobilitie. *Perdiccas* abode in the Citie (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be readie to take the opportunitie of any commotion, that should happen among the infantrie, The King (who was gouerned by *Meleager*) commanded or gaue leaue to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their comming was not vnexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauitie, that they departed honester than they came; being sorrie of their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authoritie, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selfe affoorded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said, that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was aliue: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which hee imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renued out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

Perdiccas hauing now ioyned himselfe with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the Citie. But after sundrie Embassies passing betweene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition giuen vp into their handes; the King, that *Meleager* might bee ioyned with

Leonatus

Leonatus and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in gouernement of the Armie) things were compounded according to the Kings deſire. *Meleager* ſhould haue done well to conſider, that ſuch men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occaſion offered, had not ſome purpoſe of treacherie lurked vnder their great facilitie. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue proteſted where little was intended. The face of the Court was the ſame which it had beene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the ſame heart giue it life; and windie ſpirits they were which moued in the arteries. Falſe reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne diſgrace; but in ſuch termes as might ſeeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injurie done to himſelfe; and (as deſirous of a true friendſhip) deſired of *Perdiccas*, that ſuch authors of diſcord might bee puniſhed. *Perdiccas* (as a louer of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muſter ſhould bee made, at which time the diſturbers of the common quiet ſhould receiue their puniſhment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in preſence of the Armie. The plot was miſchieuouſly laied: Had *Meleager* giuen way to ſeditious rumours, he muſt needs haue incurred the generall hatred of all, as a ſower of diſſenſion; and thereby with publike approbation might haue beene cut off, as hauing often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weake a Patron. Now ſeeking redreſſe of theſe diſorders, he haſtened his owne ruine, by a leſſe formall, but more ſpeedie way. This kinde of Muſter was very ſolemne, and practiſed with many ceremonies, as for cleanſing of the Armie. The Horſe-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercinaries, were each according to their qualitie ſet in array, a part from others, as if they had beene of ſundrie ſorts, met at aduenture: which done, the manner was to skirmiſh (as by way of exerciſe) according to direction of their ſeuerall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpoſe beſtowed in a ground of diſaduantage; and the countenance of the horſe and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was ſuch, as diſcouered no jeſting paſtime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horſemen: of which cuſtome *Perdiccas* made great vſe that day, to the vtter confuſion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the preſent had him in poſſeſsion. Two or three daies before he had ſought the death of *Perdiccas* at the inſtigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all ſuch as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were caſt vnto the Elephants, and by them ſlaine, in the preſence of the King, who ſhould haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But theſe three hundred were not the men whoſe puniſhment *Meleager* had expected: they were ſuch as had followed him, when he diſturbed the firſt conſultation that was held about the election of a new King, and ſome of them his eſpeciall friends. Hauing therefore kept himſelfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the aduantage; when hee ſaw their proceedings tend very manifeſtly to his deſtruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no *Sanctuarie*: for thither they ſent and ſlew him.

The Armie being thus corrected was led into the Citie, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, diuided all the Prouinces of the Empire among themſelues; leauing to *Aridæus* the office of a *Viſitor*, and yet making *Perdiccas* his *Protector*, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought vpon; whoſe bodie hauing beene ſeuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Ægyptians*: no ſigne of poiſon appearing, how great ſoeuer the ſuſpition might bee. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridæus*: one of the Captaines, who was two yeeres preparing of great and coſtly ſhew, making a ſtately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarſes of his friends being laied in the ground,

before

before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a Citie of his owne building in *Ægypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

WHilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in *Greece* with a Warre, which the *Athenians* more bravely than wisely had begunne in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greekes* (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. Hee knew the factious qualitie of the *Græcian* Estates, and therefore thought so to prouide, that in euery Citie hee would haue a sure partie. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than hee wanne by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyrannie. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more, than was needfull, of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselues, as men that had done no more then they might well justifie by reason: neuertheless to preuent the worst, the *Athenians* gaue secret instructions to *Leosthenes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leauie an Armie, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to doe: great numbers of *Greeke* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which time the Citie of *Athens* declared it selfe, and more honorably than wisely, proclaimed open Warre against the *Macedonians*, for the libertie of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the *Bœotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a-farre off, which deceiue all mortall wisdome, euen when they seeme neere at hand. One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing so heauily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the returne of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which hee then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into *Macedon* to conueigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the gouernement of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspicions were strong that he had a priuie charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should bee sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the yong Souldiers, newly to bee leauied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes giue out speeches testifying his owne jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeede were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) remoued to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour

gour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so hee interpreted euen lewd gouernement) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing sitten *Viceroy* ten yeeres in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuie of a Court, wherein they had beene his inferiors, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poison, giuen by his Son *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his Sonne *Cassander*: great cause of much feare he had, which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeeres.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neere, sollicited to make haste. Not without cause. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrie being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeede who had long stood firme for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horse-men of *Greece*, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might haue done great seruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the libertie of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessalie* trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seeme) fearing the increase of his enemies power and rebellion of the *Greekes*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his owne strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercinaries, two & twentie thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of horse hee brought into the field about two thousand and fiue hundred; but ouer-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had reuolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retraite into his owne Countrie: therefore he fled into the Towne of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well prouided of all things necessarie to beate out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon the refusall close vp the Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will wee leaue him for a while, trauailing in the last honourable enterprise that euer was vnder-taken by that great Citie of *Athens*.

§. IIII.

How PERDICCAS *employed his Armie.*

KIng *Aridæus* liuing vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vse of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Gouernement. A stronger Armie then any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vnsettled condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Prouinces could haue been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time hee either married *Nicæa* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eies, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Countrie, had continued faith full to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the first that raigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeede) beene oppressed by the *Persians*: but what Fortune tooke from them at

one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatall Period of so great an Empire, with much wisedome, and (*Darius* being slaine) with sufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persians* roome. This hee did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater businesse wherein to entertaine his Armie, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Prouinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of sure retrait, vnder the gouernement of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirtie thousand foot, and fifteene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not incountred a stronger, and better trained) wanne the victorie, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vse the victorie: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, hee crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and so deliuered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men liuing he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*; rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Python* was to subdue the *Greekes*, rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. Aboue twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were soone wearie of their vnpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke aduantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselues a better fortune. Against these *Python* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discouering, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoiles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Pythons* Captains (his own creatures) that they should see this command executed. These directions for vse of the victory might haue proued needlesse; so vncertaine was the victorie it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessitie to a Hill not farre off. This dismaied the rest, and gaue the day to *Python*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and libertie, vnder condition of laying down their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territorie. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse whereof *Python* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soone appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foote, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Python*, leauied; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue assistance to that businesse: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all those poore men who had yeelded themselues; leauing *Python* as naked as he came forth to returne vnto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mightie aboue the mightie, and had faire leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the *Lamian* warre taketh ending.

§. V.

§. V.

The processe of the Lamian warre.

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting meanes to free himself without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those helps not appearing so soone as he expected, he came to parle with *Leosthenes*, & would haue yeelded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victorie, do seldome limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring war, the *Ætolians* (whether wearie of sitting still at a siege, or hauing busines which they pretended at home) took their leaue, & returned into their owne Countrie. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to sally out vpon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slaine, and *Leosthenes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieued; their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus* who was neerest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than 4000. foote, and 2000. horse, against *Seuthes* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field aboue foure times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without losse, had gotten one victorie, yet the enemie abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therfore *Leonatus* was earnestly sollicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the gouernement of *Phrygia* the lesse, and was able to raise an Army of more than 20000. foote, and 2500. horse, whether leauied out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the iourny into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to haue him come. For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her selfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had beene requisite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspition, that soone ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen Generall by the *Athenians* in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approch, forsooke the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should ioyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the aduantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the ods of 2000. *Thessalians*; in other things he was equall to him; in cause he thought himselfe Superior; in the fortune of that day he proued so: for he wan a great victorie (chiefly by vertue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himselfe; who fighting valiantly, was driuen into a marish piece of ground, where hee found his death, which desperately he had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far frō the place of his nativitie. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captaines which died in battaile, but al, or most of the rest, shal follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did neuer any thing sutable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weake to renew the fight, & too proud to flie. They betooke themselues to high grounds, vnfit for seruice on horse-back, and so abode in sight of the enemie that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their camp, and tooke the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiuing their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemie should increase, did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by another battaile. But still *Antipater* kept himselfe on ground of aduantage: which gaue more than reasonable confidence to the *Greekes*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemie to be vanquished. This rechlesnesse (incorrigible in an Armie of voluntaries)

was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to haue made themselues once againe Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatall captiuitie of *Greece* came on, of which she neuer could bee deliuered vnto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Armie hauing made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed ouer into *Europe*, and comming into *Thessalie*, ioyned himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being ioyned in one, contained fortie thousand waightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and fiue thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greekes* wanted a thousand and fiue hundred in horse, in foot eighteene thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to auoide the necessitie of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate, should returne vnto the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and *Antipater* so vrgent vpon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the *Thessalians* had the vpper hand, and held it, vntil such time as they perceiued their battailes (ouer-laied with multitude) retire vnto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, hauing little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of a hundred and thirtie men, they had purchased only the death of some fiue hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great vse made. For the *Greekes*, as not subiect vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euerie one desirous to preserue his owne estate, and Citie; concluded to make a treatie of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtile artificer, & wel vnderstanding their aptnesse to diuision, refused to harken to any generall composition, but willed euery City to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his deuice was so apparent, that it was reiected; the *Greekes* choosing rather to abide the comming of their Assistants, whose vnreasonable carelesnes betraied the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging & winning some townes in *Thessalie*; which the army of the Confederates wanted meanes & courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne assured and present calamity.

§. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by ANTIPATER. *Of* DEMOSTHENES *his death.*

THe *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soone followed seuerally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the most forward, inuiting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing beene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the seate of the warre being farre from them. But the celeritie of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at *Athens*, deuising vpon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace vpon some good termes: necessitie enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion* as the most Honorable; *Demades* as a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisedome, grauitie of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to minde the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselues to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing

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the gouernement of the Citie to those of most wealth, depriuing of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a conuenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a *Democratie*. But the rascall multitude of beggerly persons, accustomed to get their liuings out of the commō troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out, that this was a meere *Oligarchie*, the violent vsurpation of a few incroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellowes (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gaue them lands to manure; leauing as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspitions and hatred) hee caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others to bee slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, beene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well haue passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or haue surrendred their iudgements to Authors iustly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him vtterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soeuer otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswade him to leaue the place, but not so prevailing, hee threatned violence. Then *Demosthenes*, entreating a little respit as it had beene to write somewhat, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to doe the last execution vpon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battaile, how soeuer valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. Hee loued monie well, and had great summes giuen him by the *Persian*, to encourage him, in finding worke for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did hee ill (me thinkes) in taking from the *Persians* which loued not his Countrie, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countries good; which hee did not cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can indure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleeue *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that hee was a stedfast enemie to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Countrie, yet applying himselfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grieuous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquished) hee endeuoured carefully to preserue.

§. VII.

How CRATERVS *and* ANTIPATER *were drawne from their Ætolian Warres into Asia. The grounds of the first ciuill Warre betweene the Macedonian Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthned their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Ætolians*, whose pouertie was not so easily danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athens* had beene. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnes, into which they conueied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the comming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacie did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut vp all passages, and vtterly debarred them of reliefe; then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers; or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld themselues to the *Macedonians*: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue so stubborne enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much fineneſſe of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* campe, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* thinke euery houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giuing them whatsoeuer conditions they would aske: yet with purpose to call them to seuere account; yea, to roote them out of *Greece* by death, or by captiuitie, when once they should haue settled the affaires of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer: in whose high Counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Prouinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so farre from taking effect, that it serued meerely as an introduction to all the ciuill warres ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiatique* expedition, which did set the world in an vproare, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Armie. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* beene; whom the aduantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue consorted with these two, and to haue beene with them a third partner in the gouernement of all; to which purpose hee entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very simple man, yet serued wel enough to weare the title of that Maiestie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practice was more seuere than had been in the daies of *Alexander*:

ander: the deſire to ſeeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preſeruing themſelues from contempt, and of giuing ſuch a fierie luſtre to their actions, as my dazell the eies of the beholders. How cruelly the poore *Greekes* in the higher *Aſia* were all put to the ſword; and how tyrannouſly the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath alreadie beene ſhewed. The *Piſidians* were the next who felt the wrath of theſe counterfait *Alexanders*. One Citie of theirs was vtterly razed; the children ſold for ſlaues, and all the reſt maſſacred. The *Iſaurians* by this example growne deſperate, when after two or three daies triall they found themſelues vnable to continue the defence, lockt themſelues into their houſes, and ſet the Towne on fire, into the flame whereof the yong-men did throw themſelues, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the wals.

Theſe exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to ſift the aſhes of the burnt Citie for gold and ſiluer; but *Perdiccas* had buſineſſe of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrarie to his ends, than to ſit ſtill without imploiment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whileſt others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their ſeuerall Prouinces. Hee purpoſed therefore to tranſport his forces into *Europe*, vnder pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the ſeate of his Anceſtors, and head of the Empire. The Kings preſence would make the offices of his *Vice-roies* (during the time) actually voide; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in caſe of priuate men, and onely *Perdiccas* holding authoritie, the match with *Cleopatra* might eaſily bee made. So ſhould greatneſſe meete with a good title; and what more could be wiſhed? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomie* might giue, who held *Ægypt* well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the buſineſſe proſpered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomie* would follow of himſelfe, or bee driuen to come to reaſon. *Antigonus* likewiſe then gouerning in *Phrygia*, a buſie-headed man, and ill affected to the ſide, was to bee looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceiued in ſo thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a judgement, as high a ſpirit, and as great vndertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His imploiments had beene leſſe than ſome of theirs, which made him alſo the leſſe reſpected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himſelfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched *Perdiccas*, and ſounded the depth of his purpoſes, which it was now high time to diſcouer. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, cauſed him to be charged with ſuch accuſations, as might ſuffice to take away his life, eſpecially by a Iudge that ſought his death. This denice *Antigonus* would not ſeeme to perceiue, but prepared himſelfe in ſhew to make anſwere, indeede, to make eſcape, which eaſily he did, putting himſelfe and his ſonne *Demetrius* aboord of ſome *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with ſuch tidings, as finiſhed the *Ætolian* warre before mentioned.

As the comming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifeſtly perceiue their owne danger: ſo his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderſtand that his intentions were laied open, and muſt now be juſtified by the ſword. Therefore hee prepared as faſt as he could, not only for defence, but (as hauing on his ſide the Kings name) to meet with them at home; who were nothing ſlack in prouiding to encounter him. *Ptolomie* being aduertiſed of theſe proceedings, and conſidering how neerely they concerned him, ſided with *Antipater*. To his gouernement of *Ægypt* hee had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without conſent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the middeſt of theſe garboiles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great ſolemnitie, purchaſing thereby to himſelfe much good will and many partakers, notwithſtanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie comming againſt him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

PERDICCAS *his voyage into Ægypt, and his death.*

PERDICCAS, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resolued to set vpon *Ptolomie*; leauing *Eumenes* to keepe to his vse, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering vpon *Europe*.

It may seeme strange, that hee did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomie* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomie*; or beleeued that *Craterus* would not be readie for him soone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomie by his sweet behauiour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolencie, which neuer faileth to be rewarded with hatred; that is truely defined. An affection founded vpon opinion of an vniust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in *Ægypt* is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was vpon a little Towne, called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste then good speed; for *Ptolomie* preuenting him, did put himselfe into the place, where behauing himselfe not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, hee gaue the foile to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse; after a vehement, but vaine, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journie, (which was his last) and came to the diuisions of *Nilus*, ouer against *Memphis*. There with much difficultie hee beganne to passe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants aboue the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it; to take vp such as were carried away by swiftnesse of water. A great part of his Armie being arriued on the further banke, the channell beganne to waxe deepe; so that whereas the former companies had waded vp to the chinne, they who should haue followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feete of so many Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedie there was, but such as had passed must repasse againe, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the enemie, and could not be relieued by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselues to the Riuer, wherein aboue two thousand of them perished; a thousand were deuoured by *Crocodiles*; a miserable spectacle euen to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swimme, recouered the Campe; many were carried downe the streame, and driuen to the contrarie banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giuing libertie to their tongues, which long time had concealed the euill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomy*, which did set them in an vp-rore. *Ptolomie* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands aliue, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the Riuer had cast vpon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not onely moue the common Souldier, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so vertuous and honorable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vsing them like slaues. The sedition growing strong wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which hee had suffered by his procurement, after the victorie vpon the rebellious

Greekes.

Greekes. *Python* had liued in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diuision of the Prouinces made Gouernour of *Media*; hee had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had neuertheleſſe beene ſcornefully vſed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, & a good part of the horſe, which conſiſted of the Gentrie, (the footmen hauing declared themſelues before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumſtance they all ranne vpon him, and ſlew him. Such end had the proud miſ-gouerning authoritie of *Perdiccas*. Hee might haue liued as great as any, could he haue ſuffered any as great as himſelfe; yea, peraduenture maſter of all, had he not beene too maſterly ouer thoſe which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the campe, where he was joyfully receiued; he excuſed himſelfe of things paſt, as not hauing beene Author, or giuen cauſe of the Warre, and was eaſily beleeued: the fauour of the Armie being ſuch toward him, that needs they would haue made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this hee refuſed. It was an office fit for one, that would ſeeke to increaſe his greatneſſe with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough alreadie; wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deſeruing of him hee procured that honourable charge to *Python*, and to *Arideus* the Captaine, who hauing had ſome companies of Souldiers, to furniſh with their attendance the ſolemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him againſt *Perdiccas*.

In the middeſt of theſe buſineſſes came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arriued two or three daies ſooner, had beene entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would haue giuen ſuch reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had cauſed both his priuate maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to haue accepted any tolerable compoſition. But theſe good tidings comming in ill time, when death had ſtopped the eares which would haue giuen them wel-come, found bad acceptance, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of EVMENES *in the lower Aſia.*

BEfore wee proceede in the relation of things, happening about the perſon of the King, it is meete that wee ſpeake of thoſe buſineſſes in the lower *Aſia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexteritie, whileſt *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Ægyptian* warres. *Alcetas*, the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had receiued command from *Perdiccas* to be aſſiſtant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat anſwere, That he would not; alleaging the backwardneſſe of his men to beare armes againſt ſo great a perſon as *Antipater*, and a man ſo much honoured as *Craterus*, *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire ſhew, but inwardly hee repined at the Precedencie giuen to *Eumenes*, as thinking himſelfe the better man. *Eumenes* diſcouering, through the counterfaited lookes of *Neoptolemus*, the miſchiefe lurking in his heart, wiſely diſſembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and ſweet language, that commonly are loſt, when beſtowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himſelfe, that hee might ſtand vpon his owne ſtrength, he raiſed out of the Countries vnder his juriſdiction, about ſixe thouſand horſe, giuing many priuiledges to ſuch as were ſeruiceable, & training them well vp. Not without great neede. For when vpon aduertiſement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly paſſed the *Helleſpont*) for the inuaſion of his Prouinces, hee willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power, *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) aduance, but in hoſtile manner, though vnprouoked, preſented him battaile. *Neoptolemus* had ſecretly couenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conqueſt of *Aſia*, which now intending to performe, he

was

was shamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and preuailed farre vpon *Eumenes* his battailes; yet were his horse driuen out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leauing naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men, to bee charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting downe their Pikes, they cried for mercie, and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull seruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeuored with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their societie, who contrariwise offered himselfe, as a meane of reconciliation, betweene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearely loued; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had vndertaken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a *Scribe* (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well hee might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victorie was wonne, for they would all forth-with reuolt vnto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to giue him aide against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might haue the leading of the Armie to be sent. Their owne affections did easily leade them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might preuaile as much, as the force which hee drew along. For he had in the middest of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselues to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient *Macedonian* forme of behauiour, and apparell; whereby hee became verie gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia*, with discontented eies, as reprochfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native countrie. So *Antipater* tooke the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyne with *Ptolomie*. *Craterus* vsed great celeritie, to haue taken *Eumenes* reuelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines after a great victory. But hee had a warie and well aduised enemie to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wisedome fore-saw all that was to bee feared, and the meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battaile, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Armie following him: (yet the Armie following him was such, as much exceeded his owne in foot men, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more vneasie to keepe the *Macedonians* from reuolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon hee tooke in hand a strange piece of worke, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing, prosperously accomplished. He gaue out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such companie as hee could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not farre off) to joyne with him. Hauing animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom hee knew to be despised and hated among them, (as hauing been vanquished by some of them, & forsaken others in plaine field, whilest they valiantly fought in his quarrell) hee tooke great care to keepe them from receiuing any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpetter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had he been knowne: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, vnder the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himselfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should runne vpon the enemie, and giue him no leisure to say or doe any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his owne person: but placing himself in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as hee vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrarie side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and readie to charge

charge the enemie as soon as the distance would giue leaue. A rising piece of ground lay betweene them, which hauing ascended, the Armies discouered each other: but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long iournies, which ouer-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of friuolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (hauing failed in surprising them as enemies) to discouer himselfe to his old friends and fellow-souldiers, of whom hee could see none. *Phœnix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who mindfull of their instructions, beganne to giue vpon him, with such countenance as told him his errour; which to redeeme, he bade his men fight and winne the day, and take the spoile to themselues. But the Beare whose skinne hee sels is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battaile was fought gaue most aduantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who as soone as they had discouered one another, could not containe themselues, but with great rage met bodie to bodie, and letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from vnder them, leauing both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawne, where-with he houghed the other, causing him to fall downe and fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they receiued many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing slight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which hee died in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-aliue) stripped by his mortall enemie, whose reuilings hee requited, lying euen at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spurre, and seeke shelter behind the battailes of their foote. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carrie succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not vnlikely, that hee might haue either carried the day, or preserued himselfe to a better aduenture by gining ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slaine) did. But whileſt hee sought to preserue his reputation, hee lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound receiued; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foot by many that knew him not, and so perished vnknowne, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* comming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as hauing alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a Treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingnesse to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselues, which (by his permission) hauing done, they stale away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heauily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that hee was as sorrie as any that pretended greater heauinesse. His Armie wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giuing to them the spoile of such Townes as were ill-effected to him. So he redeemed the loue of his owne men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had beene Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulnesse, as greatly, as they thought that he would hate them for their falshood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late reuolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and con-

condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels betweene EVRYDICE *the Queene, and* PYTHON *the Protector.* PYTHON *resignes his office, into which* ANTIPATER *is chosen.*

PYTHON and *Aridæus* being chosen Protectors of King *Aridæus*, and the children of *Alexander*, tooke the way to *Asia* the lesse, conducting the Armie through *Syria*. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to sustaine so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, well vnderstanding what she was or should bee, and thinking her selfe able to support the waight which Fortune had laied vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander* by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath beene shewed) to *Amyntas*, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, being the onely sonne of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* Queene of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the same vnwomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether onely desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Armie having shaken off such a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed. *Python* bearing himself vpon his office, took vpon him to giue directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, vsing the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python*, seeing this, would needes resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps hee thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successour. *Eurydice* was nothing sorrie at this course, for now she thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and *Python*, of their contrarie expectations: choosing *Antipater*, the onely powerfull man of *Alexanders* Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of *Python*. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weakenesse of her husband: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* campe; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Armie neere at hand arriued in few daies at the campe, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her selfe content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to worke by any close deuices, as *Perdiccas* had done; he had no concurrents, all the Gouernours of Prouinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes

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along with him into *Macedonia*, leauing *Antigonus* Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, hee gaue the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of *Asia* during that warre.

§. XI.

ANTIGONVS *Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battaile of* EVMENES, *and besiegeth him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of* PERDICCAS.

HEre beginnes the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few yeeres ouergrowing, the rest wanted little of spreading it self ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alcetas* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keepe his Armie imployed in the publike seruice, till such time as he might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he vndertooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetas* and *Attalus* refused to ioyne, hauing vnseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull prouisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himselfe had scattered abroad those letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treacherie secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this false man *Apollonides* had vndertaken, *Antigonus* presented battaile to *Eumenes*; in the heate whereof *Apollonides*, General of the horse to *Eumenes*, fled ouer to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes*, perceiuing the irrecouerable mischiefe which this traiterous practice brought vpon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troupes of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the losse of that battaile, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whileft *Antigonus* held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battaile had been fought; there he burned (according to the maner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raising vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold aduenture bred in the *Macedonians*, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit: so the newes which *Menander* (who was set to looke vnto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, careleſſe, as after an assured victorie, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruice; all which hee might haue taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should proue a heauie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to *Menander* to flie to the mountaines, whileft he detained his men (vvhom authoritie could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting them to baite their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble

condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels betweene EVRYDICE *the Queene, and* PYTHON *the Protector.* PYTHON *resignes his office, in which* ANTIPATER *is chosen.*

PYTHON and *Arideus* being chosen Protectors of King *Arideus*, and the children of *Alexander*, tooke the way to *Asia* the lesse, conducting the Armie through *Syria*. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to sustaine so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Arideus*, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, well vnderstanding what she was or should bee, and thinking her selfe able to support the waight which Fortune had laied vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander* by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath beene shewed) to *Amyntas*, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, being the onely sonne of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* Queene of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the same vnwomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether onely desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Armie hauing shaken off such a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed. *Python* bearing himself vpon his office, took vpon him to giue directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, vsing the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python*, seeing this, would needes resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps hee thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successour. *Eurydice* was nothing sorrie at this course; for now she thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne wil, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and *Python*, of their contrarie expectations: choosing *Antipater*, the onely powerfull man of *Alexanders* Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of *Python*. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weakenesse of her husband: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* campe; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Armie neere at hand arriued in few daies at the campe, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her selfe content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to worke by any close deuices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Gouernours of Prouinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes

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along with him into *Macedonia*, leauing *Antigonus* Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good ſeruices done, and to be done againſt *Eumenes*, hee gaue the rule of *Suſiana*, beſides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of *Aſia* during that warre.

§. XI.

ANTIGONVS *Lieutenant of Aſia, winnes a battaile of* EVMENES, *and beſiegeth him in Nora: He vanquiſheth other followers of* PERDICCAS.

HEre beginnes the greatneſſe of *Antigonus*, whoſe power in few yeeres ouergrowing, the reſt wanted little of ſpreading it ſelf ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keepe his Armie imployed in the publike ſeruice, till ſuch time as he might find occaſion to make vſe of it in his owne buſineſſe. The firſt of theſe which he vndertooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refuſed to ioyne, hauing vnſeaſonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army ſtrong in number, courage, and all needfull prouiſions; but obedient only at diſcretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting firſt the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made ſhew as if he himſelfe had ſcattered abroad thoſe letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with ſuch Captaines, as hee thought moſt eaſie to be wonne. Of theſe Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too haſtily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking ſo careleſly to himſelfe, that he and his were ſurpriſed, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treacherie ſecret, reſeruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treaſon which this falſ man *Apollonides* had vndertaken, *Antigonus* preſented battaile to *Eumenes*; in the heate whereof *Apollonides*, General of the horſe to *Eumenes*, fled ouer to the contrary ſide, with ſuch as he could get to follow him: but was cloſely followed by ſome, whoſe company he deſired not. *Eumenes*, perceiuing the irrecouerable miſchiefe which this traiterous practice brought vpon him, purſued the villain, and cut him off before he could thruſt himſelf into the troupes of *Antigonus*, and boaſt of his treacherie. This was ſome comfort to *Eumenes* in the loſſe of that battaile, which diſabled him vtterly to keepe the field, and left it very hard for him to make a ſafe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of ſmall importance) cauſed *Antigonus* himſelfe to admire his high reſolution. It was held no ſmall part of the victorie to get poſſeſſion of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whileſt *Antigonus* held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compaſſe, returned to the place where the battaile had been fought; there he burned (according to the maner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and aſhes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raiſing vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and ſo went his way. As this bold aduenture bred in the *Macedonians*, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue ſpirit: ſo the newes which *Menander* (who was ſet to looke vnto their carriages) brought and publiſhed among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, careleſſe, as after an aſſured victorie, and loaden with the ſpoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long ſeruice; all which hee might haue taken: but fearing leſt ſuch a purchaſe ſhould proue a heauie burthen to him, whoſe chiefe hope conſiſted in ſwift expedition, he gaue ſecret warning to *Menander* to flie to the mountaines, whileſt he detained his men (vvhom authoritie could not haue reſtrained) by this ſleight, ſetting them to baite their horſes. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courteſie, as a noble

noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strippe them out of al their wealth, and make their children slaues, and to rauish their wiues: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good wil to them; but out of meere subtiltie had auoided those precious letters, which would haue hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not onely thinke all cariages to be ouer-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than availeable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselues; and retaining onely fiue hundred horse, and two hundred foote. When he had wearied *Antigonus* awhile in following him vp and downe, he came to *Nora*: where againe, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fortresse in the borders of *Lycaonia* & *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualed and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeeres. Thither did *Antigonus* follow, him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpose he entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his loue; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Prouinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed vp; where *Antigonus* leauing sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iournie into *Pisidia* against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom hee made short worke. He came vpon them vnexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to haue defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had beene too secure before his comming, so were they too aduenturous in fighting at the first sight, vpon all disaduantages: and their folly was attended with suitable euent. *Attalus* with many principall Captaines was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the Citie of *Termessus*, where the loue of the yonger sort was toward him so vehement, that stopping their eares against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needes would hazzard their liues and their Countrie in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: For the Gouernours of the Towne hauing secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the yong men to sally out; and vsing the time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Alcetus*, who vnable to resist, slew himselfe. His dead body was conueied to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torne, was cast forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the yong men interred the carcasse with solemne funerals, hauing once beene minded to set on fire their owne towne in reuenge of his death. Such fauour had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soeuer, is insufficient.

§. XII.

PTOLOMIE *winnes Syria and Phœnicia. The death of* ANTIPATER.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, the reſt of the Princes lay idle, rather ſeeking to enioy their Gouernments for the preſent, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wanne all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumſtance in the managing. Hee ſent a Lieutenant thither with an Armie, who quickly tooke *Laomedon* priſoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may ſeeme) without any great ſtrength of Souldiers, farre from aſſiſtants, and vainely relying vpon the authority which had giuen him that Prouince, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with ſeeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and ſickly, deſirous of reſt, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* purſue the diſpatch of thoſe buſineſſes in *Aſia*. Hee had with him *Polyſperchon*, one of the moſt ancient of *Alexanders* Captaines, that had lately ſuppreſſed a dangerous inſurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had ſtirred in the

quarrell

quarrell of *Perdiccas*, preuailing farre at the firſt, but ſoone loſing all that they had gained, whileſt *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyſperchon*, *Antipater* did repoſe great confidence; ſo farre foorth, that (ſuſpecting the youth of his owne Sonne *Caſſander* of inſufficiencie in ſo great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Gouernment of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of *Protectorſhip*. So *Antipater* died, being foure-ſcore yeeres old, hauing alwaies trauailed in the great affaires of mightie Princes, with ſuch reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatneſſe was iealous of him, and the ſucceſſours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppoſitions. In his priuate qualities he was a ſubtile man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philoſophicall behauiour, not vnlearned, as hauing beene Scholler to *Ariſtotle*, and written ſome Hiſtories. Hee had beene much moleſted by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Sonne, hee compelled to abſtaine from comming into *Macedonia*, or entermeddling in matters of eſtate: yea, at his owne death he gaue eſpeciall direction, that no woman ſhould bee permitted to deale in the adminiſtration of the Empire. But this precept was ſoone forgotten; and yet, ere long, by ſorrowfull experience approued to haue been ſound and good.

§. XIII.

Of POLYSPERCHON *who ſucceeded vnto* ANTIPATER *in the Protectorſhip. The inſurrection of* CASSANDER *againſt him.*

POLYSPERCHON was very skilfull in the art of warre, hauing long time beene Apprentiſe in that occupation; other qualities, requiſite in ſo high an Office as he vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He mannaged his buſines more formally, then wiſely, as a man of a ſecond wit, fitter to aſſiſt, than commaund in chiefe. At the firſt entrance vpon the ſtage, hee called to counſaile all his friends, wherein, for waightie conſiderations (as they who waighed not the contrary reaſons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the preſence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and ſtrengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouernours of Prouinces abroad ſhould keepe greater Armies, than were needefull or eaſie to be retained about the perſon of the King in *Macedonia*; it ſeemed expedient, that the face of the Court ſhould be filled with all maieſtie, that might giue authoritie to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the bounds of dutie ſuch as could not by force haue beene kept in order, being ſtrong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of ſight, whileſt preſent miſchiefe lay vnregarded in their boſomes. *Caſſander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to diſcouer that great ſufficiencie in *Polyſperchon*, for which his father had repoſed in him ſo much confidence: neither could hee diſcerne ſuch oddes in the qualitie of himſelfe and *Polyſperchon*, as was in their fortune. Hee was left Captaine of one thouſand; which Office by practice of thoſe times was of more importance, than the title now ſeemes to implie. He ſhould thereby haue beene as Campe-maſter, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way ſatisfying his ambition, that thought himſelfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppoſe him. All that had relied on his Father, were his owne aſſured, eſpecially ſuch as commanded the Garriſons beſtowed in the principall Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magiſtrates, and others of principall authoritie, in thoſe Common-weales, whoſe formes had beene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the ſide, and draw in many partakers: it concerned theſe men in their owne particular

to adhere vnto the Captains, by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obaying their betters perforce. Besides all these helpes, *Cassander* had the secret loue of Queene *Euridice*, who had in priuate rendered him such courtesie, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; becausse he saw *Polysperchon* much reuerenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppresse him, before he could haue made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised with them vpon the safest course, and most free from all suspition. The necessitie was apparant of raising an Armie, before the businesse were set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his gouernement of *Ægypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold vpon all that hee could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discouered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stoode in neede of a ciuill Warre; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betweene his Father and them, would auaile him somewhat. Whereupon hee secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conueied himselfe on a sudden ouer the *Hellespont*, that hee might in person aduance the businesse with greater speede. Much perswasion is needlesse in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coueted nothing more, than to finde *Polysperchon* worke, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memory of his Father, and al requisite coniurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was readie to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedie dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaied him with the same coine; saying, That for his owne sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearely loued, hee would not faile to giue him all manner of succour. Hauing thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slacke in preparing the common meanes, leading to their seuerall ends.

§. XIIII.

The vnworthie courses held by POLYSPERCHON, *for the keeping downe of* CASSANDER.

GReat necessitie there was of timely prouision. For *Polysperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthning of rebellion; and well hee knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* Estate. Therefore (loning to work circumspectly) he called another Councel, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of gouernment should be erected in al the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawne; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith bee either slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an vnthankefull nature in *Polysperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Sonne went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only bountie had inabled him to doe it? or what could bee said in their defence, who sought to destroy

many

many worthie men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*: and in opposition to their priuate Enemie, gaue the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans bodie, through sinnewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrarie hand: so in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdiuided in faction, are more inraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their neerest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are diuided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrarie religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawne in, to the part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against iniurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; shee hath taught the arme to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: they are depraued affections, which render men sensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranne vnder the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discerne, that *Polysperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polysperchon* gaue, and treate with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subiection, might well appeare to haue some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too base and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subiects, and often-subdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by POLYSPERCHONS *decree. The death of* PHOCION.

NEuertheleſſe the *Athenians* with immoderate ioy entertained this happie-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hastie desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His comming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That hee had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time, haue put into their hands a faire opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Farre more grieuously would they haue beene offended, had they knowne the instructions, which *Cassander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retaine *Munychia*, any iniunction to the contrarie notwithstanding; but that hee should finde meanes to thrust some Companies into *Pireus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall Hauen, against the high-Towne. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the *Athenians* were not long in giuing him sufficient cause to do that, which he would haue done without any cause giuen. They desired him to come vnto their Councell, assembled in the *Pireus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the warre which was ready to breake forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them Masters of

their owne, which how to vse, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend vnto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet seldome thriued by that course) practised with *Dercyllus*, a Captaine following *Polysperchon*, and then lying neere at hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then gouerned in *Athens*, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a tricke of politique dishonestie, did quietly suffer him to depart and saue himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon beganne to deuise vpon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the proiect of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his owne iust reuenge. He leauied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, tooke it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauen, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselues vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending meere mischiefe, which they perceiued not, being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before shee durst well aduenture to returne into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. *Polysperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) so farre from purposing to let them haue *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them haue themselues. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leaue in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His sonne *Alexander* not ignorant of this, made faire shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labor, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew iealous, and the displeasure they conceiued against him they powred out vpon *Phocion*, depriuing him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselues into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euery one that best could inueigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatning them. In this hurly burly was *Alexander* deuising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much priuie conference with him; which he could not so secretly carrie, but that his negotiation was discouered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was so farre increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driuen to seeke saueguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Countrie of *Phocis*, readie to enter with an Armie into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deserts, (hauing alwaies beene friends to the *Macedonians*, as farre as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polysperchons* familiar friend, went along with them, (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour, by meanes of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon* was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of iudgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good successe. For feare of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to loue him: out of their loue hee gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how

how to get into his owne hands those keyes, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt vp: finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, hee stood wauering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his deuotion, would indeede haue done well: but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate; and many Townes of importance in *Greece* beganne to cast their eyes vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which then was growne to be Master of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* Embassadours come, treading (as one may say) vpon *Phocions* heeles, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemne audience giuen to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exteriour shewes of majestie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as hee saw others do. For beginning of the businesse *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and slaine. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadours hee then bade to speake. When their errand was done, and answere to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guiltie of treason; but to giue sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of *Athens*, because they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the rascall multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselues, condemned them to die. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion*, a man very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the lesse regard. Fiue and fortie times had hee beene chosen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when hee was absent: so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued, euen of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. Hee was a good Commander in Warre, wherein though his actions were not verie great, yet were they of good importance, and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his counsaile: nor any priuate man of hauing trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signes of his loue) sent him two hundred talents of siluer, and offered to bestow vpon him of foure Cities in *Asia* any one which hee would choose. But *Phocion* refused these and other gifts, howsoeuer importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest pouertie: wherein he liued aboue fourescore yeeres, and then was compelled by the vnjust judgement of wicked men to drinke that poyson, which by just judgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it neuer brought forth any worthie man resembling the vertue of their Ancients.

§. XVI.

Of POLYSPERCHON *his vaine expedition against* CASSANDER.

NOt long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polysperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great Army, but so ill victualed, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Onely hee had giuen some impediment to the enemie; who not contented with defending what he held, beganne to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to driue *Cassander* out of *Athens*, hee left his sonne *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals,

to

to withstand his further incroching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Countrie sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had beene in other parts of *Greece*. First, he beganne to fight with Edicts, restoring the *Democratie*, or Popular forme of gouernement. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* beene made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very ready to seale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*; especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polysperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteene thousand seruiceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolued to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polysperchon* comming thither with all his power did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betweene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came vp to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised vp an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assailants hauing failed to carrie the Towne at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the townes-men perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driuen through with long nailes, which they vsed as gall-throps, bestowing them sleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beat vpon their sides with Arrowes and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Warres. Of these prouisions they made happie vse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driuen back vpon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to *Megalopolis*, as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, hee forsooke the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour; leauing some part of his Armie to lie before the Towne for his credit.

After this hee sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to joyne with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole Fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where hee fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the ouer-throw, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, assuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For hee sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee had caused to bee wafted ouer the Straights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting vpon *Clitus*, draue his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriuing did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudy decrees, but when the execution was referred to his owne sword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiuing that hee had left them to shift for themselues, and was not able to giue them protection against the enemie which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Gouernour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the partie of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly reuolted vnto him; as to an industrious

man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie ſet in a combuſtion, vneaſie to be quenched; which preſented vnto *Antigonus* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himſelfe Lord of *Aſia*.

§. XVII.

ANTIGONVS *ſeekes to make himſelfe an abſolute Lord: and thereupon treates with* EVMENES, *who diſappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia wonne by* ANTIGONVS.

ANTIGONVS had in *Antipaters* life time a firme reſolution, to make vnto himſelfe the vtmoſt benefit that he might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire ſeaſon for aduancement of his purpoſes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; euen then, when all the buſineſſe in *Piſidia* was diſpatched, and no more imployment for the Armie remaining, ſaue onely the continuance of the ſiege of *Nora*; a ſmal thing of it ſelfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was moſt precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the preſent eſtate was manifeſtly ſubiect, would in continuance of ſome yeeres (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that ſpace could worke againſt him. His moſt feare was, that for want of exerciſe in that narrow Caſtle, his men and horſes might grow ſickly and vnſeruiceable: which made him to practiſe many deuices of keeping them in health and luſtie. But when he had continued ſhut vp in this manner about a yeere, his hopes came to good paſſe, and he was eaſed of his cares by *Antigonus* himſelfe, whoſe forces held him beſieged.

Antigonus knowing the great ſufficiencie of *Eumenes*, and conſidering his fidelitie ſhewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that hee could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing thoſe high deſignes, wherein hee doubted not that hee ſhould bee withſtood by the mightieſt Princes of the Empire. Hee ſent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with ſome part of his intent, and promiſing to make him a greater Lord than euer hee had beene, and the next man to himſelfe, if things fell out as he deſired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendſhip, and thereupon ſent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleaſure iſſue ſafely out of *Nora*, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* peruſing the forme of the oath, perceiued the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keepe the *Decorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words and ſumme of all the reſt were ſuch, as tied him faſt onely to *Antigonus*, omitting all reſeruation of dutie to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it vnſeemely to become a ſworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the maſtrie, and being aſſured that his voluntarie aſſiſtance, which way ſoeuer he gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the courſe propounded. Yet would hee not therefore breake off the negotiation, and waite for ſome better occaſion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming: but ſeeming to bee well agreed with *Antigonus*, hee prepared to giue vp his Hold and depart. As for the oath it ſelfe, when he came to take it, he made ſhew of diſlike, in that it was not ſolemne enough for ſuch perſonages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in teſtifying their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gaue him leaue to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himſelfe to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and ſo he departed.

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as ſoone as hee came downe to the Sea-ſide, to remoue

remoue some of the Gouernours of Prouinces, behauing himselfe according to the authoritie which hee had receiued of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did hee want sufficient pretence whereby to iustifie his proceedings. For if *Polysperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protector-ship*, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himselfe aswell retaine the *Lieutenantship* of *Asia*, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what should seeme conuenient whilest he liued, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To giue a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, & thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answere them.

The first that perceiued his drift, and prouided to resist him, was *Aridæus* Gouernour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Townes of his owne Prouince, and sought to haue wonne *Cyzicus*, a faire Hauen Towne, and seated very conueniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* tooke occasion to command him out of the Countrie. *Aridæus* was so farre from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieue *Eumenes*. Neuertheless finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long resistance, he tooke such companies as hee could draw along with him, and so passed ouer into *Europe*, to complaine at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

ANTIGONVS *pursues* EVMENES. EVMENES *hauing authoritie from the Court, raiseth great Warre against* ANTIGONVS *in defence of the Royall house.*

ANTIGONVS hauing thus gotten into his hands all, or most of *Asia* the lesse, was able to haue entred *Macedon*, and seized vpon the Court; which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would haue bred as much jealousie in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polysperchon*, which might haue brought them to tearmes of reconciliation; It would aske more time then hee could spare; and the enuie which followed the *Protector-ship* was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shunne, then to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well-affected. Against him therefore hee bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand foote, and foure thousand Horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppresse him before hee should bee able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well knowne in the Court, hee had commission sent vnto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make warre vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as hee should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouernours of Prouinces, requiring them to giue assistance to *Eumenes*, and bee ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the olde Souldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, or siluer-sheelded bands, commandement was giuen to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foote, and fiue

hundred

hundred horse, before this authoritie was giuen him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Roiall bloud. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her and her Nephew the sonne of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to giue her his aduice in that which *Polysperchon* required of her: for she was desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remaine in *Epirus*, till such time as hee could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seede of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire scarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wiues, and children, might repose firme confidence, sauing onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* bloud, borne at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled hee was to trauaile as farre as *Persia*, to gather together an Armie sufficient, to resist the enemies that pursued his heeles.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. OLYMPIAS takes ARIDEVS *and* EVRYDICE, *whom shee cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, forasmuch as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe, which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpation of the roiall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it conuenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawne into those courses, which ouerthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the fraction brake out in *Macedon* it selfe, about the maine controuersie of title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should haue beene depending.

Aridæus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdome, and become Gouernour to a King of his owne making.

Eurydice the Queene discouering plainely this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had beene through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof; and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to resolue, both to suppresse the linage which he hated, and to maintaine his beloued mistresse, either by supporting her weake husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who raigned ouer all, so as they might raigne in their seuerall Countries, and establish their authoritie in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among

Among these, *Ptolomie* and *Antigonus* were well enough alreadie, if their ambition would haue suffered them to see it.

Pitho and *Seleucus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, *Peucestes* and some others with much adoe hardly made resistance, vntill such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters which he liued not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wiues. It was thought that shee had giuen poyson to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his bodie and wits. Now shee considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of businesse to come home so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily preuailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to ioyne with *Polysperchon*, and set vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the sonne of *Roxane*, remouing *Aridæus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so tooke her way towards *Polysperchon*, who ioyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. Shee her selfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as shee could, vntill shee thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polysperchon*.

These two Queenes met armed, as if the matter should haue beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the reuolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias hauing obtained this victorie without bloud, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that vpon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not sticke to maintaine her, whatsoeuer her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp *Aridæus* and his wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, shee fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare left the people should haue commiseration of him, that had raigned almost sixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliuered *Aridæus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poyson, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yeelded her necke to the halter, hauing spent her last curses not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then choose out, all whom she commanded to be slaine. His brother *Iolaus* that was alreadie dead and buried, shee accused of poyson giuen to *Alexander*, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselues, and the folly of *Polysperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the gouernement of the Empire.

§. XX.

How CASSANDER *was reuenged vpon* OLYMPIAS.

† I.

The great expedition of CASSANDER. OLYMPIAS *ſhuts her ſelfe into Pydna, where* CASSANDER *beſiegeth her.* ÆACIDES *King of Epirus, comming to ſuccour* OLYMPIAS, *is forſaken, and baniſhed by his owne Subiects.*

CASSANDER at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponneſus*; whither when all theſe ill tidings were brought to him, hee neuer ſtaied to take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the ſonne of *Polyſperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, hee willed his aſſociates to looke to themſelues as wel as they could, til his returne, and ſo in al haſte he tooke his iournie toward *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy deſire of inſt reuenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polyſperchon*, to hinder his paſſage; but he, not willing to miſ-ſpend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ſhips as he could, great and ſmall, with which he tranſported his Army into *Theſſaly*. There he diuided his companies, appointing ſome vnder *Callas*, a ſubtile Captaine, to hold *Polyſperchon* buſied, who then lay incamped neere to *Perhæbia*; with the reſt he marched directly againſt *Olympias*. Shee, hauing once preuailed by the reſpect giuen to her dignitie, tooke more care how to appeare Maieſticall, than to make her ſelfe ſtrong. To this ende ſhe made a ſolemne progreſſe to *Pydna*, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flowre of the Court, eſpecially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her yong ſonne *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers deſignement: who, during his minoritie, kept the Soueraigne power in her owne handes. But all this pompe ſerued to little vſe, againſt the violence of the enemie, that ſoone preſented himſelfe before the wals; onely it fed the beſieged with a vaine hope of ſuccour, that would from all partes arriue, to reſcue perſons of their qualitie. And hereof there ſoone appeared faire likelihood, which as ſoone vaniſhed, and went away in ſmoke.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus*, made great haſte to bring ſuccour to *Olympias*, his coſen, with whom *Deidamia* his daughter was alſo ſhut vp. Neuertheleſſe, his Subiects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine paſſages taken in the way by *Caſſanders* men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterpriſe. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceed, and the obſtinate refuſal of the Army, brake out at length into ſuch termes, that when hee had raged in vaine againſt the multitude; his authority, with which he thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forſake his Kingdom, and to wander vp and downe in forraine Countries a baniſhed man, his people ioyning with the enemie, againſt whom he had led them forth to warre.

Pydna in the meane time was cloſed vp ſtraightly, both by Sea and Land, ſo that neither any could iſſue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe be conueied into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable ſeruice being done there, whilſt great actions were mannaged abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of OLYMPIAS *her storie.* POLYSPERCHON *defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna.* OLYMPIAS *yeeldes to* CASSANDER.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of EVMENES and ANTIGONVS in this place, leauing OLYMPIAS yet a while to the bower of her destinie, which growes the faster vpon her, because shee may discerne it comming; yet that wee may not bee compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedy in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it; wee will here (as elsewhere we haue done, and elsewhere must) continue to an ende one History, that we may not bee therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polysperchon*, was in like maner disappointed, as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirot*. For *Callas*, who was sent against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with money, leauing him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that hee was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift retrait. When famine had so farre preuailed in the city, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many mē feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellowes, and sawdust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yeelded themselues to the enemy, & were by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into the Country. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her wil-willers, that such as had reserued themselues to the euent, came in apace, and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be vnto her as a house of torment, and a Iaile, out of which shee should not be deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vtterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who hauing fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen, accounted himselfe as good as master of her bodie) a graunt of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yeelded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonus*, to whom *Olympias* had giuen charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the successe of some pettie seruices wherein hee had preuailed, began to promise himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassanders* fauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. He did so, and presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke innouation.

†. III.

The death of OLYMPIAS, *and her condition.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, shee herselfe was called into question, and accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prosperitie she called iustice) by her committed. There was shee, (being not heard nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted

ted againſt her, by the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlaine. But it was at *Caſſanders* inſtigation; who (to haſten the execution) ſent her word, that he would furniſh her, with a ſhip, and other neceſſaries, to ſaue her ſelfe by flight: which when ſhe refuſed, ſaying, that ſhee would plead for her ſelfe, and tell her owne tale; ſhe diſſembled no longer, but ſent vnto her ſuch men as hated her moſt, who tooke away her miſerable life. Shee was daughter, and ſiſter, vnto two Kings of *Epirus*; wife, and mother, vnto two the mightieſt Kings, of that, or many other ages; a ſtout Lady, and of vnreproueable chaſtitie, but her ambition was boundleſſe, her hatred vnappeaſable, and her furie in reuenge, moſt vnwomanly. Her peruerſe conditions made her huſband ſeeke other wiues and Concubines, which cauſed her to hate both him, and them. She was thought priuie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly ſhe ſlew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing firſt murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beaſtly furie broiled the other aliue in fire, in a copper baſon. For theſe things, her ſonne *Alexander* (otherwiſe louing her wel) forbade her to meddle in the gouernement of *Macedon*. But God more ſeuere vnto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to liue & fulfill the reſt of her wickedneſſe; (which was his iuſtice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppreſſion done by him and others) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

†. IIII.

CASSANDER *celebrates the funerall of* ARIDEVS *and* EVRYDICE; *and ſeekes to make himſelfe King of Macedon.*

AFter her death, *Caſſander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his owne poſſibilities of greatneſſe, he married the Lady *Theſſalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wiues; that by her he might haue ſome title to the Crowne. For the ſame end he committed *Roxane*, and her yong ſonne, to cloſe priſon, remouing thereby ſome part of his impediment. And, the better to encreaſe his fame, and purchaſe loue, built a Citie, called by his owne name *Caſſandria*, that ſoone grew to be very great and powerfull. He reædified likewiſe *Thebes* in *Greece*, and reſtored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twentie yeeres waſte, being vtterly razed by *Alexander*. By theſe meanes, eſpecially by the reſtauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew ſo ſtrong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could reſiſt him. Leauing him therefore daily preuailing in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Aſia*, for leſſe titles, but larger Prouinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS *got in Asia.*

§. I.

The iourney of EVMENES *into Persia. His wise dealing with those that ioyned with him.*

EVMENES, hauing ioyned vnto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the Easterne parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against *Antigonus*. Hee tooke his iourney through *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaime those Prouinces, vsurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath beene shewed) by *Ptolomie*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Armie too little, and the readinesse of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconuenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectuall. The Captaines of the *Argyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so vnsteadie, that he might haue more easily dealt with open Traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore hee fained, that *Alexander* had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pauilion, wherin an emptie throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himselfe had beene present at their consultations. Thus hee freed himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomie* requested them, & *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, sending before him the Kings warrant; which *Pytho* & *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as reiecting the kings authority, but excepting against the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Armie, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to relye vpon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected then his affaires required, and were not to bee dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand, through the Countrie of *Babylon*, in such wise that *Seleucus*, hauing in vaine assaied to hinder him, by opening the sluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be ridde of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes* and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his companie, because of the differences betweene *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselues. Yet the contention about superioritie, grew verie hot among them; euery one finding matter enough, to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former deuice of assembling in one pauilion, made all quiet; the conclusion euer being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giuing aduice, and best able to reward, by meanes of the authoritie giuen him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he wonne to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

§. II.

How ANTIGONVS, *comming to set vpon* EVMENES, *was driuen off with losse.*

ANTIGONVS, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Prouince of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he remoued out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, hee marched directly against the enemies, with intent to giue them battaile. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa* and was retired backe toward *Persia*, keeping the Riuer of *Tygris* betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the Riuer were wel guarded, and good espiall kept vpon *Antigonus*, to obserue which way he tooke. Before he came to *Tygris* it selfe, he was to passe ouer *Coprates*, a great Riuer, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge vpon *Tygris*, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and draue them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; verie few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yelded themselues prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieue them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Countrie in the dog-daies, breeding diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Pithon* with him; (leauing *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to go the neerest way, passed through sauage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arriue in *Media*, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of EVMENES *his cunning. A battaile betweene him and* ANTIGONVS.

AFter his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine hee would haue had them to enter vpon those Prouinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him; to which also the Captaines of the *Argyraspides* or *Siuer-shields* were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needes march Eastward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, & sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. *Eumenes* perceiuing wherunto those doings tended, suffred him a while to keepe good cheare, till the time of warre drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Gouernor of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himselfe: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent ouer a great *Armie* vnder *Polysperchon*, to ioyne with *Eumenes*. These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingnesse to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest apparance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when *Antigonus*, comming out of *Media*, drew neere vnto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sicke, and faine

faine to be carried in a Litter; the Armie marched in very bad array, and was likely to haue beene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and vpon the sodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a farre off, could not refraine from giuing him deserued commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiuing him, he came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foote by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable successe, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victorie was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lie farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the signe of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies craving it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victorie had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (hauing tarried but one day) to steale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IIII.

Of diuers stratagems practised by ANTIGONVS, *and* EVMENES, *one against the other.*

THus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals: but the side which had hitherto preuailed, being hindred by the equall authoritie of many, from pursuing all aduantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew dayly weaker in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe he could finde no way safer, then to put all to aduenture. Hee knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Betweene him and them, the way was not long, being onely nine daies iourney, but very bad, through a rough drie wildernesse, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Countrie well peopled, but requiring twentie fiue daies iourney, he forsooke, partly for the length, partly, and chiefely, because he would come vndiscouered. So therefore taking his iourney in the dead of Winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not haue them descried a farre off. This commandement had beene well obserued foure or fiue daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselues, being neere to their wayes ende. The light of these fires gaue notice of their comming; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captaines, they were so astonished with the sodaine danger, that in all haste they betooke themselues to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to harten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleeue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as hee appointed, who failed not in making his word good. Hee tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certaine toppes of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there he chose a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundrie places, as if the whole Armie had beene present. This was a sorrowful spectacle to *Antigonus* who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose; and began to feare lest he should be

compelled to fight, whilest his men were tired with a long and painefull journey. Therefore hee resolued to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how readie *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, considering that no enemie stirred about him, hee began to pause, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that Desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hil-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that he had been so deluded. Therfore he went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceiued him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arriued there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Armie was come, saue onely *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent aboue two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himselfe as well as he could; for his horsemen, ouerlaied with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the spurre. Neither knew they, who sate vpon the Elephants, which way to turne them; for on all sides they receiued wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vnexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safetie by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though hee knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet hee knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, prouided the remedie.

§. V.

The conspiracie of PEVCESTES *and others, against* EVMENES *his life.*

BY these meanes *Eumenes* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Captaines, guiltie of their own much insufficiencie, were so transported with enuie, that they could now no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a necessarie point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischiefe, contriued against worthy men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deseruing: For, though it often happen, that small vices doe serue to counterpoyse great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quicke and lasting, than of good) yet hee shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisedome, to finde good reason of the euils, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes haue no other cause than their vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to bee of singular courtesie, of a very sweet conuersation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrew him, which euen they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be gouerned by his directions. Of this treason,

son, he was quickly aduertised by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vsed to borrow money when hee needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himself of the villanie intended against him, hee made his last will, and burnt all his writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, hee reuolued many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number, than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had beene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that hee forbare, either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flye into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length hee resolued to doe his best against the common enemie, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

§. VI.

The last battaile betweene ANTIGONVS *and* EVMENES.

THe Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Siluer-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke vpon being beholding to him for the victorie. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednesse, in fighting against their owne fathers, would now bee punished, as it well deserued. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Siluer-shields* were men of threescore or seuentie yeeres olde, strengthned more by continuall exercise, than decaied by age, and excelling in courage, as hauing passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very pensiue, and aduanced heauily, suspecting their owne cause, and fearing the threatnings vttered would proue true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gaue him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine leuelled field. Placing therfore himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* in his right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pithon*, hee did set forward couragiously against the enemies, that were readie to giue him a sharpe entertainment.

Eumenes tooke vnto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*, meaning both to preuent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sodaine, and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Pithon*, hee bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight

fight, and make a leisurable retrait, expecting the euent of the other side.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himselfe master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to winne such a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leisure and opportunitie to deale with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, euen in their owne opinions, farre inferiour to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Siluer-shields*, who slew aboue fiue thousand of them, losing of their owne, not one man. But in horse, *Eumenes* was so ouer-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly vpon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the enemie could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand fiue hundred horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battaile, leauing his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto *Antigonus* himselfe. And though hee failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did so beate vpon them, which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in suspence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloud of dust, as hindered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this aduantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed vndiscouered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly garded, (for that the whole body of the Armie lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, hee might not onely haue defended them, but peraduenture haue surprised those which came to surprise them, and so haue done as good a piece of seruice as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger hee might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was so ouer-laboured both in body and minde, that he could not giue an eye to euery place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; wherupon *Eumenes*, finding himself euery way ouer-charged, began to giue back, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as hee was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would haue done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soone as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon hee presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not farre off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby hee trusted, not onely to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themselues with the spoiles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not only refused to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horsemen, hee waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunitie to offend him: the other halfe hee committed to *Pithon*, willing him to set vpon the *Siluer-shields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foote: but the spoile which hee got, by surprising his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How EVMENES *was betrayed to* ANTIGONVS, *and slaine.*

EVMENES, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, beganne to cheere them vp, and put them in hope of recouering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanor that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wilderneſſe, ouer the high mountaines.

But these perswasions auailed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; and the Soldiers had no desire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Siluer-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their seruices, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also, with a little entreatie, performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he louingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answere pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliuer him aliue. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more ioy of their victorie, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeeme by another fight; in the middest of this goodly talk they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their eares against all perswasions, would not yeeld so far, as to looſen one of his hands and let him kill himselfe, but brought him aliue (that was their owne Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine, to send a guard of horsemen and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not so dainely resolue, either to kill or saue. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saued, he would soon be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way, to put him to death; which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps because he would keep it awhile in his owne power, to reuerse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to haue him liue his friend) haste of other businesse made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the trauailes of that worthy generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wisedome, fidelitie, and patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast downe. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie; but more notable was his gouernment of himselfe, in all her changes. Aduersitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Armie, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered, by *Gaspar de Collignie*, Admiral of *France* in our dayes, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soone after in the massacre of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus

Antigonus himselfe gaue to the bodie of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserued vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Siluer-shields* he burnt aliue; many of the other Captaines he slue; & to the whole multitude of the *Siluer-shields*, that had betraied so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carrie them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a priuy charge, to consume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aliue vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beate vpon the shoares of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How ANTIGONVS *slew* PITHON, *and occupied* MEDIA. *How he remoued Gouernours of Prouinces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away* PEVCESTES.

THe two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentiuely bent vnto the businesse ensuing. *Pithon* began to consider his owne deseruings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefely maintained by the strength and riches of his Prouince. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, vnlesse it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he iudged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberalitie. But in following this course, hee was driuen by necessitie to trust many, of whom he stumbled vpon some, that were vnsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discouered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Pithon*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissension betweene him, and his honourable friend; vnto whom hee meant to commit the Gouernment of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, comming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Pithon*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*; his authoritie in that Prouince where they lay, whereof he was Gouernour; and the loue of the souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offensiue warre. But what needs had he to vse the sword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such diuision. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begunne with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way: but swamme carelesly through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in *Media*, to order the Prouince, and a Captaine, to suppresse all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so diuided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he vnderstood his owne mightinesse. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, Gouernours in all Prouinces, leauing none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting such as lay too farre off to be dislodged easily.

Peucestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, but was deceiued, hauing to doe with one, that could not be taken with such baites: he was caried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that neuer tooke effect. Thus he, that enuied the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the

the fortune of his enemie; after which he liued a contemptible life, till hee died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

How SELEVCVS *was chased out of Babylon, by* ANTIGONVS. *The great riches of* ANTIGONVS.

SELEVCVS was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good-will to *Antigonus*, and now gaue proofe of his heartie affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Castle of *Susa* to meete him on the way, rendring vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleeue it; but vsed him with excessiue kindnesse, for feare so good a moode should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Iewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made vp twentie fiue thousand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which hee aimed; therefore hee proceeded, with intent to leaue no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, hee was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, beseeming the Maiestie of a King. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and beganne to require an account of the reuenues of that Prouince. This demaund *Seleucus* held vnreasonable; saying, that it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerfull; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessitie, moued *Antigonus* to presse him thus, but onely the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that hee should find such issue, as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him onely fiftie horse, he conueied himselfe away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yeelded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them hee wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any iniuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange prophesie to *Antigonus*, bidding him looke well to himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, hee should recouer *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Easie beleeuers may giue credit to this tale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, *Antigonus* rather should haue hanged those *Chaldeans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that hee did) after him, whom the destinies preserued for so great purposes.

When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his journie into *Cilicia*, where he wintred. There hee tooke vp ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yeerely income to amount vnto eleuen thousand Talents.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the great ciuill Warre betweene ALEXANDERS *Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.*

§. I.

The combination of PTOLOMIE, CASSANDER, *and others, against* ANTIGONVS. *Their demands, and his answere.*

HIS great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, enuied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, had priuily combined themselues together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainement giuen vnto *Seleucus*, giuing him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them seuerally, entreating them to continue firme in their loue toward him, that would be readie to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomie*; it being likely that a good armie should preuaile more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeere would permit, he tooke the way toward *Syria*, and was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much reioyce at his victorie, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemie, and the honor that he had therby gotten. In which war, forasmuch as they being his Confederates, must haue endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole estates, if the contrary faction had preuailed; they held it verie iust, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voiage, wherin they had been all aduenturers. Wherefore they desired him, that making betweene them all an equall diuision of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best bee to euery ones liking if hee would make ouer *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering vpon the *Hellespont*, to *Lysimachus*; for wheras his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victorie, he might wel spare some of those westerne Prouinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomie*, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his owne Territories. Prouided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had beene driuen so iniuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses receiued, hee should yet bee able to redeeme peace whensoeuer he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to giue away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, lest it should bee taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victorie, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, hauing by his meanes kept

their gouernments, wherof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polysperchon*, and the counsell of estate in *Macedon*. But what maruaile was it, if they considered not how he had saued them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitue, & begging succour, he was by his meere bountie relieued, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those daies command me to surrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pittie him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complaine of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did vse him well; but his conscience told him that he had deserued ill: else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings; and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

§. II.

The preparations and beginnings of the Warres.

WHen the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but warre. *Antigonus* perceiuing that he should bee inuaded from *Europe*, as soone as hee were entred into *Syria*; left his Nephew *Ptolomie* to guard the Sea-coasts, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giuing him also in charge, to driue out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent ouer to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not vnfurnished of monie, to draw friends to his side, and raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to make himselfe the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his iourney into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which affoorded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to giue swift aduertisement of all occurrences, he inuaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintaine the field.

Ptolomy lay in *Ægypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Prouinces hee kept with a few Garrisons, better seruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemie. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Countrie, and beganne to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a yeere and three moneths; not idly. For he tooke *Ioppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yeelded vnto his discretion, and well vsed. The strong Citie of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolomie was not asleepe, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of *Ægypt*, as indeede it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuertheless by Sea (where his enemie was as yet vnready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Armie, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then gouerned by many pettie Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomie*; the rest were, by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Ægyptian* with sharpe steele.

The same commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also

alſo *Caſſander*, but not the ſonne of *Antipater*, howſoeuer by the painefull and learned writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is by ſome ouerſight, counted for the ſame) to declare for *Ptolomie*, and his Confederates, and buſily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby enioyed reſt; but now he threwe himſelfe into dangerous warre, chooſing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fal vnder certaine ruine, though ſomewhat further diſtant, which would haue ouerwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the reſt.

§. III.

How each partie ſought to winne the aſſiſtance of Greece. ANTIGONVS *his declaration againſt* CASSANDER. ALEXANDER *the ſonne of* POLISPERCHON *reuolteth from* ANTIGONVS, *who had ſet him vp.*

IN the meane ſeaſon all care poſſible was taken on both ſides, to aſſure vnto them the people of *Greece*, whoſe aide which way ſoeuer it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the firſt, *Antigonus* ſped ſo well by large effuſion of his treaſure, that hee drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, of whom hee waged eight thouſand, and cauſed *Polyſperchon* (who had a good while made hard ſhifts) to rowſe himſelfe againe, and taking vpon him the title of Captaine of *Peloponneſus*, to make head againſt *Caſſander*.

Theſe hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the ſame kind. Wherefore to make *Caſſander* the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greekes* and *Macedonians* that were to bee found thereabouts. To theſe he declared, That *Caſſander* had very cruelly ſlain *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had ſhut vp in cloſe priſon the poore Ladie *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his ſonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a deſire to make himſelfe King ouer the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie *Theſſalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vnfit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere deſpight of thoſe dead Princes, *Philip*, and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new Citie by him built, and called by his owne name *Caſſandria*; and had reedified the Citie of *Thebes*, which for the great treaſon of the inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For theſe reaſons hee required them to make a decree, that *Caſſander* ſhould reſtore to abſolute libertie the Ladie *Roxane*, and her ſonne; and ſhould yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himſelfe was vnderſtood) or elſe ſhould be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be reſtored into freedome; this he did, not becauſe he was carefull of their good, but for the neede which he had of their aſſiſtance.

Theſe things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perſwaded, that not only the *Greekes* would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*; but that the Rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardfull of nothing, but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the moſt faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyaltie to the yong Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceiued with vaine ſhewes. His vndertaking for the libertie of the *Greekes* was more effectuall, and got eaſie beliefe, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomie* ſtroue to be as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himſelfe that valiant Nation, which affoorded men farre more ſeruiceable in warre, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indeede was the point, at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceiued himſelfe, not without great coſt. For he gaue to

Alexander the sonne of *Polysperchon* fiue hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*; *Cassanders* men had, with much bloud-shed, grieuously afflicted the contrarie faction; and he himselfe perceiuing, that they were more easily spoiled as enemes, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what vse he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that *Alexander* came furnished with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtfull, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: hee thought it a good part of wisedome, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could not assure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deale with *Alexander*, about the matters in controuersie; letting him know, that *Antigonus* was verie skilful in setting men together by the eares, not caring who preuailed, but only desiring to haue them wearie themselues, whilest he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might finde opportunitie to set vpon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the fiue hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receiue the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*. Prouided, that hee should from thencefoorth renounce all confederacie made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a sure and faithfull league with *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise, he might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrie which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be wonne by him, that was only the Factor of a proud iniurious man, so stiling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discouer the intent, (which hee did not carrie verie secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subiect vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to haue made themselues free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by *Cratesipolis*, *Alexanders* wife, a discreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death, crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by seuerity taught them obedience, did afterwards containe her Armie in good order, and gouerned those places that shee held, with the loue and commendation of her Subiects and Neighbours.

§. IIII.

The Ætolians rise against CASSANDER *in fauour of* ANTIGONVS, *and are beaten. A fleet and land-armie of* ANTIGONVS, *vtterly defeated by* PTOLOMIES *Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time.* ANTIGONVS *drawes neerer to Greece.*

ANTIGONVS, when he found, that with so much monie he had onely bought an enemie, beganne to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other aduersaries in *Greece*, by stirring vp the *Ætolians* against them; Likewise he laboured to winne to his partie the Ilands in the *Greeke* Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deale with *Ptolomie*, that greatly preuailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and alwaies enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so,

ſo, that commonly their gaines equalled not their loſſes. *Caſſander* wanne ſome of their owne Countrie; fortified the *Acarnanians* againſt them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquiſhed in battaile, to forſake their ſide, and binde himſelfe to beare no Armes againſt *Caſſanders* friends.

On the other ſide, as many pettie ſtands were drawne to ioyne with *Antigonus*: ſo the fleet of the *Rhodians* vnder *Theodatus*, who was Admirall to *Antigonus*, paſſing along the coaſt of *Aſia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Armie vnder conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the ſhore for mutuall aſſiſtance, was quite ouerthrowne by *Ptolomies* Nauie. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalfe had been ſent into *Peloponneſus* againſt *Alexander*, finding no neede of his ſeruice in that Countrie, becauſe *Alexander* was come ouer to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly ſurpriſed. Hee rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken priſoner, with many of his men, and many were ſlaine, making little reſiſtance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiuing this, made all haſte to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whileſt he with all his Fleet were intentiue only to that buſineſſe, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as ſoone as he perceiued their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behinde ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill tidings cauſed *Antigonus* to deale with *Ptolomie* about ſome compoſition. Firſt, hee ſent Embaſſadors; afterwards they met in perſon. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld vnto the demands of *Ptolomie*: ſo the parlie was vaine.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to haue indifferently ſped in the Warre, and thereby to haue equall cauſe of hope and feare. This late victorie with the good ſucceſſe of his affaires in *Cyprus*, did ſeeme to make amends to *Ptolomie* for his loſſes in *Syria*. Likewiſe the reuolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equall the Confederacy, made betweene the *Ætolians* and him; as alſo thoſe pettie skirmiſhes, that had beene in *Aſia* the leſſe, to *Antigonus* his aduantage, were ſufficiently recompenſed by others of like regard, but aduerſe to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his eſtates in thoſe parts by the two *Caſſanders*.

Contrariwiſe, *Antigonus* valued the loſſe of his men, monie, and ſhips, no otherwiſe than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territorie by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of *Ptolomie* his enemie, and ſtrengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no monie.

That which moſt moleſted him was the attempts of his enemies vpon *Aſia* the leſſe; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to feare, leſt the people being tyed vnto him by no bond of allegeance, might vpon ſmall occaſion reuolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himſelfe. To preuent this, and to be neerer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in perſon, where his affaries did ſeeme to proſper the worſe, by reaſon of his abſence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in *Syria*, vnder his ſonne *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty yeeres old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

How LYSIMACHVS *and* CASSANDER *vanquished some enemies, raised against them by* ANTIGONVS. *The good successe of* ANTIGONVS *in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against* CASSANDER.

THe comming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the processe of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke vpon molesting him in *Asia*: they themselues were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on *Europe* side. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrell. All these relyed vpon *Antigonus*, who was to helpe them with monie, and other aide. The *Ætolians* likewise tooke courage, and rose against *Cassander*, hauing *Æacides*, lately restored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lysimachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselues. Hee sodainely presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne to their dutie. He fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, he ouercame *Seuthes*; and following the heate of his victorie, slew *Pausanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent ouer with an Armie; and all his men he did either put to ransome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he wasted their Countrie; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to helpe them; and after the victorie, fought againe with their forces ioyned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing *Æacides* that vnfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the *Ætolians* out of most of their Countrie, and forced them to seek their safetie among the wild Mountaines. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present Warre.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his aduersaries with painefull trauaile; after which they remained onely sauers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leisure, wanne all *Caria* the whilest, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing libertie vpon all the Cities he tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Countrie of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Ile of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firme Land, were by these meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to giue them the libertie indeede, which others promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine haue shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would passe ouer into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repaire thither in al haste, with the best of his strength, leauing many good Townes of *Greece* so weakely guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themselues, if any forraine succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, taking the aduantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Countrie; draue his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Gouernour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of *Thebes*, and set the people at libertie. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before beene raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had beene some hainous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the Citie, and the loue of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainely they extend beyond all measure,

than

than backward vpon their miſerable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of PTOLOMIE *by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which* PTOLOMIE *and* SELEVCVS *wanne, againſt* DEMETRIVS *the Sonne of* ANTIGONVS.

AS the preſence or neerenes of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower *Aſia*, and *Greece*; ſo the deſignes of his enemies, taking aduantage of his abſence, ruined the very foundations of thoſe great works in the Eaſterne parts, wherewith in the yeere preceding he had ouertopped them. The Iſle of *Cyprus*, whoſe Princes wauered betweene contrarie affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomie*, was viſited by an *Ægyptian* fleet, wherewith *Ptolomie*, in his owne perſon, eaſily reduced them to a more ſettled order, putting ſome to death, carrying others away priſoners, and leauing a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Gouernour of the whole Countrie. With the ſame fleet he ranne alongſt the Sea-coaſts, waſting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the ſpoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miſeries, wherewith his Fathers ſubjects were oppreſſed, made all haſte out of *Syria* to the reſcue, taking only his Horſe and light-armed foot with him, becauſe the buſineſſe required expedition. But in vaine did he tire himſelfe and his followers, in haſtie ſeeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe, could in a few minutes delude the labour of ſo many daies, if neede had ſo required. Anſwerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the ſucceſſe. For *Ptolomie* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certaine, whether hauing lightened his ſhips of their burthen in *Cyprus*, hee would returne vpon thoſe maritime Countries; or make toward *Syria*, where his comming was expected. Hee was indeede gone into *Ægypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was deſcribing a royall Armie, which he leuied with all conuenient ſpeed, for the recouerie of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therfore hee was faine to chooſe out of vncertainties the moſt likelihood, and returne the way that hee came, with all his companies, which were fitter for ſeruice in the open field, than to be beſtowed in Garriſons among the *Cilicians*. He had ſcarce refreſhed his Men and Horſes in *Syria*, when the newes arriued of *Ptolomies* comming with a puiſſant Armie, to giue him battaile. Hereupon he called to counſaile his principall friends, who aduiſed him to giue way to the time, & expect ſome better opportunity in the future: being a yong man, and weakely furniſhed with meanes to reſiſt ſuch ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus*. This counſaile ſeemed rather to proceede from the cold temper of thoſe aged men that gaue it, than from any neceſſity growing out of the preſent buſineſſe. For *Demetrius* conſidering himſelfe to be the ſonne of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his owne title waightie enough to bee laid in ballance againſt the bare names of thoſe two great Commanders. Neither found he much reaſon that ſhould moue him to diſtruſt his forces, as inſufficient. His men were better exerciſed than the enemies, and promiſed as much as could be required. Therefore perſwading himſelfe, that ſuch oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather ſerue to adorne his victorie, than hinder him in obtaining it, he reſolued to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more help. So animating his Soldiers with hope of ſpoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpoſe to encounter them, as ſoone as they had finiſhed their wearieſome journie ouer the Deſarts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomie

Ptolomie and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Prouince, as *Ægypt*, came so well prouided of all necessaries, that their Armie felt not any great grieuance of the euill way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they vndertooke. In all things else they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were vtterly vnprouided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened together with chaines, and sharpened in such manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake vpon it, without receiuing much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had aduantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate seruices, by them performed that yeere, whilest the enemies had wearied themselues, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part striuing more to winne honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as hauing little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who vpon no necessitie would needs fight a battaile with disaduantage, beganne to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, hauing more to lose by her then he could get: but in this fight shee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the terror brought vpon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and euery one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horsemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and preuailed little, till now perceiuing that all must lie vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they beganne to shrinke, and many of them to prouide for their safetie by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strouen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that hee himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to giue place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as farre as to *Azotus*, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to saue such goods, as in haste they could pack vp. This fooliish couetousnes was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter Horses, & cloied vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch, others, to carrie out what they had alreadie loden, *Ptolomies* Armie brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the Citie altogether.

This victorie restored vnto *Ptolomie* the best part of *Syria*, a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For betweene *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered resistance. In *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, some townes held out a while, but were soone taken in by *Ptolomie*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was giuen vp by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garrison, falling to mutinie against their Captaine; who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomie*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelitie.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How SELEVCVS *recouered Babylon, and made himſelfe Lord of many Countries in the higheſt Aſia. The* ÆRA *of the* Kingdome of the Greekes, *which beganne with the Dominion of* SELEVCVS.

WHile *Ptolomie* followed his buſineſſe with ſuch proſperitie, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to *Babylon*, to trie his owne fortune; which hee found ſo fauourable, that recouering firſt his owne Prouince, hee became at length maſter of the better part of *Alexanders* purchaſes.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very ſtrange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His traine conſiſted of no more then eight hundred foote, and two hundred horſe, a number too ſmall to haue been placed as Garriſon, in ſome one of thoſe maine great Cities, againſt which he carried it into the higher *Aſia*. But little force is needfull, to make way into ſtrong places, for him that alreadie ſtands poſſeſſed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found ſo good a Gouernour, that none of them would finde courage to reſiſt him; but left that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wiſhing them ill to ſpeede. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in thoſe Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by eaſie compulſion they left off, and followed new Enſignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and ſubmitted themſelues ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection ſo generall, it was not a ſafe courſe for the *Antigonians*, to thruſt themſelues into the Townes of moſt importance: for euery man of them ſhould haue been troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they ſhould iſſue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treaſon of one principall man, who reuolted to the enemie, with more then a thouſand Souldiers following him, ſo diſmaied the reſt, that they did no more than ſeeke to make good one ſtrong place, wherein were kept the Hoſtages and Priſoners, that *Antigonus* held for his ſecuritie in thoſe quarters. This Caſtle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leiſure, againſt dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it; and ſo got the entire poſſeſsion of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had beſtowed in *Media* and *Perſia*, forces conuenient for defence of thoſe Prouinces, that were the vtmoſt of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at *Gaza* had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into thoſe parts; hee found little impediment in the reſt of his buſineſſe. Hauing now gotten what he ſought; it behoued him to ſeeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too ſmall, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Armie in *Media*, ioyning vnto himſelfe, out of *Perſia* and other Countries, all needfull helpe came with ten thouſand foote, and ſeuen thouſand horſe, either to ſaue all from being loſt, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had wonne.

Againſt this power, *Seleucus* had only foure hundred horſe, and ſomewhat aboue three thouſand foot, wherewith to oppoſe himſelfe: his large conqueſt of vnwarlike Nations hauing yeelded him many louing ſubiects, but few ſouldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the Riuer of *Tigris*, hee withdrew himſelfe from the place where his reſiſtance was expected, into certaine mariſhes not farre off; where he lay ſecretly waiting for ſome aduantage. *Nicanor* thought that hee had beene fled, and was the leſſe carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine ſecuritie, his campe was taken by ſurpriſe, the firſt night of his arriuall; the

the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captaines, were slaine, he himselfe was driuen to flee for his life into the Desarts; and the whole Armie yeelded vnto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victorie, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the Neighbour Prouinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victorie of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much vsed by the *Iewes*, *Chaldæans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeere of this *Æra*. The authoritie of that great Astrologer *Ptolomie*, from which there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that *the fiue hundred and nineteenth yeere of* NABONASSAR, *was the fourescore and two yeere of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned GAVRICVS, *That the first of these yeeres was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of foure hundred thirtie and eight yeeres after* NABONASSAR. With the obseruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomie*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to haue beene so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldæans* had obserued it, in the same yeere; which was from *Nabonassar* the fiue hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourescore and two yeere; and the last of the hundred thirtie and seuenth *Olympiad*. These obseruations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in Historie, and the yeeres of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of vnremembred fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these yeeres of the *Greekes* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainely appeares in the difference of one yeere, that is found betweene actions, related by the seuerall Authors of the two Bookes of the *Machabees*, who follow diuers accompts. Hee that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomie*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeeres distance.

Ptol. Almag. l. 11 c. 7. & 8.

L. Gauric. in annotat. ad locum citatum.

§. VIII.

How PTOLOMIE *lost all that he had wonne in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the Macedonians, by those that had beene subiect vnto the Persian Empire. Of diuers petie enterprizes, taken in hand by* ANTIGONVS *and* DEMETRIVS, *with ill successe.*

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* aduenture, to goe vp to *Babylon*, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staied longer vpon hope of getting more Soldiers, *Ptolomie* could haue spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hauing lost the battaile at *Gaza*, receiued from *Ptolomie* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which hee and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but onely termes of honour, wherein they would seeke to right themselues after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomie*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Prouinces thereabouts, and aduertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. *Antigonus*, vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said,

That

That the victory which *Ptolomie* wanne vpon a beardleſſe Boy, ſhould bee taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon deſire that his ſonne, whom hee tenderly loued, ſhould amend his owne reputation. He was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomie* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did neuertheleſſe follow his owne buſineſſe in *Cœloſyria*; thinking it enough, to ſend part of his Armie vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had beene alreadie vanquiſhed, when their forces were entire. This peraduenture would haue beene ſufficient: had not *Cilles* too much vndervalued the power of ſuch an Enemie. Hee thought that this yong Gallant, hauing lately ſaued his life by flight, would now be more carefull of hauing a faire way at his back, than aduenturous in ſetting further forward, then vrgent reaſon ſhould prouoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without al feare; as one that were already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meete with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength, to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſſe march; he tooke the lighteſt of his Armie, and made his iournie with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, hee came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the ſuddaine, without any battaile, Maſter of his Campe: taking him aliue, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerued not onely to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſſe at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of *Ptolomie*, with equal fauor, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomie* ſo weakned by this loſſe, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldened by his victorie, that any matter of conſequence thervpon enſued. For *Demetrius* feared the comming of *Ptolomie*; and therefore hee fortified himſelfe in places of aduantage: *Ptolomie* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelfe in an enterpriſe, wherein he might perceiue, that if the comming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either bee driuen to make a ſhamefull retrait, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than alreadie he poſſeſſed.

Antigonus, indeede, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither hee made all haſte, not ſo much to relieue his ſonne, as to embrace him. For hee rejoyced exceedingly, that the yong man had ſo well acquitted himſelfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increaſe the reputation of this late victorie, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerue to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all, ſhould be referred vnto the good foundation, layed by his ſonne; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomie had now leſſe reaſon, to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his comming to haue aſſailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduiſed him to retire into *Ægypt*; alleaging many good arguments, to that purpoſe: which they might well perceiue to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſſe againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſiue warre. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſeruing his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſuddaine paſsion of feare: and hee departed at faire leiſure, not onely carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principall Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrie that hee left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captaine of a ſtrong Armie, to make himſelfe Lord of a great Prouince.

We may iuſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdomes of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victorie of *Alexander* had ouer-runne, with ſo haſtie a courſe, as gaue him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not onely by himſelfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The hot contentions

tentions for superioritie betweene the King of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus*; betweene *Ægypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon*, and *Nineue*; the *Persians*, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once beene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselues to be distributed, fought for, wonne, lost, and againe recouered, by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appeare the more strange, if wee shall consider, how the seuerall States of *Greece* (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their abilitie) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertie: and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconuenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries had alwaies beene subject vnto the rule of Kings, or pettie Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Persians* long since had rooted out, & held them in such bōdage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had vtterly taken from them al remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the *Persian* Empire: so that wanting within themselues all soueraigne power, or high authoritie, the life & spirit of euery Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had beene members.

Why the *Persian Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captaines, after the death of *Alexander*, striue to lay hold vpon those Prouinces, which had many ages beene subject vnto them, and scarce foure yeeres in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossesse them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may find no lesse reason to suspect the Historie, than authoritie to confirme it. For we seldome reade, that any small Kingdome, preuailing against a farre greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compasse of ten yeeres, as left vnto the vanquished no hope of recouerie, nor meanes to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter confusion hath ensued, by the furie of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the *Macedonians* held so quietly the *Persian* Empire, is well set downe by *Machiauell*; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are subject vnto the like forme of Gouernement: the summe whereof is this. Whersoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subjects vnder the condition of slaues; there is the conquest easie, and soone assured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the *Turkish* Empire, and the Kingdome of *France*. If any Inuader should preuaile so farre vpon *Turkie*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for brethren hee vseth not to suffer aliue) were taken or slaine: the whole Empire would quickly bee wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the *Bassaes*, how great soeuer they may seeme, are meere slaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personall regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, where in hope of priuate gaine, should not counteruaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though hee further got the better part of the Countrie, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdome store of great men; who are mightie in their seuerall Countries, and hauing certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne; are able to raise Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwaies stirre vp and inflame them, so that vntill euery one piece were wonne, and euery one (an endlesse work) of the chiefe Nobilitie,

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brought vnder or destroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to bee satisfied at full, in all their demands; and hauing what they would, they soone returne to their old allegeance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vnlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The *Turke*, on the other side, needes not to feare any perill, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatest mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flie to the enemie, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold, or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must aduenture to excuse himselfe vnto his Master, who seldome forgiues the Captaine, that hath not striuen by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so ioyning themselues vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subiect vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppose themselues against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him assistance, if aduersitie should make him stand in neede of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turkes Bassies*, or prouinciall Gouernours, that knowes either from whence hee was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse and vtter ruine of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance, and it is the proper inheritance of the subiect, which is also a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other deuice painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of slaucrie.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, voide of libertie in the Subiects, and vtterly destitute of other Nobilitie, than such as depended vpon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, descended from the Princes that ioyned with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*; but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safetie in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaues*, and so did stile themselues, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelties, practised by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Masistes*, which hath beene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Gouernours of the Prouinces, it is needlesse to cite examples, prouing them to haue beene meere slaues: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuches, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobilitie in *Persia*, may be added the generall want of libertie conuenient among the people: a matter no lesse auailable, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, then is the cause assigned by *Machiauel*. For as *Æsope* his Asse did not care to runne from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should loade him with heauier burthens, then his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke; Nor will be hastie to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, then was that whereunto they had bee nelog accusto-

accustomed. This was it that made the *Gascoignes* beare such faithfull affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they gouerned more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* iurisdiction in *Lumbardie*; for the Townes that they wanne, they wanne out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had beene subiect vnto the posteritie of *Alexanders* followers, to serue the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had beene imposed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we finde in those that had beene subiects of the *Persian* Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeede beene absolutely conquered by the *Persian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering vpon *Syria*: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Armie; thinking therwith to bring them vnder; or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaine that hee sent, fell vpon the *Nabatheans*, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for *Myrrhe*, *Frankincense*, and other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with fiue hundred talents of siluer, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold vpon: for their comming was suddaine, and vnexpected. But ere they could recouer *Syria*, the *Nabatheans* ouertooke them, and finding them wearie with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of foure thousand foote, and sixe hundred horse, onely fiftie horse escaped. To reuenge this losse, *Demetrius* was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not resisted by any Armie, but by the naturall defence of a vast Wildernesse, lacke of water, and of all things necessarie. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craued it, and gaue him presents. Returning from the *Nabatheans*, hee viewed the Lake *Asphaltites*, whence he conceiued hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandrie of his sonne, *Antigonus* was well pleased; and appointed men to the worke: but they were slaine by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

These pettie enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired the good aduantage against *Ptolomie*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the losse of those great and wealthy Prouinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Asia* should haue beene exposed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius*, with fifteene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his sonne did lesse. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themselues from necessitie of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men then he could spare; neither did he get much; and therefore was faine to set out the brauerie of his expedition, by burning and spoiling the Countrie; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemie, who thenceforth held it as his owne assured.

Antigonus had laid vpon his sonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an vnsettled state of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the furie of the first brunt; or else it would bee vaine to striue against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by length of time was like to become lesse terrible to the Enemie. *Demetrius* therefore leauing behind him fiue thousand foote, and a thousand horse,

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rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with greater forces could doe little more then nothing, forsooke the enterprise, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of ALEXANDER *was destroyed.*

THese ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themselues with vneffectuall trauaile, in seeking to get more then any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no priuate hatred, but meere desire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulnesse growing vpon the slow aduancement of their seueral hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serue to fight againe.

Besides that maine point, *Of retaining the Prouinces which euery one held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a false colour, to the businesse: *That the sonne of* ALEXANDER *by* ROXANE, *should be made King, when hee came to full age*; and, *That all the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty*. The aduancement of yong *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdome, seemes to haue beene a matter, forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discouered a purpose, to make himselfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched *Cassander*. For in his custodie was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to haue put them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in these grounds, of iniuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conclusion of peace, grew vp faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the *Macedonians* turne their fauourable expectation, towards the sonne of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince must first haue possession of *Macedon*: whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poore office, *of Captaine ouer a thousand men*, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Prouinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne strength. He in the meane time, by his readinesse to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himself from that ill-fauoured imputation, of seeking to make himselfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like aduantage had he in that Article, of *restoring the Greekes to their libertie*. This libertie had hitherto beene the subiect of much idle discourse: but it neuer tooke effect. *Antigonus* held scarse any Towne of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Countrie: which if hee should set free; hee must be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the meane season, the Countries lying betweene *Euphrates* and the *Greeke* seas, together with a great Armie, and monie enough to entertaine a greater, might serue to hold vp the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes, as high as euer they had beene.

With much disaduantage doe many men contend, against one that is equall to

them all in puissance, *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where euery one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are wearie. The best was, that hee knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subiects vnto any man; much lesse to the sonne of an *Asiatique* woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the child & his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yeelding vp his gouernement, which he must haue done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Ladie of singular beautie, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to haue her sonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediatly vpon the death of *Alexander*, she had vsed the fauour (if it were not loue) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloudy malice, vpon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*; whom *Alexander* had likewise married according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For hauing by a counterfait letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, shee did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were she and her sonne made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the neere approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselues free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein euery one perswaded himselfe of successe, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) beganne to rowze themselues: as if now the time were come, for each man to improue his owne stock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolomie*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be set at libertie. Vnder colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into *Cilicia*; where he wan foure Townes, and soone after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his Enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, hee ranne along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that voiage allured vnto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his seruices) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe as he had beene to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greekes* at libertie, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, He made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where hauing set free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired worke, that *Cratesipolis*, the Widdow of *Alexander*, *Polysperchons* sonne, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomie had conceiued a vaine beliefe, that the *Greekes* emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes: whereby with little labour, their libertie might be gotten; and hee be acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long seruitude had wel-neere extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to

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recouer freedome, had ſo tired their ſpirits, that they would no more ſtirre in purſuit thereof; but ſate idly ſtill, as wiſhing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about theſe times, beganne to fortifie their Towne with walls; truſting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the diſcipline that vpheld it were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Towne and Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble ſeruants, as they had been, in times paſt, inſolent Maſters: erecting as many ſtatuaes in honor of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were daies in the yeere. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouernour; and hee gouerned them with much moderation: but in ſpight of their hearts, as being ſet ouer them by *Caſſander*. By this baſe temper of the principall Cities, it is eaſie to gather, how the reſt of the Countrie ſtood affected. *Ptolomie* could not get them, to ſet their helping hands, to their owne good; and to furniſh him with the promiſed ſupplies of monie and victualls. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliuer them from thraldome; as iudging the commoditie that would ariſe by annexing them to his partie, a matter of more weight, than the loſſe that *Caſſander* ſhould receiue thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* tooke the worke in hand. But when he found ſuch difficultie in the buſineſſe, hee changed his purpoſe: and renewing his former friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he retained *Sicyon*, and *Corinth* in his owne poſſeſſion.

Before the comming of *Ptolomie* into *Greece*, *Caſſander* had beene held occupied with very much worke. For (beſides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himſelfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: making his own aduantage, of their diſcontentments. By the like skilfull practice, Hee freed himſelfe from a greater danger: and made thoſe murders which he had committed ſeeme the leſſe odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyſperchon*, that had made ſo great a ſtirre in the raigne of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Child, enter againe vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another ſonne of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this yong Prince was *Hercules*: hee was begotten on *Barſine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*; but had beene leſſe eſteemed than the ſonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was helde no better than a Concubine, or elſe perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time, the death of his brother had moued ſuch compaſſion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* only liuing child, had procured vnto him ſuch good will, that the demand which *Polyſperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very iuſt and honourable. There were indeede more hearts then hands, that ioyned with this yong Prince: yet wanted he not ſufficient ſtrength of hands, if the heart of him that leaſt ought, had not beene moſt falſe. *Caſſander* had raiſed an Armie, to withſtand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little truſt could hee repoſe in that Armie, whoſe wiſhes he perceiued to be with *Hercules*. Therefore hee aſſaied *Polyſperchon* himſelfe with gifts and promiſes; wherewith at length he preuailed ſo farre, that the old Vilaine was contented to murder his Pupill, chooſing rather with many curſes, and foule diſhonour, to take the offered Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchaſe a Noble fame with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

Antigonus had not all this while beene aſleepe; though his loſſes were hitherto the chiefe witneſſes, of his hauing beene a ſtirrer in theſe commotions, He thought it enough for him at the preſent, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recouerie of thoſe places, which *Ptolomie* had taken paines to winne. As for the reſt, it no way grieued him, to ſee *Caſſander* incurre the generall hatred of men by committing thoſe murders, of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that was the moſt powerfull: or to ſee *Polyſperchon* and *Ptolomie* ſweat, in a buſie warre

against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrels, he could well haue affoorded them leisure, and haue thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For hee was throughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselues in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie conceipts, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them, to reuolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereon their owne should haue depended. Against this enuie of his owne men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedie, such as was like to giue him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*; whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoeuer shee discouered much willingnesse thereunto, yet was shee in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it onely for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsiue meanes: either because his fancie being an old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparent wrong. Shee had beene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death shee came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping, belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her mariage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with prouiding her of an husband. Shee therefore, being a lustie widdw, suffered her bloud, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that shee supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Parramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a ieft: saying, that shee was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay in a manner voide, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while she her selfe desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merrie life. To this purpose did shee inuite *Leonatus* vnto her; who made great haste; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, shee had her choise of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wiues already, *Ptolomie* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. This hindred not his sute: peraduenture it aduanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her selfe, and was taking her iournie from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be knowne. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had beene the way by which he might haue incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Ladie lesse respected than *Alexanders* owne sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of so faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouernour of *Sardes*; willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischieuous conspirers against the life of that good Ladie. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, wee need not aske: for seldome

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is that bloudie crime vnreuealed; and neuer so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods justice, due vnto the crueltie of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were soone after cast downe, ouer-whelming themselues or their children, with the ruines, as the sequele will declare.

§. X.

How DEMETRIVS, *the sonne of* ANTIGONVS, *gaue libertie to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of* CASSANDER *out of those parts. The immoderate honors decreed by the Athenians to* ANTIGONVS *and* DEMETRIVS.

NOne being left aliue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Prouinces, acknowledging no Superior, should freely professe themselues Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbeare it: neither seemed it conuenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatnesse by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to vndertake a plausible enterprise, euen the libertie of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royaltie, whereof in seeming modestie, hee was not couetous. To this purpose, hee deliuered a strong Armie, with a Nauie of two hundred and fiftie saile, and fiue thousand talents of siluer, vnto *Demetrius* his sonne: willing him to beginne at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in setting all the Countrie free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entred the Hauen; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomie*, *Cassanders* good friend, had beene arriued. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and what was the cause of his comming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalereus* forsooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thebes*, vnder safe conduct; onely the Garrison in *Munychia* stroue to make good that piece, which after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselues, to the obseruance of generall commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Ladie *Cratesipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that she might, by his meanes, better her estate, and recouer her Townes of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomie*, to whose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered monie for the surrender of them. Yet the onely businesse pretended was loue. He being aduertised hereof, left his forces in the Countrie of *Megara*, and taking a companie of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long journie to meete with her. This troupe also, hee caused to lodge a great

great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the businesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceiued good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might ouerthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any termes of reason, by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddainly vpon him, that hee had no better shift, than to muffle himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised; leauing them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme dissolutenesse in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industrie in matter of warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deuising Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For aduersitie made his valour more actiue: prosperitie stupified him with an ouerweening, wherin he thought, that he might doe what he listed. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till shee had wound vp the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at *Megara*; hee resolued no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assaile *Munychia* by force, that so hee might accomplish the libertie of *Athens*: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the wals, preuailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wanne the place in two daies. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the Citie, were leuelled with the ground, & so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their libertie, with promise to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industrie. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerting to base flatterie, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors had suted vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they consecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of DEMETRIVS *the a-lighter*; they called them by the Names of the *gods their sauiours*, ordaining that euery yeere, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they sent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a friuolous diligence, to rehearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not onely corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would haue pleased the old man, to bee of no vse. For hee could not handsomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse hee would seeme to approue their vanitie, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was hee so tickled, with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build ships; he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weake is great power in resisting the assaults of flatterie.

§. XI.

§. XI.

The great victorie of DEMETRIVS *againſt* PTOLOMIE *in Cyprus. How* ANTIGONVS *and* DEMETRIVS *tooke vpon them the ſtile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, vnto a buſineſſe of greater difficultie: meaning to imploy his ſeruice againſt *Ptolomie* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to eſtabliſh a generall Counſaile, that ſhould treat of matters, concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the ſame time, *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garriſon out of *Imbros*, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands: whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppreſſe the *Greekes*, ſo would he be farre from doing it himſelfe. This was enough, to hold his reputation high, among theſe new purchaſed friends: it followed, that hee ſhould conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately hapned in *Cyprus*; through the indiſcretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Iſle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into ſome practice with *Antigonus*: yet not ſo farre that he thought himſelfe paſt excuſe; by which confidence, hee was perhaps, the more eaſily detected. To cut off this negotiation, & the falſe-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was ſent thither: who ſurrounding *Nicocles* his houſe with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to haue him yelded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to cleere himſelfe; but *Menelaus* told him, that die he muſt, and bade him come forth quietly. This deſperate neceſſitie cauſed the vnhappie King to rid himſelfe of life: and his death ſtrooke ſuch an impreſſion into his wife, that ſhe not onely ſlew her ſelfe, but perſwaded the wiues of her husbands brethren, to doe the like. Alſo thoſe brethren of *Nicocles*, vnto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the ſuddainenеſſe of this calamitie, did ſhut vp the Palace, and ſetting it on fire, conſumed it, with all that was in it, and themſelues together.

Whatſoeuer the crime objected was; *Nicocles* periſhed as a man innocent, becauſe he was not ſuffered to make his anſwere. Of this ſad accident, though *Menelaus* deſerued the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much diſlike fell alſo vpon *Ptolomie*: as men that are grieued, caſt an ill affection, euen vpon thoſe, that gaue the fartheſt remoued occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him: either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelues haue the rule of their owne Countrie. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with *Demetrius*. But hee was beaten, and driuen to ſaue himſelfe within the walls of *Salamis*; where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much leſſe to retaine poſſeſsion of the whole Iland. His greateſt helpe at the preſent, was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could winne from him, nor good vſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the firſt opportunitie. Moſt of them were Mercinaries: but all their goods were in *Ægypt*, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their reſolution haue ſtood long, againſt the ods of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of batterie, if *Ptolomie* had not haſted to the reſcue.

Ptolomie brought with him, a hundred and fortie Gallies, beſides two hundred

ſhips

ſhips of burden, for tranſporting his Armie and Carriages. This fleet made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcried a farre; though more than halfe of it, was vnfit for ſeruice, in fight at Sea. Wherfore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, *Ptolomie* ſent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatning meſſage: willing him to be gone, vnleſſe hee would bee ouer-whelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant repaied him with words of as much brauerie, promiſing to let him eſcape, vpon condition, that hee ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more then one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomie*; better ſtored, with weapons fit for that ſeruice; and very well furniſhed with Engines in the prowes, to beat vpon the Enemie. Neuertheleſſe he ſtood in great doubt of threeſcore Gallies that lay in the Hauen of *Salamis*, leſt *Menelaus* with them ſhould ſet vpon his back: in which caſe, it was likely that all ſhould goe very ill with him. Againſt this miſchiefe, hee beſtowed ten of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Hauen, to keepe *Menelaus* from iſſuing forth, and ſetting his horſe-men on the ſhore, to giue what aſsiſtance they could, he with the reſt of his fleet, puts to Sea againſt *Ptolomie*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull ſucceſſe. The Generals were not ranged oppoſite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleet. Each of them preuailed againſt the ſquadron wherewith hee encountred; but the ſucceſſe of *Demetrius* was to better purpoſe. For his victorie in one part was ſuch, as cauſed others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themſelues vnto ſpeedie flight. As for *Ptolomie*, he was faine to leaue his aduantage vpon the enemie in one part of the fight, that hee might relieue and animate thoſe of his owne which needed him in another. Wherein hee found his loſſe ouer-great to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to ſaue himſelfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this battaile no vnuſuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could haue beene expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-ſeruices, which the *Greekes* and *Phœnicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, aboue thoſe which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherin conſiſted no leſſe, than in the qualitie of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, wee may reaſonably judge, that the two hundred ſhips of burthen, carying the ſtrength of *Ptolomies* Armie, did not more encourage his owne men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breede in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight, they fell off, and ſtood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they ſhould ſo doe; yet a multitude, prepoſſeſſed with vaine conceipts, will commonly apprehend very ſlight occaſions, to thinke themſelues abandoned. Beſides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* iſſuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, ſhould charge the enemies in ſterne, was vtterly fruſtrate. Hee was kept in perforce, by the ten ſhips appointed to barre vp the mouth of the Hauen: which they manfully performed, as great neceſſitie required.

Such diſappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight; eſpecially of the aſſailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that finde ſome part of their feares vaine, doe eaſily gather hopefull ſpirits, and conceiue an opinion of their owne abilitie to doe more than they had thought vpon, out of their not ſuffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatſoeuer the cauſes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the reſt of his fleet was either taken, or ſunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer ſtriue againſt the violence of Fortune; but yeelded vp all that hee held in *Cyprus*, together with his Armie, conſiſting of twelue thouſand foote, and a thouſand and two hundred horſe,

horſe, and thoſe Gallies in the Hauen of *Salamis*. The ſame deiection of Spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had ſerued the *Egyptian* by Land: none of them repoſing any more confidence in *Ptolomie*, but willingly becomming followers of a new Lord, whoſe Armie they now increaſed.

It was generally beleeued, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the Ile of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; eſpecially *Antigonus*, whom it moſt concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking euery day a yeere, till hee were aduertiſed of the iſſue. In this moode *Ariſtodemus* found him, a notable flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured, with the Meſſage of theſe good newes. *Ariſtodemus* had bethought himſelfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: He cauſed his ſhips to ride at Anchor, a good diſtance from the ſhore; hee himſelfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he ſent immediately backe to the ſhip; and ſo all alone, he went forward, looking very ſadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriuall (for it was not knowne where he had been) came preſently to *Antigonus*, who ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, to meet him on the way, and bring ſpeedie word how all went. But neither any anſwere, nor ſo much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could bee wonne from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and ſoftly forward, with a great throng at his heeles (that ſerued well to ſet out his Pageant) vntill he came in ſight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himſelfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Ariſtodemus*, vpon the ſuddaine, with a high voice ſalute *Antigonus* by the name of King; vttering the greatneſſe of the victorie (with as much pompe, as before he had couered it with ſilence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus*, and to his ſonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requitall of the long ſuſpence, wherein *Ariſtodemus* had held him, ſaid that it ſhould alſo be long ere hee receiued his reward. But the title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did ſet on his head, he could not wiſh a fairer occaſion to aſſume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and ſent the like to his ſonne.

When it was once noiſed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themſelues Kings; it was not long ere their fellowes were readie to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord ſhould be thought a man deiected for the loſſe of a fleet: therefore they ſaluted him alſo King. *Lyſimachus* in *Thrace* had boldneſſe enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the Barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now he vſed the ſtile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Onely *Caſſander* held himſelfe contented with his owne name: whereby howſoeuer he might ſhaddow his pride, he no way leſſened the fame of his crueltie, againſt his Maſters houſe. But the name which he forbore, his ſonnes, after him, were bold to vſurpe, though with ill ſucceſſe, as wil appeare, when they ſhall enter vpon the Stage; whereon theſe old Tragedians, vnder new habits, as no longer now the ſame perſons, beginne to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boiſterous actions, not with greater grace and iudgement, than in the Scenes alreadie paſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the warres betweene the Kings of Ægypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: vntill all ALEXANDERS *Princes were consumed.*

§. I.

The Expedition of ANTIGONVS *against Ægypt, with ill successe.*

ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, an imitation of *Antigonus* himselfe, as beseeming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, hee resolued to single out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose hee prepared an Armie of eighteene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with foure-score and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burden. The Land-forces hee commanded in person: of the Naule *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was readie for the iourney, the Sea-men aduised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hastie desire to preuent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, reiected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was soone changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortall Enemie) and came to *Gaza*; where hee met with his fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Ægypt*, the more haste hee made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more then by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie ten daies prouision of victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desarts, ouer which he marched with no small toile, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Cassius*, which is neere adioyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet, riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many ships wanting. It had beene sorely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driuen back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recouer: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremitie, he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these ouer-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers receiued reliefe; After these painefull trauailes there followed a Warre no lesse painefull than to little purpose; for *Ptolomie* had so fortified all the passages vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to ende the warre there, or if his guards should happen to be forst, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakning of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blowes speedily: *Ptolomie* on the contrarie, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood hee had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers raised vpon the Riuer in vaine

vaine, *Ptolomie* aſſaied the faith of his Souldiers with good ſucceſſe, for with great gifts, and greater promiſes, he ferried them ouer ſo faſt, as had not *Antigonus* thruſt ſome aſſured Regiments, vpon the paſſages next the enemie, and in the meane while taken a reſolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Ægypt*, ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their eſcape, and thoſe hee put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the ſame ill ſucceſſe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he inuaded *Ægypt*: had he not readily remoued his Armie further off, from the noiſe of their entertainement, that had alreadie beene wonne from him. To preuent therefore as well the preſent danger of his ſtay, as the ſhame following a forſt retrait, hee ſecretly practized the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burden muſt be laid of his entrance, and leauing *Ægypt*.

It is indeede leſſe predudiciall in ſuch like caſes, that errours, diſhonours, and loſſes, be laid on Councellours and Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vaſſall. *Charles* the fift, as many other Princes haue done, laide the loſſe and diſhonour he receiued in the inuaſion of *France*, by the way of *Prouince*, to *Antonie de Leua*, whether iuſtly or no, I know not; but howſoeuer all the Hiſtorians of that time agree, that the ſorrow therof coſt that braue Captaine his life. Certainely to giue any violent aduice in doubtfull enterpriſes, is rather a teſtimonie of louc, than of wiſedome, in the giuer; for the ill ſucceſſe is alwaies caſt vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a falſe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue ſometime knowne it, that great commanders, who are for the preſent in place of Kings, haue not only beene diſſwaded, but held in a kinde by ſtrong hand, from hazarding their owne perſons, and yet haue thoſe kinde of Mutiners neuer beene called to a Marſhalls Court.

§ II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was beſieged by DEMETRIVS.

THis departure of *Antigonus* left behinde it many dead carcaſſes, and a great deale of ioy in *Ægypt*. *Ptolomie* held a ſolemne feaſt, and ſent Meſſengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, his Confederates: ſtrongly encouraging all that ſide with the report of this his late felicitie, though it appeared but in a defenſiue warre. *Antigonus* on the contrarie flattered himſelfe with another interpretation, calling the ioyes of his enemies for witneſſes of his owne greatneſſe, ſeeing they aroſe but from ſo litle things: his enemies being but bare ſauers by the laſt bargaine, and himſelfe, as he ſuppoſed, hauing loſt but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. Howſoeuer it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another faſhion, for that which he could not cleaue a-ſunder by great blowes, he purpoſed by little & little to pare off, by cutting off the branches firſt, to fell the Tree it ſelfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, hee reſolued (leauing the great ones to grow awhile) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates ſhould be forſt, either to relieue, or to looſe; and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouiſions, promiſed him victorie.

At this time the Cities of *Rhodes* was very mightie, being well gouerned, and hauing long held it ſelfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade

of those parts, and thereby a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and pettie Theeues, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart, or ioyne themselues to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Ægyptian*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnes, & neighbourhood was fearfull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettie iniuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grieuances, while he made a more waightie preparation, to pursue the warre against them, openly & strongly. All things soone after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, hee employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terrour vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance, and seruice against whomsoeuer. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, and not by loue; raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and libertie to lodge in their Port as many ships of warre as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to be imposed vpon a State alreadie conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolue to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselues fellow-slaues with them.

Demetrius hauing refused the faire conditions offered, (as the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of batterie; in the inuention and vse of which, he neuer shewed himselfe a greater *Artisan*, than in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults giuen them for a whole yeere, after many braue sallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they endured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreme, if *Ptolomie* had not with many hazards relieued them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flowre of all his fathers forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recouered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which hee himselfe led as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and indangered *Athens* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Polysperchon* inuade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to dispatch their Embassadours towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius*, rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, then that the *Rodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus*, & *Cassander*, but for *Ptolomie*, whom they most affected, and from whom they receiued their most reliefe, they cõsulted with the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a *God*. The Priests which attended in the Temple

Temple of *Hammon*, gaue the same faire answere for *Ptolomie*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Master, for as *Alexander* consulted the *Oracle* with an Armie at his heeles; so was *Ptolomie* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themselues with the stile of Kings, but that they would needes be called gods.

§. III.

How DEMETRIVS *preuailed in Greece. CASSANDER desires peace of* ANTIGONVS, *and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against* ANTIGONVS.

DEMETRIVS comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into *Greece*; quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did much auaile him; which was so great, that sixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers reuolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recouered in short space al that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giuing libertie vnto the people, he bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had beene fortified against them, to blocke them vp. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for hee suddainely tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Countrie, bestowing libertie vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* hee transiated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place. and called it after his own name *Demetrias*. This done, he betook himselfe to his pleasure: At the *Isthmian* games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of iest, that any, saue himselfe or his father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour hee was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, hee deserued none other name then of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as readie as euer to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one decree, that whatsoeuer King *Demetrius* should command, ought to bee held sacred with the gods, and iust with Men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, lest the warre should fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*: which to auoide, he knew no better way, then to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose hee sent Embassadors; but had no better answere from *Antigonus*, then that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heede to themselues; neither found hee them slow in apprehending the common Danger: for *Lysimachus* knew, that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soone be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Prouinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common Enemie.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That hee would as easily scatter them, as a flocke of Birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceipts hee pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name

that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully prouiding to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellespont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellespont*, beganne to make hot warre vpon the subiects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to ioyne with him, by faire meanes; winning others by force, and wasting the Countrie round about.

To represse this vnexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hastie iournies, and came soone enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to driue *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lysimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping himselfe the whilest from necessitie of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his iourney: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* beene so froward, that hee refused to yeelde vnto any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neere with a mighty Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aide from *Ptolomie*, that was ioyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeied. Before his departrue out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driuen to leaue any part of his Armie for defence of the Countrie; and that his iournie might bee without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should be at libertie. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an Enemy, that was too strong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise then they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, euery one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controuersie in *Asia*.

§. IIII.

How ANTIGONVS *was slaine in a great battaile at Ipsus, neere vnto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.*

SELEVCVS, with his sonne *Antiochus*, ioyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the Enemie. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Ciuill) they were rather vnanswerable, than equall to their aduersaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a mastering spirit, and had beene reputed a King indeede, when the rest were held but Vsurpers of the title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a braue Commander, hauing giuen proofe of his worth in many great seruices of all kinds, and inriched the Art of war with many inuentions, which euen his enemies, & particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stolen away from him to saue his life; with yong *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iournie; and *Lysimachus*, that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet so, that as

ancient

ancient Captaines vnder *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthie enough, to receiue any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both ſides, were for the moſt part hardie and well exerciſed: many of them hauing ſerued vnder *Alexander*; though of thoſe old Companies, the long ſpace of two and twentie yeeres had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections; the followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this battaile they muſt either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcerne no other neceſſitie of fighting, than the obſtinate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about three-ſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three-ſcore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were ſixe thouſand ſhort of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the ods of fiue hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twentie armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had auailed the *Perſians*; yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himſelfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatneſſe of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſiue, communing much in priuate with his ſonne whom he commended to the Armie as his Succeſſor: whereas in former times he had neuer been ſo iocund; as towards the houre of battaile, nor had beene accuſtomed to make his ſonne, or any other, priuie to his counſaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deuiſed, I hold it needleſſe to recount: *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt neere to the place of battaile, a buſie Goddeſſe in many great fights, and therefore likely to haue been thruſt into the fable, if any matter, neerly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to beleeue, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well-neere all the ſtrength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthie Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſſe in regard of the much variety, wherewith euery ſtorie aboundeth in this kinde. The moſt memorable things in the battaile, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of horſe, charged valiantly vpon yong *Antiochus*; whom when hee had broken, and put to flight, hee was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſſe, that he neuer gaue ouer his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victorie. For when *Seleucus* perceiued this aduantage, he enterpoſed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the *Phalanx* of *Antigonus*: and with many troups of horſe offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, whereſoeuer it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to reuolt from their Lord, whilſt they were fairely inuited, than to ſuſtaine the furie of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize or rather treaſon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their Generall to the laſt end of his deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then foure-ſcore yeeres old, very fat and vnweildy, ſo that he was vnapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. Hee had about him ſome of his moſt truſtie followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceiued a great troupe making towards his perſon told him, *Sir King, yonder companie meanes to charge you*; he anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* DEMETRIVS *will relieue vs.* Thus expecting, to the very laſt, that his ſonne ſhould come to the reſcue, he receiued ſo many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great abilitie in matter of Armes, together with his vnſatiable deſire of Empire, haue ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his action. Hee was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate

his fortune, but vsed insolence towards all alike, as if it had beene some vertue neerest representing a Kingly Maiestie. This was the cause that so many of his followers reuolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie forsooke him in his last necessitie. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeuours of their Vassalls, onely dutie and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest seruices: shall finde themselues vpon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is loue only that staies by aduersitie) not only the most friendlesse, but euen the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he liued; in part he left it to be verified vpon his son.

§. V.

How DEMETRIVS *forsaken by the Athenians after his ouerthrow, was reconciled to* SELEVCVS *and* PTOLOMIE, *beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into new quarrells.*

FOr *Demetrius*, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to saue himselfe, with foure thousand horse and fiue thousand foot, by a speedy retrait vnto *Ephesus*, whence hee made great haste towards *Athens*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whileſt he was in the middest of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citie. These were Embassadours, not *Theori*, or *Consulters* with the *Oracle*. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miserie, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamitie more afflict the vnfortunate Prince, than to see his aduersitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauen, of which he now stood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, that sometimes had grosly flattered him. But he shall liue to teach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were euery where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselues to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Armie and Fleet, without monie or meanes wherewith to sustaine him and his followers any long time. All the rest or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue, for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power, and to incloſe himselfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to impriſon his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himselfe and his estate: Hee therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome, whereof he gaue all the spoile, that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses hauing beene too great to be repaied againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselues, in the partition of those Prouinces, of which their late victorie had made them Lords, wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage by being present, and Master of the field, for neither *Ptolomie*, nor *Cassander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing only sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armie which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of *Asia* the lesse and all *Syria*, being no otherwise deuided from his owne Territorie, than by the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in their

their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the victory, at which, neuertheleſſe others did repine, and though they neither could nor durſt accuſe him of ill dealing for the preſent, yet ſeeing the ouer-greatneſſe of *Seleucus* brought no leſſe danger to the reſt of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they conſulted vpon the ſame reaſon of ſtate as before, how to oppoſe it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined, for he read it in the Law vniuerſall of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendſhip on all ſides, and cure themſelues of all vnprofitable paſſion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being laid on the one ſide, againſt their profits on the other, were found ſo farre too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day ſlaine *Antigonus* the father, and driuen *Demetrius* the ſonne out of *Aſia*, ſought to morrow how to match himſelfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and ſo by *Demetrius* to ſerue his turne againſt *Lyſimachus*.

The ſtorie of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the ſonne of *Seleucus* fell ſo paſſionately in loue, and ſo diſtempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to ſaue his ſonnes life, gaue her (though ſhe were his wife) vnto him, and how his paſſion was diſcouered by his pulſe, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this aliance betweene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betweene *Ptolomie* and *Lyſimachus*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Caſſander*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*; though for the preſent it brought him againe into the rancke of Kings; otherwiſe tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betweene Chriſtian Kings haue done in later times, namely betweene the *Auſtrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of thoſe elder times beene found more faithfull, then thoſe of the ſame later times haue beene; as in the ſtories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the firſt, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan* and others, the Reader may obſerue: betweene whom from the yeere of our Lord, *One thouſand, foure hundred, ninetie and fiue*, when *Charles* the eighth vndertooke the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, when *Henrie* the ſecond died, the Hiſtories of thoſe times tell vs, that all the bonds, either by the bed or by the booke, either by weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpoſe nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reape this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemie *Seleucus*, that he recouered *Cilicia* from *Pliſtarchus*, the brother of *Caſſander*; who had gotten it as his ſhare in the diuiſion of *Antigonus* his poſſeſſions: for the Intruder was not ſtrong enough to holde it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he ſhould haue done againſt the common enemie. So *Pliſtarchus* with very angry complaint, as well againſt *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Caſſander*; whither *Phila*, their ſiſter, followed him ſhortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not ſtrong enough to deale with *Caſſander*, and therefore glad to make vſe of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne proſperitie, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the ſame time he tooke to wife a daughter of *Ptolomie* (pluralitie of wiues being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eaſterne conqueſts) and ſo was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, then ſtrengthened with two friends, for neither of them wiſhed him any good, otherwiſe then might ſeeme to aduance their owne ambitious deſires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomie* could both of them haue beene contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, ſhould ſeeke his fortune ſomwhat further off, than ſettle his eſtate vnder their noſes. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelfe: and *Ptolomie* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo, that *Seleucus* would faine haue ſet his new father in law vpon the neck of *Lyſimachus*; or whether hee were indeede greedie of the bargaine, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready monie,

his

his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not harken, but meant to keepe as much Land as hee could, hauing already found in *Cilicia* twelue thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angrie termes he demanded the Citie of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to bee surrendred vnto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In stead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* tooke present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire *Seleucus* to become his sonne in law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had already taken more then well hee knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends out of enuie to the stronger.

§. VI.

How DEMETRIVS *wanne the Citie of Athens, and preuailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of* CASSANDER.

IN the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to vse the libertie, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyrannie of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distempered Citie was so weakned, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage hastened him, whom they had once called their *God and Sauiour*, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging furie. Hee brought against them all the force that he could wel spare from other emploiments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any businesse, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprise in *Athens* had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where hee wanne diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Countrie of *Attica*, and cut off all relefe from the Citie, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victualls; being also destitute of meanes to keepe such a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomie*, who (trusting thereby to winne the loue of *Greece*) had loaden a hundred and fiftie ships with corne, and sent them to relecue the hungrie Citie. But these hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hasted them away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come so neere, that they might be discried. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Sonne did fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped downe betweene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadours to yeeld vp the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to doe, then because they hoped to be forgiuen.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victorie, did not only forbeare to take away the liues of these vnthankefull men; which they had submitted vnto his mercie;

mercie; but out of his liberalitie gaue them foode, and placed in Office amongſt them ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the people. Neuertheleſſe hee was growne wiſer then to truſt them ſo farre as he had done in times paſt. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; he was ready to lay hold vpon the word, and leaue a ſure Garriſon within their walls, to keepe them honeſt perforce. After this he went into *Peloponneſus*, vanquiſhed the *Lacedæmonians* in two battailes, and was in very faire poſſibilitie to take their citie: when the dangerous news called him in all haſte, of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomie*; that preuailed faſter vpon him elſewhere, than himſelfe did vpon his enemies in *Greece*. *Lyſimachus* had wonne many Townes in *Aſia*; *Ptolomie* had gotten all the Iſle of *Cyprus*, except the Citie of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were ſtraightly beſieged. Whileſt he was bethinking himſelfe which way to turne his forces, a notable piece of buſineſſe offered it ſelfe, which thruſt all other cares out of his head.

Caſſander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and ſoone after him, *Philip* his eldeſt ſonne, whoſe two yonger brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, ſought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Caſſander* had married, ſeemed better affected to *Alexander*, then to her elder ſonne: who thereupon grew ſo enraged, that moſt barbarouſly he ſlew his owne Mother. The odiouſneſſe of this fact gaue a faire luſtre to *Alexanders* cauſe: drawing the generalitie of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queenes death, vpon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was ſo ſtrongly backed by *Lyſimachus*, whoſe Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without ſome forraigne aide. For which cauſe he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will ſoone appeare, in the following Tragedie, of him and his brother. Their Father *Caſſander* had beene one that ſhifted well for himſelfe, at ſuch time as euery man ſought how to get ſomewhat, in the ill ordered diuiſion of the Empire. Hee was cunning in practize, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing thoſe, whom others would more wiſely haue made away. He deeply hated the memorie of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head againſt a wall, vpon ſome opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditarie quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom ſhee could not abide. Her feminine malice did ſo exaſperate him, by crueltie, that ſhee vſed againſt his friends, both aliue and dead; as it made him aduenture vpon ſhedding the Royall bloud; wherewith, when once hee had ſtained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that courſe of murder. His carefulneſſe to deſtroy thoſe women and children, whoſe liues hindred his purpoſe, argues him to haue beene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: ſuch crueltie being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a-farre off the dangers, that may quietly paſſe away: and ſeekes to auoide them by baſe and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it ſelfe ſafe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may bee ſaid, that they had well deſerued the bloudy end which ouer tooke them; yet ill beſeemed it *Caſſander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men deſerued, to die for the tyrannie of their Father. Wherefore, though *Caſſander* died in his bed, yet the diuine Iuſtice brought ſwords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the crueltie of this bloudy man, by deſtroying his whole houſe, as he had done his Maſters.

§. VII.

of PYRRHVS *and his doings in Macedon. The death of* CASSANDERS *children.* DEMETRIVS *gets the Kingdome of Macedon; preuailes in warres against the Greeks; Looseth reputation in his warre against* PYRRHVS, *and in his Ciuill Gouernement, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against* DEMETRIVS. PYRRHVS *and* LYSIMACHVS *inuade him, his Armie yeelds to* PYRRHVS, *who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with* LYSIMACHVS.

PYRRHVS, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preserued, being a sucking Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conueighed him to *Glaucias*, King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that hee restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeeres of age. Within the compasse of sixe yeeres, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went hee to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page; followed him awhile in his wars; was with him in the great battaile of *Ipsus*, whence hee fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomie*. In *Ægypt* he so behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with monie and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomie*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recouered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that businesse betweene the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* sonnes, was so farre too weake for *Pyrrhus*, that hee had no desire to attend the comming of *Demetrius*, but made an hastie agreement, and diuided the Kingdome with his yonger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Countrie, as the reward of his paines: leauing the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie enforced the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a friuolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course, to remoue this ouerdiligent friend, by murdering him vpon some aduantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the storie, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleeued it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himselfe was feasted and slaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was busied in warre with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seeke peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to bee giuen vp; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his sonne in law. At this ill bargaine *Antipater* grieuously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; vntill his Father in law, to saue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his trouble-

troubleſome life. Thus in haſte, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide moleſtation, were ſlaine the children of *Caſſander*: of *Caſſander* that had ſlaine his owne Maſters children, in a wiſe courſe of policie, with careful meditation (ſo much the more wicked as the more long) ſtudying how to erect his owne houſe, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was throughly ſetled.

It might be thought, that ſuch an acceſſe of Dominion, added much to the greatneſſe of *Demetrius*. But indeede it ſhewed his infirmitie; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Gouernement: but thought (or ſhewed by his actions that he thought) the vſe and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King liſted. He gaue himſelfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe that offered to trouble him with ſupplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing juſtice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long reſt (as ſixe yeeres raigne is long to him, that knowes not how to raigne one yeere) he diſcouered ſo much of his worſt condition, as made both the people wearie of his idleneſſe; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in *Aſia*, by hearing that all was loſt: though more eſpecially, by hearing that *Ptolomie* had with great honor, entertained and diſmiſſed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leiſure, of making warre in *Greece*: where he vanquiſhed the *Thebans*, and wonne their Citie twice in ſhort ſpace, but vſed his victorie with mercie. Againſt *Lyſimachus* he would faine haue done ſomewhat (the peace betweene them notwithſtanding) at ſuch time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lyſimachus* was freely diſmiſſed, and in good caſe to make reſiſtance ere *Demetrius* came; ſo as this iourney purchaſed nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand againſt *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worſe euent. *Pyrrhus* held ſomewhat belonging to *Macedon*; which hee had indeede as honeſtly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome; he had alſo made excurſions into *Theſſalie*. But there needed not any handſome pretence of quarrell, ſeeing *Demetrius* thought himſelfe ſtrong enough, to ouer-runne his enemies Countrie, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to deſpiſe the vertue of thoſe, whom they haue knowne raw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themſelues are noted as extraordinarie. *Pyrrhus* was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the ranke of Generalls, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he miſſed that part of the Armie, which *Demetrius* led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which he ouerthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his priuate valour, ſhewed in ſingle combat againſt *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a ſtrong man of body, challenged this yong Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtterly beaten. The loſſe of this battaile did not ſo much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behauiour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they ſeemed to behold the liuely figure of *Alexander* in his beſt qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, ſome of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely veſtures: but (ſaid they) none, ſaue *Pyrrhus*, is like him indeede, in performing the office of a Captaine.

Theſe rumours were not more nouriſhed by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by diſlike of their owne King; whom they began to diſeſteeme, not ſo much in regard of his vnprofitable iourney into *Epirus* (for he had waſted much of the Countrie, and brought home his Armie in good caſe) as of his inſolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparell ſeemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too ſumptuous and new-fangled, but very vnmanly; and ſeruing chiefly to be a daily witneſſe, how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers liues he was rechleſſe: and ſuffered vnwiſely this vn-princely ſentence to eſcape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. Hee made a mockerie of iuſtice; and (as it were, to publiſh vnto all his Subiects, how

little

little he esteemed it or them) hauing by a shew of popularitie inuited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poore suters after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, hee threw all their writings into the Riuer; pleasing himselfe, in that hee could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacitie, and inuading *Macedon*, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sicke in his bed: who recouering health, and taking the field, had such great oddes of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he beganne to haue some feeling of the generall hate; which to redresse, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to inuade *Asia*, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Armie, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse: with a Nauie of fiue hundred saile, wherein were many ships, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had beene seene before; yet so swift and vsefull withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie* suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyne against this ambitious sonne of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all, than euer was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once preuailed in *Asia*, there could be no securitie for his friends in *Europe*; what league soeuer were of old concluded. Therefore they resolued to beginne with him betimes, and each to inuade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Armie: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not ouer-great: were it not, that mindes prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in vp-rore: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbeare to vtter seditious words, and many desired leaue of *Demetrius*, to goe to their owne houses, meaning indeede to haue gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceiued the bad affection of his Armie, hee thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their owne Countrieman, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victorie against the *Epirot*, to recouer the loue of his followers, in such sort that hee might afterwards at leisure deale with the other. But herein his wisedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hastie as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armor, and other tokens whereby hee might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Diuers of them stole away, and ranne ouer into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himselfe bare-headed in view of the camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcom. The newes of his arriuall found a generall applause, and euery one began to looke out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well knowne as his helmet; therefore hee was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their seruice; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes; and shift for himselfe.

himselfe. So *Demetrius* threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly, did fearefully steale away out of his owne Campe: deseruing well this calamitie, whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behauiour depriued him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasant sound of necessarie truth.

Whilest *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entrie into the Kingdome of *Macedon*; *Lysimachus* came vpon him very vnseasonably, and would needs haue halfe: saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the warre, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargaine was quickly made, and the diuision agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, vpon better oportunitie.

§. VIII.

How DEMETRIVS *gathering forces, enterprised many things with ill successe, in Greece and Asia. How he was driuen vpon* SELEVCVS, *and compelled to yeeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.*

THe *Athenians*, were as vnthankefull to *Demetrius* in this his aduersitie, as they had beene in former times. For they presently forsooke his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, vnder his sonne *Antigonus*. Therfore it is like, that he had soone gotten an Armie; though *Phila* his wife (who is highly commended for a wise and vertuous Ladie) did poison her selfe, vpon desperate griefe of his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians*, that had well deserued it. Hee beganne to lay siege to their Towne: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they made their spokesman; and taking faire words instead of satisfaction, passed ouer into *Asia*, with eleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Prouinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also some Captaines, that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies, and treasures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, came vpon him, with an Armie so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stocke against it. Wherefore, he resolued, to passe through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Prouinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuously impeached by *Agathocles:* who pursued him close, and cut off all his prouisions, driuing him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes, *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemie: neuertheless, hee could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titularie King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the Riuer *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driuen to trauaile with such speede, as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Captaine, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilest *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Countrie; but with vehement and humble letters he besought his sonne in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters at the first wrought wel with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how

Demetrius had carried himselfe, when he recouered strength after the battaile at *Ipsus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held betweene them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meere desperation enforced *Demetrius*, to fight like a mad man; and his furie got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickneſſe tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ranne to the enemie. This notwithstanding hee still held out, and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his comming been discouered by fugitiues, that gaue the alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himselfe, hee was compelled by the last of those adherents (for euen some of those few forsooke him) to yeeld vnto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he vsed him with as much fauor, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guard in a demie iland, wherein were goodly walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked roially, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his libertie was reserued vnto the comming of yong *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three yeres, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and bloud-shed, he had sought in vaine) and then died, leauing to his sonne *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

§. IX.

The death of PTOLOMIE, *of* LYSIMACHVS, *and of* SELEVCVS, *that was last of* ALEXANDERS *Captaines: with other occurrences.*

ABout the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomie* King of *Ægypt*; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom he selected *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, and caused him to raigne together with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so he might confirme him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolomie Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomie*) was grieuously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captaines left, *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needes would fight for it, who should be the longest liuer of that braue Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neare equalitie of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning *Agathocles* his eldest sonne: whose wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The *Macedons*, after seuen Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heat of admiration, beganne to hearken so well to *Lysimachus*, their naturall Countrie-man, that they forsooke *Pyrrhus*, vpon none other ground than because hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, which they lightly gaue him. *Lysimachus* had raigned about

about fiue yeares alone, when the Citie of *Lysimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by euents, to haue foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne iealousie, and the instigation of a mother in law, caused him to poison his Sonne *Agathocles*, which drew vpon him that warre, wherein (after the losse of all his fifteene children, that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lysimachus* on *Asia* side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with *Lysimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victorie, that he was the last of all the great Heröes which had followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed ouer into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within seuen moneths followed *Lysimachus*, and other of his fellows, by a bloudie death: being treacherously slaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had beene. Seuentie and seuen yeare old he was, when hee fought with *Lysimachus*, and *Lysimachus* was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had seene the daies, as it were of another world vnder the *Persian:* yet was there left one equall to any of them, in the Art of warre: euen *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, of whom we spake before; that is now readie to enter into warre with the *Romans*, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storie more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by *Alexanders* Successors, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and setling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

§. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of TVLLVS HOSTILIVS, *vnto such time as they were assailed by* PYRRHVS.

NOw *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; setled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the raigne of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath beene alreadie noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatnesse, beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*, and extending it selfe out of *Italie*, to ouer-whelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mightie Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue been deliuered in the ages, wherein they were seuerally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when hee had raigned two and thirtie yeares, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grandchild to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. He walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill *Auentine*, which hee enclosed; built a bridge ouer *Tybris*, and the Citie of *Ostia* vpon the Sea, sixteene miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, hauing raigned foure and twentie yeares, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the sonne of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who auoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquiny*, by the name of which Towne hee was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that Citie in *Hetruria* comming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurents, together with his wife *Tauaquils* prophecie, hee grew a fauorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Gracian* wit humoring the factions of the *Roman* Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Gouernour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centuries of Horse-men: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often against the *Tuscans*, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had raigned eight and thirtie yeares, he was slaine by the sonnes of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tauaquil* his wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the *interim* of his sicknes, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth she alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *P. Cornículanus* and *Ocrisia*, a well descended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supplie her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his recouerie: which gouernment, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdome in as good sort, as if it had beene a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proprotionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Aruns*, the gentle, in mariage. But whether by intēded courses, or by accident, it happened; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage: who soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, beganne to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* hasting to the Senate, (where he thought by authoritie to haue bridled insolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had raigned fortie and foure yeare. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquine*, exercising crueltie without iustice, and tyrannie without mercie, vpon the people and Senators; hauing tired himselfe and them at home, vsed the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke *Ocriculum*, *Suessa Pometia*, and the *Gabij*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eighteene miles distant from *Rome*, was of bad successe. In the heate of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarquinius* violently rauished that chaste Ladie *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamie with her owne blood; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine*, and *Iunius Brutus*)

she

ſhe killed her ſelfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his reſolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depoſed and baniſhed; and fled to *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria* for ſuccour, in the fiue and twentieth yeare of his raigne, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of their Citie: in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten full poſſeſſion of fifteene miles round about her.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Countrey from that heauie yoake of bondage, inforced the people by ſolemne oath, neuer to admit any gouernment by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings goods, conſecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the gouernment of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But becauſe the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their gouernment, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a ſingle gouernour to a double; leſt perpetuall or ſole dominion might be ſome motiue to vſurpation; and in ſtead of Kings they called them *Conſuls*, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, *Prouiders*: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwaies mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſetling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innouation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelues of their owne ſecuritie, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſigne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie would be hereditarie, and ſuppoſing that the very name & affinity with the houſe of *Tarquin*, ſauoured alreadie of their condition. In his roome was ſubſtituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name reporteth) be gratious in the peoples eies, gaue liberty, in matters of controuerſie, to appeale from the *Conſuls* to the people: and that he might as well in goods as in perſon, auoyde occaſion of ſuſpition, cauſed his owne houſe to be pulled downe, becauſe it was built in a place defenſible, as if it had beene a *Citadell*. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples ſafetie, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt ranke his owne ſonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; he cauſed them, publikely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the *Romanes*, hauing by the vnblemiſhed integritie of *Brutus*, well appeaſed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their militarie deſignements, againſt Forrainers; firſt, for their libertie; ſecondly, for inlarging of their poſſeſſions; and laſtly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way betweene *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, could not but giue occaſion of offence to her neighbours; vntill by maine oppoſition, hauing preuailed againſt her borderers, ſhee vſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtaine the reſt.

Their firſt warre, in the firſt yeare of *Conſuls*, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being ouer-perſwaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great forces, to ſeate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge ouer *Tibris*; at length, feeling himſelfe too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the Riuer, like a hunted Stagge, refreſhed his hote ſpirits, and returned ſafe to his fellowes, with the like reſolution to ſuſtaine a new charge. *Porſenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Ianiculus*, which is the verie entrance vnto the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, aſſuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the conſtant reſolution of *Mutius Scæuola* (who hauing by errour ſlaine *Porſenna* his Secretarie, inſtead of the King himſelfe, did in ſcorne of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) hee thought it not

any wait prejudiciall, either to his fatetie, or credite, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleene, was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his sonne, and *Brutus* his enemie, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion hee was, for their chastitie, not for beautie, mourned the losse of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquine, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to striue against the streame, and spent the residue of his time; which was about fourteene yeares, priuately at *Tusculum*. Yet his sonne-in-law *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomaching afresh at those old repulses, because *Porsenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour vnto the *Tarquines*, mustered vp his *Latines*, and gaue battaile to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Aulus Posthumius*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consulls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemies; and *Cossus* or *Spurius Cassius* (master of the Horse men, an assistant Officer to the *Dictator*) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recouer againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went current of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two *Gods*, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow helpers of their victorie; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, hauing no obiect of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselues at home; and the sixteenth yere after the Kings expulsion, vpon instigation of some desperate banckrouts, thinking themselues wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consulls, they made an vproare in the holy Mount; vntill by *Menenius Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrates created, to whome they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controuerlies, the Consuls authori ie notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement amongst themselues, they had continuall Warre with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volsci* and *Æqui* held them longest; who made warre, of themselues, vpon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole iurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the sirname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victorie: although, by reason of the pouertie of the Towne, a *Roman* Generall, in after times, would haue beene ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had beene no occasion of disparagement, had hee not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduised to sell corne, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after iudgement, banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renue their forces againe; which being committed vnto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he preuailed in field, so farre forth, that he was come within foure or fiue miles of the Citie. Incamping there hee made so sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Countrie, that hee would not relent by any supplications of Embassadours, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselues better Subiects to their Countrie, than friends to their sonne and husband, were more auaileable to *Rome*, then was any force of armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Armie, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others surmise) liuing with them vntill old age, hee died naturally.

Not

Not long after this, the *Veij* in *Hetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*; againſt whom the *Fabij*, three hundred and ſixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imploied, as it had been in a priuate quarrell. Theſe *Fabij*, after ſome good ſeruices, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumuented and all ſlaine: one only of that whole houſe, had beene left, by reaſon of infancie, at home; from whom afterward ſprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquiſhed *Hannibal*.

In proceſſe of time, the *Romans* were alſo troubled with the *Volſci*, at the hill *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minucius* their Conſull, with his whole Armie, had beene diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* choſen *Dictator*, and taken from the plough to the higheſt honour in *Rome*, with ſucceſſe anſwerable to his expedition, diſperſed his enemies, and freed his Countrie in the ſpace of ſixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before choſen Gouernours of the State, and inactors of *Solons* lawes amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the meane while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtrates) would haue rauiſhed *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a Companie, and lying then in campe at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people, in an vproare, tooke the Hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to reſigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or deſire to reuenge old loſſes, drew the *Romans* into a new warre, againſt the *Veientes*, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, with diuerſitie of Captains, and varietie of euent, they vanquiſhed the *Faliſci*, and the *Fidenates*, and vtterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſſe integritie then fortitude. For when a Schoolemaſter, by trayning forth into the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hoſtages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him back into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded vnto him in reuerence of his juſtice. The ſiege of *Veij* was tenne yeares, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt enforced to winter abroad vnder beaſts skinnes (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they receiued pay) and to make vowes neuer to returne without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoiles, that they conſecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in generall, were called to the ranſacking of the Citie. But yet they were no leſſe vnthankefull to *Camillus* for his ſeruice, then before they had beene to *Coriolanus*; For they baniſhed him the Citie, vpon ſome occaſion of inequalitie in diuiding the ſpoiles: yet he requited their vnkindneſſe with a new peece of ſeruice, againſt the furie of the *Gaules*: who being a populous Countrie, and verie healthfull, the fathers (as ſometimes now) liued ſo long, that the ſonnes, deſtitute of meanes, were enforced to roaue abroad, ſeeking ſome place, where to ſet vp their reſt: and withall being a Nation vaſt in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rouers ouer many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italie*, ſet vpon *Cluſium*, a Towne in *Hetruria*; whereof *Rome* hauing information (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) ſent Embaſſadours, warning them to deſiſt from ſuch iniurious enterpriſes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the meſſage, vpon ſome injurie offered by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, conuerted their forces from *Cluſium* towards *Rome*; and giuing a great ouerthrow to the *Romans*, by the Riuer *Allia*, vpon the ſixteenth day before the *Calends* of *Auguſt* (which day was after branded for vnluckie, and called *Allienſis* in the *Roman Kalendar*) they haſtened towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of miſerie and deſolation. For ſome leauing the citie; ſome creeping into holes; Prieſts hiding their reliques; and euery one ſhifting for himſelfe, ere the enemie came; *Rome* was abandoned, as indefenſible. The Veſtall Virgins, in this tumult, were ſafely conuaied away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering

thering boldneſſe out of deſperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did ſeate themſelues in Thrones, in their ſeuerall houſes, houre-ly expecting the meſſengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had liued, in State. The younger ſort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the *Gaules* were entred the Citie, who ſeeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they fell to the ſpoile, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senators, that ſate in their Majeſtie, with a graue reſolution: hauing firſt reuerenced them as *Gods*, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the Citie was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the ſpace of ſeuen Moneths. Once they were like to haue ſurpriſed it by night, but being deſcried by the gagling of *Geeſe*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compoſition was agreed vpon: the *Gaules* being wearie, and the *Romans* hungrie. The bargaine was, that the *Gaules* ſhould take a thouſand pound waight in gold, to deſiſt from their ſiege. Whileſt the gold was in waighing, the *Gaules*, with open inſolencie, made their waights too heauie: *Brennus*, their Captaine, caſting his ſword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed muſt bee patient perforce. But in the midſt of this cauilling, came *Furius Camillus*, with an Armie, from *Ardea*, (where he had liued in his baniſhment) and fell vpon the *Gaules*, with ſuch violence, that hee diſperſed their troups, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to reſtore the ſpoiles with aduantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which, they had lately beene ſo nice. Further, hauing rid the Citie of them, he ſo hotly purſued them, through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Armie, which eſcaped from him, was very ſmall. Other Armies of the *Gaules*, which followed this firſt, had the like ill ſucceſſe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; eſpecially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corui-nus* (each of which in ſingle fight, ſlew a Champion of the *Gaules*) abated their preſumption, and reſtored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable ſeruice, was afterwards accompted a ſecond *Romulus*:

The people, after this deſtruction of their Citie, were earneſtly bent to goe to the *Veij* to inhabite; but *Camillus* diſſwaded them.

About the ſame time, ſomewhat before the ſiege of *Veij*, they changed their gouernment from Conſulls to militarie Tribunes. The gouernment of theſe alſo, after ſome yeares, was by ciuill diſſenſion interrupted: ſo that one while Conſulls ruled: another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were reſtored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Conſular authoritie was eſtabliſhed; it being enacted, that one of the Conſulls ſhould alwaies bee a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the Citie, three hundred ſixtie fiue yeares. And now *Rome* by ſuppreſſion of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares ſet forth againſt the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almoſt one hundred and thirtie miles off: ſituated betweene *Campania* and *Apulia*. Theſe did ſo ſtrongly inuade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themſelues ſubiects to *Rome*, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatſoeuer elſe to obtaine protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fiſh, ſhould deuour the leſſe, eaſily allowed off; aiming themſelues at the good ſituation of *Campania*, the aboundance of Corne and Wine, pleaſant Cities and Townes, but eſpecially *Capua* it ſelfe, the faireſt Citie then in all *Italie*.

The Families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were moſt imployed in the managing of this warre, which indured the ſpace of fiftie yeares. And in this ſeaſon were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerouſly encountred by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius* were Conſulls, and diſcomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no ſmall ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* loſt the field with three thouſand men.

But

But for these losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) beganne to stirre. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributarie to *Rome*.

In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betweene the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latines* beganne to challenge equal freedome in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing Office, so that they required to haue one of the Consuls yearely chosen out of them.

This demand, of the *Latines*, was not vnreasonable. For the *Romans* themselues were a *Latine* Colonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* preuailed, by the vertue of the Consulls.

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Consulls, whom the Soothsayers aduertised, that the side should be victorious, which lost the General in fight. Hereupon, *Decius* the Consull, exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victorie (as was beleeued) by his death. In which kind of deuoting himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this *Decius*, being after Consull, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decij*, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherin their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the liues of so worthie Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countrie. The discipline of *Manlius* was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbad any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemie. For breach of which order, he caused his owne sonne to be put to death, who had slaine a Captaine of the *Latines*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of *Italie*, to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consull, wasting all their Countrie with fire and sword, from the Riuer *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique Sea*, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians*, that made triall of the *Roman* Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. These had interposed themselues as Mediatours, betweene the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse the peace by them tendred. These threats, which discouered their bad affection to *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were vtterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained, that certaine ships of theirs were robbed; and sent Embassadours vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Appulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subiects of *Rome*, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their owne weakenesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceiued, that the Dominion of *Rome* should bee confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all *Italie*, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

§. II.

§. II.

How PYRRHVS *warred vpon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.*

PYRRHVS, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would haue desired. He had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnsetled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisedome, to make an offensiue warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth*, at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that hee might serue to giue some hinderance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing none other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselues vnder his protection. They had in their companie, some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalfe of their seuerall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneas* his chiefe Counsailour, asking what he meant to doe after euery of the victories which hee hoped to get: that, hauing wonne *Rome*, he would soone be Master of all *Italie*; that, after *Italie* he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicil*; that, out of *Sicil* hee would passe ouer into *Africk*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countrie; & being strengthned with the force of all these Prouinces, hee would be too hard, for any of those, that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would liue merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neuertheless, this *Italian* expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to bee omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie; of almost thirtie thousand men, well sorted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cyneas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his cõming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vtterly careless to prouide for the Warre. Wherefore he was faine to shut vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strickt muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behoouing to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, *Leuinus* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and beganne to wast *Lucania*, a Prouince confederate with the *Tarentines* in this Warre.

The *Lucanians* were not readie to defend their owne Countrie; the *Samnites* were careless of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselues; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would haue beene, but their valour was little: all of these had beene accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driuen, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein

wherein little was to be repoſed; or elſe to weaken the reputation of his owne ſufficiencie, which by all meanes he was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had beene ſcattered by foule weather at Sea, were ſafely come to him: with which he reſolued to aſſay the valour of the *Romans*, againſt whom hee proudly marched.

Lævinus the Conſull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents ſhould be ready to ioyne with him. This boldneſſe of the *Roman*, and the ſlackneſſe of the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger moſt concerned, cauſed *Pyrrhus* to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrel, betweene the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the *Samnites* and their fellowes might arriue at his Campe; or whether, conſidering better at neare diſtance, the weight of the buſineſſe, which he had taken in hand, he were deſirous to quit it with his honour; the ſhort anſwere, that was returned to his propoſition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* ſent him this word, that *they had neither choſen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemie*.

Hereupon, both Armies haſtened their march vnto the Riuer of *Siris*: *Lævinus* intending to fight, before the arriuall of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from paſſing that Riuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the firſt view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceiued by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue diſcipline of warre: which cauſed him to ſet a ſtrong *Corps de garde*, vpon the paſſage of the riuer, that he might not be compelled to fight, vntill he ſaw his beſt aduantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemie was not only skilfull in the Art of war, but couragious in execution. For the *Roman* Armie entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horſe, at the ſame time, beganne to paſſe the Riuer, in ſundrie places: which cauſed the *Greekes* to forſake the defence of their banke, and ſpeedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; wherewith he thought it beſt to preſent them, ere their whole Armie had recouered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marſhall his battailes; himſelfe with the horſe, charged vpon the *Romans*: who ſtoutly receiued him, as men well exerciſed in ſuſtaining furious impreſſions. In this fight, neither did his courage tranſport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generall, nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifeſtation of his perſonall valour. It behooued him indeede to doe his beſt; for he neuer met with better oppoſers. Once, and ſhortly after the fight began, his horſe was ſlaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vſe of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almoſt loſt him the battaile: but he perceiuing it, diſcouered his face, and thereby reſtored courage to his men, and tooke from the *Romans* their vaine ioy. The fight was obſtinate, and with the greater loſſe (at leaſt of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his ſide, as long as only ſpeare and ſword were vſed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whoſe vnvſuall forme and terrible aſpect, the horſes of the *Romans* (vnaccuſtomed to the like) were not able to ſuſtaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battailes, perceiuing their horſe put to rout, and driuen out of the field; finding alſo themſelues both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of theſe ſtrange beaſts; gaue way to neceſſitie, and ſaued themſelues, as well as they could, by haſtie flight: in which conſternation, they were ſo forgetfull of their diſcipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was ſoone ſpread ouer *Italie*; and the reputation was no leſſe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to bee heard, that a *Roman* Conſull,

Conſull, with a ſelect Armie, ſhould looſe in plaine battaile, not only the field, but the Campe it ſelfe, being ſo notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely wonne by *Pyrrhus*, for that hee had with him none of his *Italian* friends, ſaue the vnwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diſſemble his content that he tooke, in hauing the glory of this action peculiarly his owne, at ſuch time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for comming (as we ſay) a day after the faire. Neuertheleſſe, he wiſely conſidered the ſtrength of the *Romans*, which was ſuch, as would better endure many ſuch loſſes, than he could many ſuch victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whileſt with his honour he might; and to that purpoſe hee ſent vnto them *Cyneas* his Embaſſadour; demaunding only to haue the *Tarentines* permitted to liue at reſt, and himſelfe accepted as their eſpeciall friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts, labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their deſire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the riſing of many States in *Italie* againſt them, ſo incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blinde Senator, did ſtirre them vp to make good their honour by warre. So they returned anſwere, that whileſt *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italie*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cyneas* made, at his returne, of the *Roman* puiſſance and vertue; as kindled in *Pyrrhus*, a great deſire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices paſſed betweene them: but ſtill when hee vrged his motion of peace, the anſwere was, *He muſt firſt depart out of Italie, and then treat of peace*.

In the meane ſeaſon, each part made prouiſion for warre; the *Romans* leauing a more mightie armie than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being ſtrengthned with acceſſe vnto his forces, of all the Eaſt parts of *Italie*. So they came to triall of a ſecond battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boiſterous violence of the Elephants, gaue to *Pyrrhus* a ſecond victorie. But this was not altogether ſo joyfull as the former had beene: rather it gaue him cauſe to ſay, that ſuch another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For he had loſt the flower of his Armie in this battaile: and though he draue the *Romans* into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor ſaw any likelihood of preuailing againſt them, that were like to be relieued with daily ſupplies, whileſt he ſhould be driuen to ſpend vpon his old ſtock. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants ſhould alwaies ſtand him in ſtead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would ſoone teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholers in ſuch learning, how to make them vnſeruiceable. Wherefore hee deſired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour ſafe out of *Italie*: which to doe (ſeeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting anie faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a ſlight occaſion, preſented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How PYRRHVS, *being inuited into Sicill, forsooke Italie; wanne the most of the Isle; and lost it in short space. PYRRHVS returnes into Italy; where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes backe to his owne Kingdome.*

WHen *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had beene the due reward, vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance himselfe against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnes of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselues that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had beene wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serue to defeate *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Seleucus*, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neare vnto *Europe*. Yet hee made great shew of meaning to reuenge his fathers death: but being stronger in monie then in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three stroue about the Kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatning warre, or promising his assistance, to euery one of them. By these meanes he strengthned himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his *Italian* voiage, which he had then in hand: requesting monie of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (couenanting to haue them restored at two yeeres end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, & quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mightie on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he increased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong Citie of *Cassandria* was held by *Arsinoe* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therin with her yong children. Her hee circumuented by making loue to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard of. *Belgius* a Captaine of the *Gaules*, hauing forced his passage through many Countries, vnto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwise, to looke for all the miseries of warre. These *Gaules* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new seates in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had diuided themselues, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon *Italie*, the other passing through the Countries that lie on the Northerne side of the *Adriatick Sea*, made long aboade in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeeme peace with tribute, as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe, vnto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellowes had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue: His answere was, that he would be contented to giue them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into their hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld vp their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor giue any credit to their words. At this answere, when it was returned, the *Gaules* did laugh; saying, that they would soone confute with deedes, the vanitie of such proud words. It may seeme strange, that he, who had giuen away part of his Armie vnto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; should bee so confident in vndertaking more mightie enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offred to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gaules*; but hee scorned the offer; saying, that hee had the children of those, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victorie must needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great errour, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grieuously wounded, fell into their hands, whilest the battell continued; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter astonishment.

The report of this great ouerthrow filled al *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrie as lost. Only *Sosthenes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which he many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vsing the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King; which title he refused, & was content with the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefs doe seldome come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captaine of the *Gaules*, with an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and fiftrene thousand horse; against which mightie Armie, when *Sosthenes* with his weake troups made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* againe compelled to hide themselues within their walls, leauing all their Countrie to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in lesse then fiftie yeares after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discouer and subdue vnknowne Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had beene too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these newes beene carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italie*, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his warre with the *Romans*; had not other tidings out of *Sicil* distracted him, and carried him away in pursute of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who ragined ouer the whole Iland, the *Carthaginians* sent an Armie to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did so fast preuaile, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to auoide slaueric, than in submitting themselues to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, then to liue vnder the well knowne heauie yoake of *Carthage*. To him therefore, the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieued *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the businesse of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeued (as came after to passe) that his aduantage vpon *Macedon* would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into *Sicil* he transported his Armie, leauing the *Tarentines* to shift for themselues; yet not leauing them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Towne, to hold them in subiection.

As

As his departure out of *Italie*, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, then well ordered, or note-worthie. The Armie which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirtie thousand foot and two thousand fiue hundred horse: with which, soone after his descent in *Sicill*, he forc't the *Carthaginians*, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also wonne the strong Citie of *Eryx*, and hauing beaten the *Mamertines* in battaile, hee beganne to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he draue *Sostratus* (to whom his crueltie was suspect) out of the Iland, and put *Thenon* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatnesse; which two persons had faithfully serued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as hee serued himselfe, and salued the dis-reputation of his leauing *Sicill*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his present helpe against the *Romans*, who since his leauing *Italie*, had well-neare dispossest them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, hee imbarked for *Italie*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italie* it selfe, by eighteene hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recouered *Tarentum*, hee fought a third battaile with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forc't him out of *Italie*, into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince he was farre more valiant then constant, and had hee been but a Generall of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had been directed to haue conquered any one Country or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would haue purchased no lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where found. But he neuer staid vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IIII.

How ANTIGONVS, *the sonne of* DEMETRIVS, *deliuered Macedon from the Gaules. How* PYRRHVS *wonne the Kingdome of Macedon from* ANTIGONVS.

THe vertue of *Sosthenes* being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no lesse glad to submit themselues vnto the gouernmēt of *Antigonus*, than they had formerly beene desirous to free themselues from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and treasure beseeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driuen to vse against the *Barbarians*, only those forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wishes of the *Macedons*, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoile the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, hauing left no more behinde him, than he thought necessarie to guard the borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselues, in the absence of their fellowes: and therefore sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sel him peace, if hee would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was vnwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demāds: yet he judged it vnfit to exasperat their furious choler, by vncurteous words or vsage, as *Ceraunus* had ouer-fondly done. Wherfore

he entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous maner, with a roiall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such aboundance of massie gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessells, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mighty Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them, his Camp and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauerie serued only to kindle their greedie appetites; who seeing his ships heauy loaden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferiour vnto the *Gaules*, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors, to spend the riches which they accompted assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoile and purchase: which tale, carried the *Gaules* head-long, to *Antigonus* his camp, where they expected a greater bootie, then the victorie ouer *Ceraunus* had giuen to *Belgius*. Their comming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arriual, and conueighed himselfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The *Gaules*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hastie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabbines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angrie at their lost labour, they marched with all speed toward the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilest he was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoile of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert; and had saued it self by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of warre: who discouering the much aduantage offred vnto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manlie hold vpon the opportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered *Gaules*, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen to cast themselues into the seruice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the *Macedonian* valour: by which, the terrible and resistlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were ouerthrowne.

To speake more of the *Gaules*, in this place; and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed ouer into *Asia* the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armes of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoeuer the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victorie, could not thereupon be perswaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, then creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in *Italie* stood vpon hard termes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get, either a supply, where with to continue his war against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italie*, vnder colour of making

making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauerie, meere necessitie forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practise.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse: an armie too little to be employed, by his restlesse nature, in any action of importance; yet greater then he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoile he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Soudiers, reuolted vnto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrie. For *Pyrrhus* ouertooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gaules*, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retrait. The *Gaules* very brauely sustayned *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seemes, that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the streight, and not aduancing to their succour, tooke away their courage, by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselues exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gaules*, yeelded themselues and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort: which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discouered so well their affections, that hee aduentured to draw neare in person, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. All forsooke *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and monie enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to leauie it. But whilest he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gaules* into his seruice; whereby hee might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrrhus*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flie from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Townes a farre off in *Peloponnesus*, in which hee had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow, of his late mis-fortunes in the *Roman* warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come ouer into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselues.

§. V.

How PYRRHVS *assailed Sparta without successe. His enterprise vpon Argos, and his death.*

PYRRHVS had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing should bee able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the *Gaules*, beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdome of *Macedon*; There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserued to be set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what

he pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of fiue and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giuing libertie to those Townes in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subiection; though it was easily discouered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, then warre against a Prince alreadie vanquished, and almost vterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that he bare vnto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne yonger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, euen till he entred vpon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemie: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words, with a jeast; *That he followed herein the Lacedæmonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as falsehood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practised as wisdome, till it made them distrusted, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Neuertheless, they were not wanting to themselues in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to reserue themselues fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise then with armed Citizens: soone after this (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls; at the present, only trenches were cast, and *barricadoes* made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easy. Three daies together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserued the Towne the first day; wherinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of sauing the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though alreadie they had torne in sunder the *barricadoes*. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into *Sparta* with a good strength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrie stood, vntill he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, then kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke shewed, how great his error had beene, in forbearing to assault the Towne at his first comming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meet the enemie in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diuersly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilest hee was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inuiting him thither; with promise, to deliuer that Citie into his hands.

Ciuill dissension raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of seuerall factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the comming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hand of such powerfull Assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argiues*, that he came to saue them from the tyrannie of *Pyrrhus*; and that hee would

be

be gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other ſide, *Pyrrhus* would needes perſwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them ſafe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they ſo deſired.

The *Argiues* tooke ſmall pleaſure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at ſtrife, which of them ſhould keepe the Chickins from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers ſome other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condeſcended, and gaue Hoſtages to aſſure his word: for he was the weaker, and ſtood in neede of good-will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would giue none, to his inferiours: eſpecially, meaning deceipt. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as, indeede, it was. Yet he leſſe regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthie of aſſurance, by giuing ſuch a bond, as hee intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie ſhould be opened by night vnto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to paſſe the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on againe, of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both giue alarme to the Citie, and ſome leiſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gaules* (that had the *Vantgarde*) being ignorant of the waies, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-paſſage: and ſetting vpon the enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſſe, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, vnderſtanding by the confuſed noiſe, and vnequall ſhoutings of his owne men, that they were in diſtreſſe, entred the Citie in perſon, to take order for their reliefe, and aſſurance of the place. But the darkeneſſe, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then beganne he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo farre preuailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in ſuch poſture as if they had beene combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeede, the comming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reaſonable cauſe to haue retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had beene away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gaue back, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argiues* preſſing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait, with his owne ſword. The tops of the houſes were couered with women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her owne ſonne in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, ſhee tooke a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently downe on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that hee fell to ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lying in that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſſe ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemie. The bodie of *Pyrrhus* had honourable funerall, and was giuen by *Antigonus* vnto *Helenus* his ſonne; which yong Prince he graciouſly ſent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the poſteritie of *Seleucus* raigned ouer *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomie* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: vntill ſuch time, as the Citie of *Rome*, ſwallowing all vp, digeſted theſe, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the setled rule of ALEXANDERS Successors *in the East, vntill the* ROMANS, *preuailing ouer all, made Conquest of* ASIA *and* MACEDON.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

A discussion of that probleme of LIVIE; Whether the Romans could haue resisted the great ALEXANDER. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the English.*

HAT question handled by LIVIE, *Whether the great* ALEXANDER *could haue preuailed against the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest, he had bent all his forces against them*, hath beene, and is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it seemes to me) the arguments on both sides do not so well explane, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath giuen, of the *Roman* power, in his daies. For, if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgement) inferior to *Alexander*, though to none else, could with small strength of men, and little store of monie, or of other needfull helps in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their estate, when it was well setled, and held the best part of *Italie*, vnder a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* haue done, that was aboundantly prouided of all which is needfull

full to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of emploiment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well setled. It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more, than thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiatiques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomie*, *Antigonus*, & *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power; shall easily finde, that such a reckoning is farre short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, and the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had aboundance; the *Roman* hauing nought, saue men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Nauigation; sitting vpon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceiue, how farre too weake they would haue proued in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserue to be laid in ballance, against those parts of *Italie*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthie, indeede, than valiant, could haue affoorded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs only conjecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, neareſt neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Græcians*; neither is it to bee doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselues vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselues, it shal appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* comming into those parts, would haue brought excessiue joy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subiects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to saile into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall wee thinke that they would haue beene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forsooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue sped well, in vndertaking such a match; it is vneasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for whosoeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemie goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouer-come, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those daies the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes afrer him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune; who can giue a rule that shall alwaies hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as *Liuie* hath judged this a matter worthie of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italie*: where in

three

three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Conſulls, together with all the power of that State, were ſurprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Liuie* to admire his owne *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* thoſe Captaines of theirs, which were honoured ſufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the ſame conceit ſhould blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding ſuch a controuerſie, me thinks it were not amiſſe, for an *Engliſhman*, to giue ſuch a ſentence betweene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being choſen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that ſtroue about a piece of land; ſaying, that it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themſelues. *Liuie Dec. 1. l. 3.*

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the beſt VVarriour? I will anſwere: The *Engliſhmen*. For it will ſoone appeare, to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; againſt no ſauage or vnmanlie people; the enemie being farre ſuperiour vnto vs in numbers, and all needfull prouiſions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of warre.

In what ſort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were; whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch armes as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing ſtorie of them, doth ſufficiently vnderſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer, or very ſeldome, able to ſtand, againſt the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in ſo excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation beſides them haue vſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe, both offenſiue and defenſiue, were of greater vſe, than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerued, before the fierie inſtruments of Gunne-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe: we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little aduantage in armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerueth) was a part of her happineſſe; that ſhee was neuer ouer-laied with too great warres at once.

Hereby it came to paſſe, that hauing at firſt increaſed her ſtrength, by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; hauing wonne the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhee aduentured her owne ſelfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her ſelfe Princeſſe of *Latium*: ſhee did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italie*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neare oppreſſed her: but their Souldiers were Mercinarie; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their owne doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: hee being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the ſame *Ætolians*. The warres againſt *Antiochus*, and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gaue to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were aboundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by vſing her aide, to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not neede to ſpeake of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhee had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay; that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared, comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgement ſeeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

Firſt, therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world beſides) had neuer any ſo braue a Commander in warre, as *Iulius Cæſar*: and that no *Roman* armie was comparable vnto that, which ſerued vnder the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe, it

is

is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Heluetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaule*; was neuertheleſſe vtterly diſheartned, when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute, all that was extraordinarie in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe, vnder ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a warre. Now let vs in generall, compare with the deeds done by theſe beſt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall ſeruice; the things performed in the ſame Countrie, by our common *Engliſh* Souldiers, leauied in haſte, from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall: ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleeue *Cæſar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſſe, what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were ſubdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them aſſiſtance. The Countrie of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lordſhips: ſome of which were gouerned by pettie Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it appliable to the neareſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in generall through the whole Countrie, but betweene the pettie States, yea in euery Citie, and almoſt in euery houſe. What greater aduantage could a Conquerour deſire? Yet there was a greater. *Arioviſtus*, with his *Germans*, had ouer-runne the Countrie, and held much part of it in a ſubjection, little different from meere ſlauerie: yea, ſo often had the *Germans* preuailed in warre vpon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (who had ſometimes beene the better Souldiers) did hold themſelues no way equall to thoſe daily Inuaders. Had *France* beene ſo prepared vnto our *Engliſh* Kings, *Rome* it ſelfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would haue beene ours. But when King *Edward* the third beganne his warre vpon *France*, hee found the whole Countrie ſetled in obedience to one mightie King; a King whoſe reputation abroade, was no leſſe than his puiſſance at home; vnder whoſe Enſigne, the King of *Bohemia* did ſerue in perſon; at whoſe call, the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were readie to take armes: finally, a King, vnto whom one [a] Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; [b] another ſold away a goodly Citie and Territorie for monie. The Countrie lying ſo open to the *Roman*, and being ſo well fenced againſt the *Engliſh*; it is note-worthy, not who preuailed moſt therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the *Engliſh* purchaſes, with the *Roman* conqueſt) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. *Cæſar* himſelfe doth witneſſe, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardineſſe was ouer-maſtered, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of batterie, raiſed and planted againſt their walls, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that ſuch a people was beaten by the *Roman*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worſe, by ſmall numbers of *Spaniards*? Beſides all this, we are to haue regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppoſe their aſſailants: as alſo the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to paſſe, that they were neuer able to make vſe of oportunitie: but ſometimes compelled to ſtay for their fellowes; and ſometimes driuen, to giue or take battaile, vpon extreme diſaduantages, for feare, leaſt their Companies ſhould fall aſunder: as indeede, vpon any little diſaſter, they were readie to breake, and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little leſſe than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the *Romans*, the honour of many gallant victories. What ſuch helpe? or what other worldly help, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our *Engliſh* Kings againſt the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of VVarre? Yea, did they not thinke themſelues therein our ſuperiours? VVere they not in armes, in horſe, and in all prouiſion, exceedingly beyond vs?

[a] The Dolphin of Viennois.
[b] The King of Majorca.

Let

Let vs heare, what a *French* writer ſaith, of the inequalitie that was betweene the *French* and *Engliſh*, when their King *Iohn* was readie to giue the on-ſet, vpon the *Blacke Prince*, at the battaile of *Poitiers*. IOHN *had all aduantages ouer* EDWARD, *both of number, force, ſhew, Countrie, and conceit (the which is commonly a conſideration of no ſmall importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choiſe of all his horſe-men (eſteemed then the beſt in Europe) with the greateſt and wiſeſt Captaines of his whole Realme.* And what could he wiſh more? *Iohn de Serres.*

IEAN *auoit tout l'auantage par deſſus* EDOVARD, *le nombre, la force, le luſtre, le pays, le preiuge (qui n'eſt pas communement vne conſideration de peu d'importãce aux affaires du monde) & auec ſoi l'elite de ſa Cauallerie, lors eſtimee la meilleure de tout ſon Royaume.*

I thinke, it would trouble a *Roman* antiquarie, to finde the like example in their Hiſtories; the example, I ſay, of a King, brought priſoner to *Rome*, by an Armie of eight thouſand, which he had ſurrounded with fortie thouſand, better appointed, and no leſſe expert warriours. This I am ſure of; that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as *Liuie* rightly tearmes them, nor thoſe cowardly Kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, are worthie patternes. All that haue read of *Creſſie* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witneſſe, that I doe not alleage the battaile of *Poitiers*, for lacke of other, as good examples of the *Engliſh* vertue: the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of *France*, than euer did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute theſe victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more ſtrongly, and quicker of diſcharge than the *French* Croſſe-bow: my anſwere is readie; that in all theſe reſpects, it is alſo (being drawne with a ſtrong arme) ſuperiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vſe. The Gunne, and the Croſſe-bow, are of like force, when diſcharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a ſtrong Man: weakeneſſe, or ſickeneſſe, or a ſore finger, makes the Long-Bow vnſeruiceable. More particularly, I ſay, that it was the cuſtome of our Anceſtors, to ſhoot, for the moſt part, *point blanck*: and ſo ſhall he perceiue, that will note the circumſtances of almoſt any one battaile. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the diſtance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the moſt can be deliuered before they cloſe. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more ſtrongly than the Croſſe-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man ſhall aske, How then came it to paſſe, that the *Engliſh* wanne ſo many great battailes, hauing no aduantage to helpe him? I may, with beſt commendation of modeſtie, referre him to the *French* Hiſtorian: who relating the victorie of our men at *Creuant*, where they paſſed a bridge, in face of the enemie, vſeth theſe words; *The Engliſh comes with a conquering brauerie, as he, that was accuſtomed to gaine euery where, without any ſtay: hee forceth our garde, placed vpon the bridge, to keepe the paſſage.* Or I may cite another place of the ſame Authour, where hee tells, how the *Britons*, being inuaded by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policie, to apparel a thouſand and two hundred of their owne men in *Engliſh* Caſſocks; hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* red Croſſe, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French* Hiſtorians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmylius*; report wonders of our Nation) the propoſition which firſt I vndertooke to maintaine; *That the militarie vertue of the Engliſh, preuailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of Romans, which was aſſiſted with all aduantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finiſh the conqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwere may bee (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacida*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gaue this note; *Belli potentes ſunt magè quam ſapienti potentes*; *They were more warlike than politique.* Who ſo notes their proceedings, may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour: ſaue only King *Henrie* the fift, the courſe of whoſe victories, it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conqueſt of *Gaule*, before the time of *Cæſar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all theſe times they had good lei-

Iohn de Serres.

ſure: and then eſpecially had they both leiſure, and fit oportunitie, when vnder the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Countrie of *Gaule* had beene pittiouſly waſted. Surely, the words of *Tullie* were true; that with other Nations, the *Romans* fought for Dominion; with the *Gaules*, for preſeruation of their owne ſafetie.

Therefore they attempted not the conqueſt of *Gaule*, vntill they were Lords of al other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other ſide, held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vnleſſe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) euery way equal to our ſelues; a Nation anciently & ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard, enemie to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwaies we feared, a ſtronger inuaſion by land, than we could make vpon *France*, tranſporting our forces ouer Sea.

It is vſual, with men, that haue pleaſed themſelues, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Hiſtories; to hold it a great injurie done to their judgement, if any take vpon him, by way of compariſon, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the diuided vertue of this our Iland, hath giuen more noble proofe of it ſelfe; than vnder ſo worthie a Leader, that *Roman* Armie could doe, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and al her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath conuerted our greateſt hindrance, into our greateſt helpe, the enemie that ſhall dare to trie our forces, will finde cauſe to wiſh, that auoiding vs, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance, as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a-ſide compariſons, we returne to the rehearſal of deeds done: wherein we ſhall finde, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italie*, to ſtriue with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punick* warre.

§. II.

The eſtate of Carthage, before it entred into warre with Rome.

THE Citie of *Carthage* had ſtood aboue ſixe hundred yeares, when firſt it beganne to contend with *Rome*, for the maſtrie of *Sicil*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fifty yeares in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchiuements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it ſelfe, from the weſt part of *Cyrene*, to the ſtreights of *Hercules*, about one thouſand and fiue hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three hundred Cities. It had ſubiected all *Spaine*, euen to the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, together with all the *Ilands* in the *Mediterran Sea*, to the weſt of *Sicil*; and of *Sicil*, the better part. It flouriſhed about ſeuen hundred and thirtie yeare, before the deſtruction therof by *Scipio*: who beſides other ſpoiles, and all that the Souldiers reſerued, carried thence foure hundred & ſeuentie thouſand weight of ſiluer, which make of our monie (if our pounds differ not) fourteene hundred and ten thouſand pound ſterling. So as this glorious Citie ranne the ſame fortune, which many other great ones haue done, both before and ſince. The ruine of the goodlieſt pieces of the world, fore-ſhewes the diſſolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after ſuch time as it was caſt downe, the Senate of *Rome* cauſed it to be rebuilt: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Iunonia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and repeopled, taken and retaken; by *Genſericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belliſarius* vnder *Iuſtinian*, by the *Perſians*, by the *Ægyptians*, & by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The ſeat therof was exceeding ſtrong: and, while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Sea compaſſed it about, ſauing that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which paſſage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* ſaith, three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleeue the common report, that the Citie it ſelfe was aboue twentie mile in compaſſe;

compaſſe; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to haue beene twice as great.

It had three walls, without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of thoſe, three or foure ſtreets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirty foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: ouer theſe they had ſtables for foure thouſand horſe, and Granaries for all their prouender. They had alſo lodging in theſe ſtreets, betweene theſe out-walles for foure thouſand horſe-men and twentie thouſand foot-men, which (according to the diſcipline vſed now by thoſe of *China*) neuer peſtered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Caſtle of *Byrſa*; to which *Seruius* giues two and twentie furlongs in compaſſe, that make two mile and a halfe. This was the ſame piece of ground, which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when ſhee got leaue to buy only ſo much land of them, as ſhee could compaſſe with an Oxe hide. On the weſt ſide it had alſo the ſalt Sea, but in the nature of a ſtanding poole; for a certaine arme of Land, faſtned to the ground, on which the Citie ſtood, ſtretched it ſelfe towards the weſt continent, and left but ſeuentie foot open for the Sea to enter. Ouer this ſtanding Sea was built a moſt ſumptuous *Arſenall*, hauing their ſhips and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common-weale reſembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titularie Kings, and the *Ariſtocraticall* power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obſerueth) the people in later times vſurped too great authoritie in their Councells. This confuſion in gouernement, together with the truſt that they repoſed in hired Souldiers, were helping cauſes of their deſtruction in the end. Two other more forcible cauſes of their ruine, were their auarice and their crueltie. [a] Their auarice was ſhewed both in exacting from their Vaſſals (beſides ordinarie tributes) the one [b] halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle and mercifull perſons, but vpon thoſe who could beſt tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treaſures. Their crueltie appeared, in putting them to death without mercie, that had offended through ignorance: the one of theſe rendred them odious to their vaſſalls, whom it made readie, vpon all occaſions, to reuolt from them: the other did breake the ſpirits of their Generalls, by preſenting in the heat of their actions abroade, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to paſſe, that many good Cõmanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after ſome great loſſe receiued, haue deſperatly caſt themſelues with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of deſtruction; holding it neceſſarie, either to repaire their loſſes quickly, or to ruine all together: and fewe of them haue dared, to manage their owne beſt projects, after that good forme, wherein they firſt conceiued them, for feare leſt the maner of their proceeding ſhould be miſinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not only the vnhappie Captaine, but euen him, whoſe bad counſaile had proſperous euent. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Hiſtorians, I find to bee theſe; luſt, crueltie, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulneſſe, and periurie. Whether the *Romans* themſelues were free from the ſame crimes, let the triall be referred vnto their actions. The firſt league betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: hauing beene made, the yeare following the expulſion of *Tarquine*. In that league, the *Carthaginians* had the ſuperioritie, as impoſing vpon the *Romans*, the more ſtrict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould not ſo much as haue trade, in ſome part of *Africk*, nor ſuffer any ſhip of theirs to paſſe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *faire Promontory*, vnleſſe it were by force of tempeſt: whereas on the other ſide, no Hauen in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A ſecond league was made long after, which (howſoeuer it hath pleaſed * *Liuie* to ſay, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more ſtrict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to haue trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Iland of *Sardinia*.

By theſe two treaties it may appeare, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the ſtate of *Africk*, but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling al *Italie*, whereby

a *In Pol. Ariſt. l. 2 c. 9.*

b The *Turkes*, at this day, doe alſo take the one half of the poore mans corne, that labours the earth; yea, they take tribut both of the bodies, and of the ſoules of the *Chriſtians* their Vaſſals, by bereauing them of their ableſt children, & bringing them vp in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Iriſh* take the fourth ſheafe; & were wont to eate vp with their horſemen, footemen, and dogs, what they pleaſed, of the other three parts remaining. The huſbandman & the yeoman of *England*, are the freeſt of all the World: And reaſon good; for of them haue the bodies of our victorious armies beene compounded. And it is the freeman, & not the ſlaue, that hath courage, & the ſenſe of ſhame deſerued by cowardiſe. How free the *Engliſh* yeomen haue beene, in times, not long ſince paſt, *Forteſcue* hath ſhewed in his praiſe of our Countries lawes. But I may ſay, that they are more free now than euer: and our Nobilitie & Gentrie more ſeruile. For ſince the exceſſiue brauerie, and vaine expence of our *Grandes*, hath taught them to raiſe their Rents, ſince by Incloſures, and diſmembring of Mannours, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentrie of *England*, haue beene diſſolued, the Tenants, hauing paied vnto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no ſeruice at all, and (perchance) as little loue.

* *Liuie Dec. 1. l. 7.*

whereby they themselues might haue the better meanes to occupie all *Sicil*, whilst that Iland should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we finde good cause, of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twenty & fiue pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were ouerthrowne. But the little state of *Rome* preuailed faster in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mightie Armie, of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicill*, wanne only two Cities therein; many great fleets were deuoured by tempests; and howsoeuer the *Carthaginians* preuailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their owne valour, or by assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, and take reuenge vpon these Inuadours. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope, of getting al *Sicil*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie, in making their aduantage, of this good opportunities; *Pyrrhus*, inuited by the *Tarentines*, and their fellowes, came into *Italie*, where hee made sharpe warre vpon the *Romans*. These newes were vnpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtile Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, which had brought this Prince, out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him ouer into *Sicil*, as soone as he could finish his *Roman* warre. To preuent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassadour to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were sorry to heare, what misaduenture had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this warre with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Armie into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epirots*.

Xenoph. Grec. hist. l. 1.

It was, indeede, the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their businesse in *Sicil*: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* renued, with couenants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be, with reseruation of libertie, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, vsing all meanes to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicill*: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor sauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leauing them at his departure thence, as farre from any end, as when they first beganne.

So many disasters, in an enterprise, that from the first vndertaking, had beene so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the *Carthaginians* to beleeue, that an higher prouidence resisted their intendment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Iland, was so inueterate; that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an haruest, by how much their cost and paynes therein buried had beene the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practice, recouered in few yeeres, all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselues to deale with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had serued vnder *Agathocles*, being intertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselues too strong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to

doe

doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, ſlew thoſe that had truſted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wiues, of thoſe, whom they had murdered. Theſe Mercinaries called themſelues *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere deſperation, of finding any that would approue their barbarous treacherie, added rage vnto their ſtoutneſſe. Hauing therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the ſtronger*, they ouerranne the Countrie round about them.

In this courſe, at firſt, they ſped ſo wel, that they did not onely defend *Meſſena* againſt the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, againſt the *Syracuſians*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to theſe *Mamertines*, the *Syracuſians* wan faſt vpon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of *Meſſana*, they alſo with a powerfull Armie beſieged the Citie. It happened ill, that about the ſame time, a contention began, betweene the *Syracuſian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuſe*, and Gouernours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded ſo farre, that the Armie elected two Gouernours, among themſelues; to wit, *Artemidorus*, and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrarie to the policy of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie hee vſed at his firſt entrance, was by generall conſent eſtabliſhed and made Gouernour. This Office, hee rather vſed as a Scale, thereby to clime to ſome higher degree, than reſted content with his preſent preferment.

In briefe, there was ſomewhat wanting, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelfe within the Citie; and ſomewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtayning, and ſafe keeping, of the place he ſought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and eaſily moued to ſedition and tumult. For the firſt, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greateſt eſtimation and authoritie among the *Syracuſians*. For the ſecond, leading out the Armie to beſiege *Meſſana*, he quartered all thoſe Companies, which he held ſuſpected, on the one ſide of the Citie, and leading the reſt of his horſe and foot vnto the other ſide, as if he would haue aſſaulted it in two ſeueral parts, he marched away vnder the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the aſſieged: So returning home, and leauying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trayned and obedient, he haſted againe towards *Meſſana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (growne proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of *Mylæum*, where hee obtained a moſt ſignall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuſe*, himſelfe by common conſent was elected and ſaluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themſelues vtterly infeebled, ſome of them reſolued to giue themſelues to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue aſſiſtance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the ſeuerall factions diſpatched Embaſſadours for the ſame purpoſe.

The *Carthaginians* were ſoone readie to lay hold vpon the good offer: ſo that a Captaine of theirs got into the Caſtle of *Meſſana*, wherof they that had ſent for him gaue him poſſeſſion. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to ſo good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of dores, and the Towne reſerued for other Maſters.

Theſe newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine, as both a Traitour and Coward; and ſent a Fleet and Armie to beſiege *Meſſana*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once beene theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuſe* (to gratifie his people, incenſed with the ſmart of injuries lately receiued) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom hee entred into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all ſides were

closed vp within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the Towne, whil'st *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consull, with an Armie to the streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore hee was come to giue them protection, euen by force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was vtterly neglected; And so beganne the warre betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romans*, lately foregoing this, haue beene first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the fist Punick warre. That it was vniustly vndertaken by the Romans.

WHen *Pyrrhus* beganne his warres in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not onely fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it in that busie time, sought aide from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of foure thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana*, (a Citie in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which seuereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the odiousnesse of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resolued finally, to make the like purchace, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselues with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the spoile, and all which that State had among themselues.

When complaint was made to the Senate & people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more seuere profession of iustice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolued, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie*, by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulenesse of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselues with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where after the vsuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrie, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former liberties and estates.

This execution of iustice being newly performed, and the fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messana*, desiring help against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. An impudent request it was, which they made: who hauing both giuen example of that vilanie to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good; intreate the Iudges to giue them that assistance, which they were wont to receiue from their fellow-theeues.

The

The *Romans* could not ſuddenly reſolue, whether the way of honeſtie, or of profit, were to be followed; they euermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They conſidered, how contrarie the courſe of ſuccouring the *Mamertines* was, to their former counſells, and actions: ſeeing for the ſame offences they had lately put to torment, and to the ſword, their owne Souldiers, and reſtored the oppreſſed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the deſcription of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the beſt parts of *Africa*, of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of *Spaine*, and ſome part of *Sicil* it ſelfe; whileſt alſo they feared, that *Syracuſe* therein ſeated (a Citie in beautie and riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre ſuperiour to *Rome* it ſelfe) might become theirs; the ſafetie of their owne eſtate ſpake for theſe *Mamertines*: who, if they (driuen to deſpaire by the *Romans*) ſhould deliuer vp *Meſſana*, with thoſe other holds, that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing ſtand betweene *Carthage*, and the Lordſhip of all *Sicil*: for *Syracuſe* it ſelfe could not, for want of ſuccour, any long time ſubſiſt, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Maſters of the Sea, did faſten vpon that paſſage from the maine Land. It was further conſidered; that the oportunitie of *Meſſana* was ſuch, as would not only debarre, all ſuccours out of the continent, from arriuall in *Sicil*; but would ſerue as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might haue entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleaſure.

These conſiderations, of profit at hand, and of preuenting dangers, that threatned from a farre, did ſo preuaile, aboue all regard of honeſtie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Conſull, preſently diſpatcht away for *Meſſana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is ſhewed before. The beſiegers were little troubled with his arriuall; and leſſe moued, with his requiring them, to deſiſt from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was readie to relieue them in their wants; and they were ſtrong enough at Sea, to hinder any ſupply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himſelfe well vnderſtood: and againſt all this, he thought the ſtiffe metall of his *Roman* Souldier, a ſufficient remedie. Therefore, he reſolued to iſſue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his comming was to ſend them away from the Towne; not to be beſieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemie lay encamped in ſuch ſort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in diſtreſſe. *Hieron* was now expoſed to the ſame danger, whereinto hee had wilfully caſt his owne mutinous followers, not long before: only he was ſtrong enough (or thought ſo) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Againſt him *Ap. Claudius* iſſued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected ſallie, to ſurprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee preſented him. The *Syracuſian* wanted not courage to fight; but ſurely, hee wanted good aduice: elſe would he not haue hazarded all his power againſt an enemie, of whom he had made no triall; when it had beene eaſie, and as much as was requiſite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his raigne. But he was well beaten; and driuen to ſaue himſelfe within his Trenches: by which loſſe, he learned a point of wiſedome, that ſtood him and his Kingdome in good ſtead, all the daies of his life. It was a fooliſh deſire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracuſians* ſo buſie, in helping thoſe of *Carthage*, againſt the *Mamertines*.

Had *Meſſana* beene taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuſe* it ſelfe muſt haue ſought helpe from *Rome*, againſt thoſe friends which it now ſo diligently aſſiſted. *Hieron* had (in reſpect of thoſe two mightie Cities) but a ſmall ſtock, which it behooued him to gouerne well: ſuch another loſſe would haue made him almoſt bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them ſtand to their aduentures, that had hope to bee gainers by the bargaine. The next day,

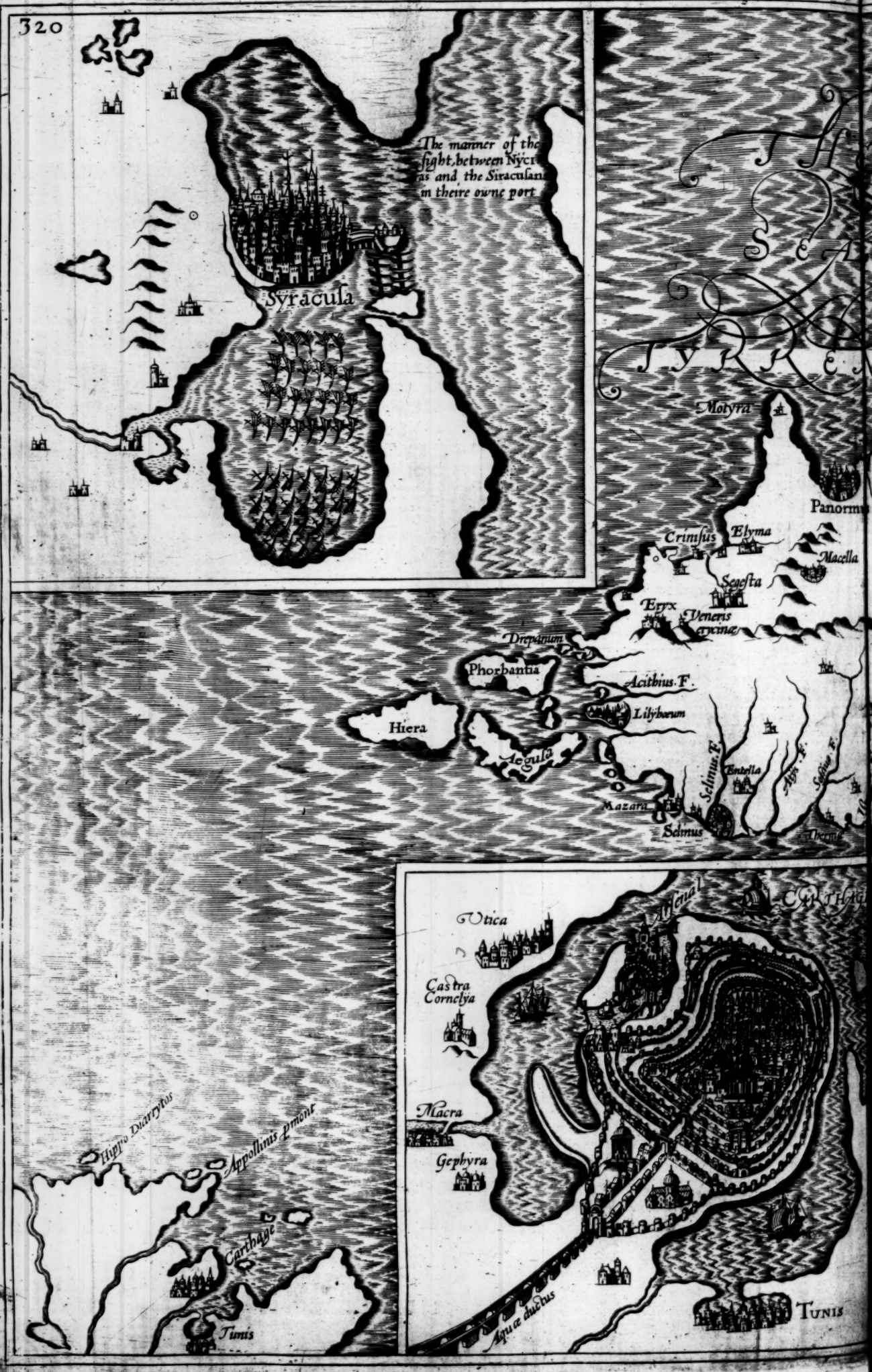
day, *Claudius* perceiuing the *Sicilian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritie of his ſouldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he ſped ſo well, that the enemie forſooke both field and campe, leauing all the Countrie open to the *Romans*; who hauing ſpoiled all round, without reſiſtance, intended to lay ſiege vnto the great Citie of *Syracuſe*.

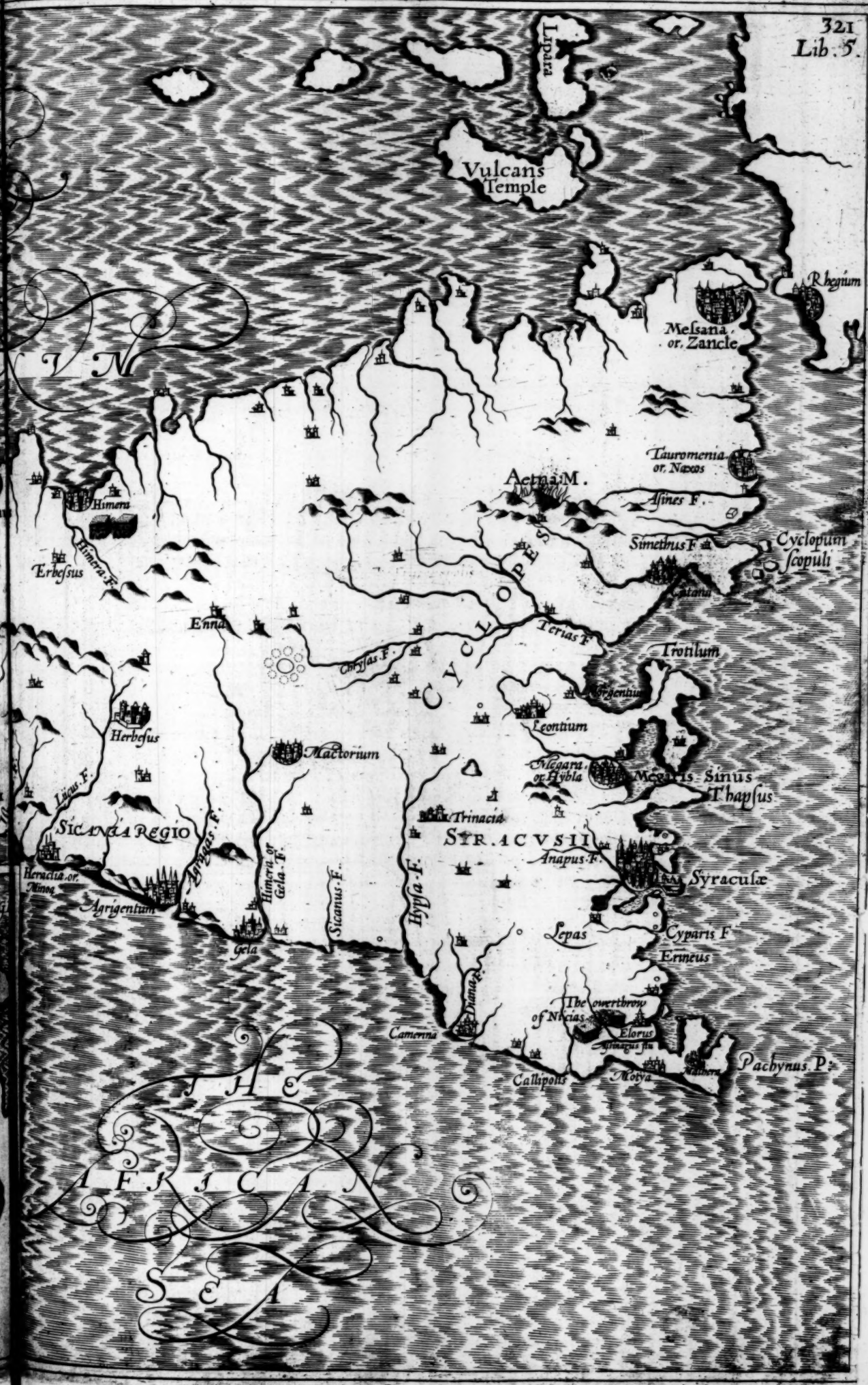
These proſperous beginnings, howſoeuer they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at firſt they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had wel enough repaired greater loſſes than this; in which no more was loſt, than what had beene prepared againſt the *Mamertines* alone, without any ſuſpition of warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it ſeaſonable, to conſider of thoſe grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honeſtie (for queſtionleſſe the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their ſhame) but how allowable in ſtrict termes of lawfulneſſe; whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themſelues, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, diſtreſſed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the meſſengers of thoſe folke, wherof one part had alreadie admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any ſuch ſurrendrie, in the publike name of all their Companie.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull ſurrendrie of themſelues and their poſſeſſions, were become ſubject vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, againſt their moſt ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, againſt the *Samnites*, without the ſame condition? which was (as they themſelues confeſſed) by none at all. But let it be ſuppoſed, that ſome point ſeruing to cleare this doubt, is loſt in all Hiſtories. Doubtleſſe it is, that no companie, of Pirates, Theeues, Outlawes, Murderers, or ſuch other malefactours, can by any good ſucceſſe of their vilanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill ſocieties, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, as moſt pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of ſome *Ciuilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith, with one of theſe; it were a Poſition of ill conſequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to ſuch as theſe, as long as any other is vſing the ſword of vengeance againſt them, without becomming acceſſarie to their crimes. Wherefore, we may eſteeme this action of the *Romans*, ſo farre from being juſtifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this neſt of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they juſtly deſerued to be warred vpon themſelues, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had beene taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlaine, ere any newes of the Confederacie had beene brought vnto the beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo farre perſwaded herein; that he did put to ſword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithſtanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a Companie of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countrie, which theſe of their poſteritie enjoyed. Neuertheleſſe, in courſe of humane juſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion giues *ius acquiſitum*, a kinde of right by preſcription, vnto that which was at firſt obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the deſcendants, from the crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe vilanies they doe not exerciſe. But that the ſame generation of Theeues, which by a deteſtable fact hath purchaſed a rich Towne, ſhould be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no ſhew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by thoſe victories which gaue him firſt poſſeſſion: but length of time is requiſite, to eſtabliſh him, vnleſſe by

ſome


The manner of the fight, between Nycias and the Siraculans in theire owne port
Syracusa
Motyra
Panormus
Crimisus
Elyma
Macella
Segesta
Eryx
Veneris arcinæ
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybæum
Hiera
Aegulæ
Selinus F.
Mazara
Selinus
Utica
Castra Cornelya
Magra
Gephyra
Hippo Diarrytus
Apollinis promont.
Carthage
Tunis
Aquæ ductus
TUNIS


Lipara
Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana, or Zancle
Tauromenia or Naxos
Aetna M.
Asines F.
Himera
Himera F.
Erbessus
Simethus F.
Cyclopum scopuli
Catana
Enna
Terias F.
Chrysas F.
CACLOPES
Trotilum
Agrigentum
Herbessus
Leontium
Macarium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Lycus F.
SICANIA REGIO
Trinacia
SYRACUSII
Anapus F.
Syracusæ
Heraclia or Minoa
Agrigentum
Himera or Gela F.
Sicanus F.
Hypsa F.
Lepas
Cyparis F.
Erineus
Gela
Camerina
Diana
The overthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Asinarus flu.
Pachynus P.
Callipolis
Motya

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ſome alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the firſt, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of juſtice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelfe, in the time of her viſitation, was burnt to ground.

§. IIII.

Of the Iland of Sicil.

†. I.

The qualitie of the Iland: and the firſt Inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer, ſince the firſt victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will bee agreeable vnto the order, which in the like caſes we haue obſerued, to make a briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath beene the ſtage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this preſent Warre.

That *Sicil* was ſometimes a *Peninſula*, or *Demie-Iſle*, adjoyned to *Italie*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, neare vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempeſt ſeuered from the ſame: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuiſion happened, there is no memoriall remayning, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Plinie*, and *Dionyſius*, affirme, that it was cauſed by an earthquake; *Silius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, doe thinke it to haue beene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and ſurges of the Sea. Either of theſe opinions may be true; for ſo was *Eubœa* ſeuered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris*, from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornewall*; and *Britaine* it ſelfe (as may ſeeme by *Verſtegans* arguments) from the oppoſite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their eares to fables, do attribute the cauſe of it to *Neptune* (as *Euſtathius* witneſſeth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of *Iocaſtus*, the ſonne of *Æolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and ſo made it an Iland, which before was but a *Demie-Iſle*; that by that meanes, hee might the more ſafely inhabite, and poſſeſſe the ſame. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Heſiodus*, aſcribeth the labour of ſundring it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountaines) firſt opened the *Sicilian* ſtreights, as *Hercules* did thoſe of *Gibralter*.

Plin. l. 2. c. 91. *Sil. l. 5.*

Orion. l. 4. c. 14. *Diod. l. 6.* *Ouid. de Faſt. 4.*

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greateſt, as *Euſtathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the reſt for bigneſſe, but alſo for goodneſſe of ſoile. As concerning the forme of this Iland, *Pomponius Mela* ſaith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeks*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, all old writers with one conſent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, becauſe it firſt taught the rules of ſetting and ſowing of Corne: to *Proſerpina*, not ſo much, for that ſhee was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as becauſe (which *Plutarch*

tarch and *Diodorus* doe report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soone as shee, vncouering her selfe, first shewed her selfe to be seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granarie*, and *Store-house of the Common-wealth*, *and the Nurse of the vulgar sort*. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place; that it was not only the store-house of the people of *Rome*: but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasurie.

Strabo l. 6. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath vsually cloathed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoeuer *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it not, that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-growne with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields, neere vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe, without any labour, or looking to, of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it sixe Colonies, and sixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authours.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as warre, there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the rauishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*, *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble *Mathematician Archimedes*; the famous *Geometrician Euclides*; the painfull Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sitil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Lestriogones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe joyntly with one consent auerre. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt onely in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the Isle (although some doe so thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe constantly auouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were inuaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driuen by the *Pelasgi* from their owne seates, and finding no place vpon the continent, which they were able to master and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeares before the *Greekes* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eightie yeares before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie *Zancle*, afterward called *Messena*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse* it selfe, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had set vp a Towne in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not knowne, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arriuall dispossesse the *Ætolians* thereof, but some hundred yeares after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Nea*, *Hybla*, *Trinacia*, and diuers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driuen by the *Oenotrians*. These sate downe in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill warre greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we finde the last voiage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Thucydides*, an Historian of vnquestionable sinceritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such businesse, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Daedalus*. The tale goes thus: *Daedalus* flecing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*,

and

and during his aboade there, he built a place of great ſtrength, neere vnto *Megara*, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treaſure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the reſt, he caſt a Ramme in gold, that was ſet vp in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with ſo great arte, as thoſe that beheld it, thought it rather to be liuing, than counterfait.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to inuade the Territorie of *Cocalus*; but when he was arriued, *Cocalus* doubting his own ſtrength, promiſeth to deliuer *Dædalus*. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kills *Minos* by treaſon, and perſwades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it ſeemes) to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their conſent, and builded for themſelues the Citie of *Minoa*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewiſe built the Towne of *Engyum*, now called *Gange*: and theſe were the firſt Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand children of *Minos* ſerued with the *Greeks* at the ſiege thereof.

But after ſuch time as the *Cretans* vnderſtood, that their King had by treaſon beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to inuade *Cocalus*: and landing neere vnto *Camicus*, they beſieged the ſame fiue yeares, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coaſt of *Italie*; and hauing no meanes to repaire their ſhips, nor the honor they had loſt, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, betweene the two famous Ports of *Brunduſium*, and *Tarentum*. Of theſe *Cretans* came thoſe Nations, afterward called *Iapyges*, and *Meſſapij*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Ægeſtus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troups into *Sicil*, and ſeated themſelues among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Ægeſta* and *Elyma*.

It is ſaid, that *Æneas* viſited theſe places in his paſſage into *Italie*: and that ſome of the *Troianes*, his followers, were left behinde him, in theſe Townes of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authours, that make *Æneas* himſelfe the founder.

About the ſame time, the *Phœnicians* ſeiſed vpon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybæum*, and vpon certaine ſmall Iſles adioyning to the maine Iland: which they fortified, to ſecure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* haue done in the Eaſt *India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Moſambiq*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* ſtaied not there; for after they had once aſſured their deſcents, they built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Paletma*.

Theſe we finde, were the Nations, that inhabited the Iſle of *Sicil*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to ſtraggle in thoſe parts.

It may perchance ſeeme ſtrange to the Reader, that in all ancient ſtorie, he findes one and the ſame beginning of Nations, after the floud; and that the firſt planters of all parts of the World, were ſaid to bee mightie and Giantlike men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their firſt Inhabitants; ſo this Iſle of *Sicil* had her *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This diſcourſe I could alſo reject for fained and fabulous; did not *Moſes* make vs know, that the *Zamzummims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Baſan*, with others, which ſometime inhabited the Mountaines and Deſarts of *Moab*; *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, S^t. *Auguſtine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Iſidore*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authours, haue confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Veſputius*, in his ſecond Nauigation into *America*, hath reported, that himſelfe hath ſeene the like men in thoſe parts. Againe, whereas the ſelfe-ſame is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their ſimplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acornes

Saxo G. in præfat. hiſt.

Tertul. de Reſurr. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei l. 15. c. Et quæſt. in Gen. Niceph. l. 2. c. 37. Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. l. 7. c. 2.

cornes and roots, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies, with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages ouer great Riuers, and armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, and then with saile; that they esteemed as Gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were remoued far off from the *Hebrewes*, who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from crueltie and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For we haue now greater Giants, for vice and injustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages and houses of clay and timber, we haue raised Palaces of stone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; insomuch as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the couering of our bodies with the skinnes of beasts, not only to silke and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take reuenge of the excesse, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longior q. auxit, longissima subruit; Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall ouerthrow it.*

†. II.

The plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

WHen the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greeke*, being driuen vpon that coast by an Easterly winde; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had beene thought fabulous, being deliuered onely by Poets; gaue information to the *Athenians* of this his discouerie, and proposed vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *English*. Wherefore hee tooke the same course, that *Columbus* afterwards did. Hee ouer-laboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themselues to bee well enough alreadie) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the rest of the *Greeks* were wiser than our westerne Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the voide places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, neare vnto that Citie, called afterward **Syracuse*: of which, that part onely was then compassed with a

* *Syracuse*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greatest, and most goodly Citie of all that the *Greekes* possest. For the situation is both strong, and of an excellent prospect, from euery entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) enuironed with beautifull building: and that part which was without the Citie, was on both sides bankt vp, and sustained with beautifull walls of Marble. The Citie it selfe was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compasse (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180. furlongs; which made of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (*Strabo* saith, of fiue) to wit, *Insula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatnesse, the ruines and foundations of the walls doe yet witnesse.

wall

wall, which the *Ætolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Naſos*; the *Latines*, *Inſula*. He with his *Corinthians* hauing ouer-come the *Siculi*, draue them vp into the Countrie; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increaſing, they added vnto the Citie of the Iland, that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ſhips, as any Hauen of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertilitie of the ſoyle; *Syracuſe* grew vp in great haſte, to be one of the goodlieſt Townes of the World. In ſhort time the *Greekes* did poſſeſſe the better part of all the Sea-coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themſelues into the faſt and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall reſidence in *Trinacia*.

After ſuch time as the *Dores* of *Peloponneſus* had driuen out the *Sicilians*, this goodly Citie, for a long time became the ſeat of Tyrants The firſt wherof was *Gelo*: The ſecond, *Hiero*, the elder: The third, *Thraſybulus*: The fourth, and fift, *Dionyſius*, the elder, and yonger: The ſixt, *Dion*: The ſeuenth *Agathocles*: The eight, *Pyrrhus*: The ninth, *Hiero* the yonger: The tenth and laſt, *Hieronymus*: who being ſlaine at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it vnder the conduct of *Marcellus*.

Some ſeuen yeares after the arriuall of *Archias*; the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſſe of the *Corinthians*, did aſſaile, and obtaine the Citie of *Leontium*, built and poſſeſt by the *Siculi*. In briefe, the *Greekes* winne from the *Siculi*, and their Aſſociates, the Cities of *Catana*, and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About fiue and fortie yeares after *Archias* had taken *Syracuſe*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Armie into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whoſe Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did erect that magnificent and renowned Citie of *Agrigentum*, gouerned according to the Lawes of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracuſians* alſo, in the ſeuentieth yeare after their plantation, did ſet vp the Citie of *Acra*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth yeare *Caſmena*, in the Playnes adjoyning; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in *Syracuſe*, they built *Camerina*; and ſoone after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the *Cumani*, about the ſame time, recouer from the *Siculi* the Citie of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the ſtreight betweene *Sicil* and *Italie*. They of *Zancle* had beene founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this *Dorieus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, ſoone after inuaded and ruined, though the ſame were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus alſo was built by a Colonie of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Meſſenians*; who hauing loſt their owne Countrie, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchaſe. Such were the beginnings of the greateſt Cities in this Iland.

†. II.

Of the gouernement and affaires of Sicil, before DIONYSIVS *his Tyrannie.*

THe moſt part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till ſuch time as *Phalaris* began to vſurpe the ſtate of *Agrigentum*, and to exerciſe all manner of tyrannie therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a deteſtable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of braſſe, wherein to encloſe men, and ſcorch them to death: prayſing the deuice with this commendation; That the noiſe of one tormented therein, ſhould bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by cauſing the firſt triall to be made vpon himſelfe. Hee raigned one and thirtie yeares, ſaith *Euſebius*; others giue him but ſixteene: Howſoeuer it were, one *Telemachus*, in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and ſtoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*,

euen whileſt the Tyrant was tormenting the ſame *Zeno*, to make him confeſſe ſome matter of conſpiracie.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recouered their libertie, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* vſurped the gouernement of the Common-weale: at which time alſo *Panetius* made himſelfe Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled ſeuen yeares, was ſlaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* ſucceeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Meſſena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diuers other of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. Hee alſo made warre with the *Syracuſians*, and, in the end, got from them, by compoſition, the Citie of *Camerina*. But when he had raigned ſeuen yeares, he was ſlaine in a battell againſt the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracuſians* change their forme of Gouernement, from *Popular* to *Ariſtocraticall*; a preparation towards a Principalitie, whereinto it was ſoone after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (deſcended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, ſeated themſelues in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable ſucceſſe, became Lord of *Gela*. Hee, after his Maſters death, breaking the truſt committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in poſſeſſion of *Gela*, took the occaſion and aduantage of a contention in *Syracuſe*, betweene the Magiſtrates and the People. For comming with a ſtrong Armie to the ſuccour of the Gouernours, driuen out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the firſt, and (indeede) the moſt famous, that euer gouerned the *Syracuſians*. This change hapned in the ſecond yeare of the threeſcore and twelfth *Olympiad*; wherein the better to eſtabliſh himſelfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had alſo vſurped the ſtate of *Agrigentum*.

Pauſan 4.6.

Now this *Gelon*, the ſonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſibulus*: to the firſt of which hee gaue vp the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtayned the Principalitie of *Syracuſe*. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauelled in the ſtrengthning, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuſe*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracuſians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuſe*. The *Megarians* that had moued a warre againſt him, he ouer-came; the richer ſort he brought to *Syracuſe*; and the people he ſold for ſlaues. In like manner dealt he with other places vpon like occaſion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, hauing diſpoſſeſt *Terillus*, of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Meſſena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was alſo ſollicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thouſand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*.

Herod. & Diod.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſent for ſuccour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie paſt the *Helleſpont*. Hee, for their reliefe hauing armed thirtie thouſand Souldiers, and two hundred ſhips, refuſed neuertheleſſe to ſend them into *Greece*, becauſe they refuſed him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or by Land. So he vſed to their Embaſſadors onely this ſaying, *That their Spring was withered*; accompting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the flower of the *Greeke* Nations.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loſſe receiued, fearing the inuaſion of their owne Countrie, ſent to *Gelon* by their Embaſſadors, to deſire peace; who grants it them on theſe conditions; That from thenceforth they ſhould not ſacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they ſhould pay him two thouſand talents of ſiluer; and preſent him with two armed ſhips, in ſigne of amitie. Theſe conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thouſands talents, and the ſhips for warre, they ſent vnto *Demarata*; *Gelon's* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred

hundred talents of gold, with other preſents. Whereby we ſee, that ſome Nations, and ſome Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and *Sicil* in peace; *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subiects, he left the World, and left for his Succeſſour his brother *Hiero*. *Philiſtus* and *Plinie* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the cuſtome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and ſuffered himſelfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother ſucceeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and ſo ſuſpicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſybulus*, as hee ſought by all meanes to deſtroy them. Notwithſtanding all this; by the conuerſation which hee had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the ſtudie of good Arts. Diuers quarrells he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he ſhortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to inuade *Sicil*, fearing the ſuccours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Græcians*, againſt him. Hee alſo ouerthrew in battaile *Thraſydæus*, the ſonne of *Theron*, and thereby reſtored the *Agrigentines*, to their former libertie. But in the end, hee loſt the loue of the *Syracuſians*; and after he had raigned eleuen yeares, he left the Kingdome to his brother *Thraſybulus*, who became a moſt vniuſt and bloudie Tyrant. *Thraſybulus* enioyed his Principalitie no longer then ten moneths. For, notwithſtanding the force of mercinarie Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuſe* by the Citizens; to whom, being beſieged in *Acradina*, hee reſtored the gouernement, and was baniſhed the Iland. From whence he ſailed into *Greece*, where he died a priuate man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracuſians* recouered againe their former libertie, as all the reſt of the Cities did, after which they had neuer ſought, had the Succeſſours of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalitie of *Syracuſe*. For in all changes of Eſtates, the preſeruation ought to anſwere the acquiſition. Where a liberall, valiant, and aduiſed Prince, hath obtained any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himſelfe from being a priuate man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it behoueth the Succeſſour to maintaine it by the ſame way and arte, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuſe* (though not without blowes, ere ſhee could cleanſe her ſelfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Miſtreſſe of her ſelfe, and held her ſelfe free, well-neare threeſcore yeares, to the time of *Dionyſius*; though ſhe were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tindario*.

Now, to preuent the greatneſſe of any one among them, for the future, they deuiſed a kind of baniſhment of ſuch among them, as were ſuſpected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Oſtraciſme*. They called this their new deuiſed judgement of exile, *Petaliſmus*, wherein euery one wrote vpon an Oliue leafe (as at *Athens* they wrote vpon ſhells) the name of him, whom hee would haue expelled the Citie. Hee that had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was baniſhed for fiue yeares. Hereby, in a ſhort time, it came to paſſe, that thoſe of judgement, and beſt able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worſt able, either ſuppreſt, or thruſt out of the Citie. Yea, ſuch as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themſelues as ſecretly as they could; ſeeking ſome place of more ſecuritie, wherein to maintaine themſelues. And good reaſon they had ſo to doe; ſeeing there is nothing ſo terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law laſted not long. For their neceſſitie taught them to aboliſh it, and reſtore againe the wiſer ſort to the Gouernment; from which, the Nobilitie hauing practiſed to baniſh one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*,

that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had alreadie taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Grecian* Cities, and ouerthrowne the Armie of the *Agregentines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an vnworthy Citizen of theirs called *Bolcon*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde *Ducetius*, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Armie he led, as soone as *Ducetius* presented him battaile. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those, whom they had banished, they leuie other troups: by whom, in concluſion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitteth himselfe, and is constrained to leaue the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long, ere hee returned againe, and built the Citie *Collatina* on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greeke* Cities did in a sort acknowledge *Syracuse*: *Trinacia* excepted; which also by force of armes, in the foureſcore and fift *Olympiad*, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enioy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, seeke aide from the *Athenians*, about the sixt yeare of the *Peloponnesian* Warre. In this suite they preuailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœades*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captaines, they inuaded the Territories of the *Syracusians*, and their Partisans; wanne and loſt diuers places; tooke *Messana*; and, in the seuenth yeare of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, loſt it againe. They also at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which inuaded each others Territorie with great violence. But when they had wearied themselues on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the warre; the *Leontines*, without the aduice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusians*, and were admitted into their societie, with equall freedome. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to haue greatned themselues in *Sicil*, by the diuision and ciuill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faine to bee gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and layd an heauy fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable Warre, that euer was made by the *Greekes* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines*, and *Syracusians*, in fauour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egestans*; and they of *Syracuse*, the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the warre. For, the *Athenians* vndertooke the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedæmon* was sent to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainely, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their succour, being in distresse. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discouered their intent to be none other, then the conqueſt of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleeue their owne eies; which presented vnto them a Fleet, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the Citie of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessitie of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath alreadie beene shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken termes of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessarie, either to spare coſt in this great expeditiõ, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by wars

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at home, if their proceedings were slacke abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* beene ouer-passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, and to reserue their forces for a more needfull vse. But yong counsailes preuailed against the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safetie than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath beene alreadie made, in that which wee haue written of the *Peloponnesian* warre. But what was there deliuered in general termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequẽce; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to haue felt a great conuersion.

Though *Alcibiades* had preuailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voiage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the *Segestans*, and to reestablish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*, as also, by force of armes, to subject the *Syracusians*, and all their adherents, in *Sicil*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirtie Gallies, and fiue thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirtie ships of burden, which transported their victualls, engines, and other munitions for the warre: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, sixe thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirtie horse-men. *Thucid. l. 6. c. 9.*

With these troups and fleets they arriue at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to giue them entrie; but sell them victualls for their monie. From thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for their sakes, they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answeres, that these *Egestans* were poore, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shewes of gold, hauing in all but thirtie talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied vnto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduiseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them, to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what disbursements the *Egestans* could make; and so to returne againe into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athens* in a needlesse warre. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of *Sicil* to confederacie against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, hee perswades them to assaile *Syracuse* it selfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they surprize *Catana*: & there they take new counsaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to those of *Egista*, who receiued from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred & twentie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations, & vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assaile *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* hauing beene accused at home, in his absence, was sent for backe by the *Athenians*, to make his answere: and the Armie was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neare vnto *Syracuse*, by this deuice.

They imploy to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise vnto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliuer into their hands all the *Athenians*, within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the meane while, the *Athenians*, setting saile from *Catana*, arriue at *Syracuse*, where they land at faire ease, and fortifie themselues against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the losse: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victorie to any great effect. They then retire themselues, with a resolutiõ to refresh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-season.

From thence they made an attempt vpon *Messana*, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vaine. For *Alcibiades* had discouered such as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Messenians*. This he now did, in despight of his owne Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to haue put him to death, or to haue banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them hee gaue mischieuous counsaile against his countrey. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadours to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aide: as likewise the *Athenian* Captaines in *Sycil*, send to *Athens*, for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the *Peloponnesian* warre) the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, saile from the Port of *Catana*, to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence forraging the Countrie, they obtaine some small victories ouer the straggling *Syracusians*: and at their returne to *Catana*, they receiue a supply of two hundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Iland, from the *Segestians*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a companie of Archers and with three hundred talents in monie.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neere *Syracuse*, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians*, that sallied to impeach their intrenchments. They also receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hūdred other horse, to mount their men at armes. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receiue diuers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slaine.

In the meane while, *Gylyppus*, and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Corinthian* forces arriue, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyne with them; so that with these and his own troups, *Gylippus* aduentured to march ouer-land towards *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arriual neere vnto the Citie, vpon a place of aduantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusian* horse-men could not come to fight in those streights: but soone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himselfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters, to the *Athenians*; shewing, that, without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Armie remaining. These letters receiued, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generalls, *Eurymedon*, and *Demosthenes*, to joyne with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supply; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylyppus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land, somtimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he tooke from them their Fort, neere vnto *Syracuse*, at the *Promontorie*, called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their prouisions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the *Athenians* themselues, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the Warre in *Sicil*, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleete: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicil*; the one to succour *Nicias*; the other, *Gylippus*. The losse betweene them was in effect equall; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arriued to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthenes*

nes arriued with three-ſcore and thirteene Gallies, charged with foot-men; and (blaming the ſlouth of *Nicias*) he inuaded the *Syracuſians*, the ſame day that he arriued. But he made more haſte, than he had good ſpeede, being ſhamefully beaten, and repulſed with great loſſe. Hereupon *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to riſe vp from before *Syracuſe*, and returne to the ſuccour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* diſputed to the contrarie, pretending that hee had good intelligence within *Syracuſe*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatſoeuer *Nicias* his intelligence was; vpon the arriuall of a new ſupply into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all conſented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipſe of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill ſucceſſe, cauſed them to deferre their departure. But this ſuperſtition coſt them deare. For the *Syracuſians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with three-ſcore and ſeuenteene ſaile of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuſe*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themſelues. The *Athenians*, in the ſame Port encountred them with foure-ſcore and ſixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the leſſer number, and *Eurymedon* ſlaine. Now, though it were ſo, that the *Syracuſians* receiued the more loſſe by Land (for the fight was generall) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kinde they thought themſelues inuincible, they were wonderfully caſt downe. For it was well ſaid of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracuſians*; *When any people doe finde themſelues vanquiſhed in that manner of fight, and with thoſe weapons, in which they perſwade themſelues that they exceede all others, they not only looſe their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, beſides the Gallies ſunck and wrackt, had ſeuenteene taken, and poſſeſt by the enemie: and with great labour and loſſe they defended the reſt from being fired, hauing drawne them within a *Paliſado*, in one corner of the Port, vnaduiſedly: for it is as contrarie to a Sea-warre, to thruſt ſhips into a ſtreight roome and corner, as it is to ſcatter foot in a plaine field againſt horſe; the one ſubſiſting, by being at large; the other, by cloſe imbattailing.

The *Syracuſians*, hauing now weakned the *Athenian* fleet, reſolue to impriſon them within the Port. And to that purpoſe they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauen, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Veſſels, which they man moſt ſtrongly, becauſe the *Athenians*, being now made deſperate, ſhould not with double ranks of Gallies breake through the *Syracuſian* fleet; which lay but ſingle, becauſe they were forſt to range themſelues ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themſelues ſtrongly by their Anchors, but chained the ſides of their Gallies together, and layd behinde them againe certaine ſhips, which ſerued in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were ſunke; or the chaine, which joined them to their fellowes, broken; the *Athenians* might yet finde themſelues, a ſecond time, intangled and arreſted. To diſorder alſo thoſe *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a paſſage, the *Syracuſians* had left within theſe Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certaine number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and furie. For where the way of any veſſell, vſing oare or ſailes, is broken, and their ſpeede fore-ſlowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the reſiſtance oppoſing.

On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were vtterly loſt, except with an inuincible reſolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolue to hazard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred and ten, of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit ſome few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being ſtopt by the ſhips without, and aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the Sea,

they

they were either taken or ſunke. Three great diſaduantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Hauen, and (as it were) in a ſtreight, they had no roome to turne themſelues, nor to free themſelues one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that hauing ouer-peſtered their Gallies with Souldiers, who vſed offenſiue armes of darts and ſlings, they had not place vpon the decks to ſtretch their armes: the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſaue themſelues by running away. To be ſhort, the fight was no leſſe terrible than the confuſion; the ſlaughter great on all ſides; and the noiſe, and the cries, ſo lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſuruiued, were beaten back to the Land, with loſſe of threeſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunke, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo looſe twentie of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themſelues into the bottome of the Port, ſaued themſelues by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counſell. *Demoſthenes* perſwades them, to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent victorie, to ſet vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counſaile. For, as we haue heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greateſt number of all that haue beene victorious) that haue neglected the ſpeedie proſecution of a beaten enemie; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who, hauing ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſſe, haue beene ſuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue therby loſt againe all the honour, and aduantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the aduice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Sea-men were againſt it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all reſolue to march ouer land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more fauourable fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* Captaines, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelues preſently into the field, and to ſtop all the paſſages, leading to thoſe Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt vs both the *Indian* fleet, and the ſpoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Countrimen to any haſtie proſecution, deuiſed this good ſtratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, hee ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to giue him aduice not to march away ouer-haſtily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alleaging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long ſtay there, vpon the paſſages & places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. Theſe tidings *Nicias* eaſily beleeued, and put off his iournie to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearefull than wiſe; and to them, euery thiſtle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leauing all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cries of thoſe that were ſick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies ſwords. The reſt march away, to the number of fortie thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, ouer the Riuer of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, & by the *Syracuſian* horſe-men, beaten in from forraging, and prouiſion of foode, they grow weake and heartleſſe. The *Syracuſians* alſo poſſeſſe the Mountaine *Lepas*, by which they were to paſſe towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back againe towards the Sea coaſt, and to take what

what way they could: being vnable to proceede in their journey intended. Many hard ſhifts they made, in difficult paſſages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other meanes to eſcape from the enemie that purſued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmiſhing. To keepe all in order, *Nicias* vnder-tooke the leading of the Vantgard; and *Demoſthenes* conducted the Reare. At the Riuer *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the ſtart of a whole nights march, leauing *Demoſthenes* to make the retrait: who being incompaſſed, and ouerpreſt with numbers, in the end renders himſelfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worſe than he ſuſpected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in priſon. The Armie of *Demoſthenes* being diſſolued, they purſue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the paſſage of the Riuer *Aſſinarus*, rendred himſelfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honeſt conditions. *Gylippus* ſought to preſerue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought theſe two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble enemie to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they receiued at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had ſaued the liues of the vanquiſhed; *Demoſthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greateſt hurt. *Hermocrates* alſo, the Commander of the *Syracuſian* Armie, diſſwaded the reſt, by all the arte he had, from vſing any barbarous violence, after ſo noble a victorie. But the cruell, and the cowardly ſort, (cowardiſe and crueltie, being inſeparable paſſions) preuailed, and cauſed theſe braue Captaines to be miſerably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to bee ſtarued in lothſome priſons; and the reſt, ſold for ſlaues. This was the ſucceſſe of the *Sicilian* warre: which tooke end at the riuer *Aſſinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the foureſcore and eleuenth *Olympiad*.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egeſtans* (for whoſe defence, againſt the *Selinuntines*, this late warre had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracuſians*, ſought helpe from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themſelues, and their Citie, as their Vaſſals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicil*, yet conſidering the proſperitie of the *Syracuſians*, and their late victories ouer the *Athenians*, they ſtaied a while to diſpute of the matter, whether they ſhould refuſe, or accept, the offer made vnto them: for the *Selinuntines* were ſtreightly allied to the *Syracuſians*, as may appeare by what is paſt. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* reſolue vpon the enterpriſe; and (by a trick of their *Punick* wit) to ſeparate the *Syracuſians* from the *Selinuntines*, they ſend Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the *Egeſtans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reaſon, and to reſt content with ſo much of the lands in queſtion, as they of *Syracuſe* ſhould thinke meet to allow them. The *Syracuſians* approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no ſuch appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the *Syracuſians*, with whom they had run one courſe of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, ſhould offer to trouble them, by interpoſing as Arbitrators, in a buſines, that themſelues could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would haue it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace craue aide of *Syracuſe*; and the *Syracuſians* as ill grant it vnto thoſe, that had refuſed to ſtand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thouſand men is ſet out from *Carthage*, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great *Carthaginian* Armie at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imploiment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them hauing beene ſlaine by the *Himerans*; the other by thoſe of *Selinus*. Both theſe Cities, *Hannibal*, in this warre, wonne by force of armes, ſackt them, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thouſand of the *Himerans* priſoners, he cauſed them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was ſlaine, and buried them there.

After this followed ſome trouble at *Syracuſe*, occaſioned by the baniſhment of *Hermocrates*,

Hermocrates, who had lately beene Generall of the *Syracusian* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so farre preuailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their warre against *Athens*; wherein hee did great seruice. All the honester sort within *Syracuse* were sorie for the injurie done vnto him, and sought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Armie of sixe thousand; with which he beganne to repaire *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to winne the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; wherby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to rise against the aduerse partie. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict hee was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them wish *Hermocrates* aliue againe.

†. IIII.

Of DIONYSIVS *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuse.*

THe *Syracusians* had enjoyed their libertie about threescore yeares, from the death of *Thrasybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their crueltie towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now bee taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the Principalitie of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselues Masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* it selfe. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warr. Then beganne he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of sixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers; alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to raigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did hee helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their libertie, the barres that held it vnder safe custodie. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needie, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyrannie; being but fiue and twentie yeares of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his desire to raigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the *Citadell*; wherein was much good prouision, and vnder it the Gallies were mored. This hee obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare: The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needie sort within *Syracuse*, that could not thriue

thriue by honeſt courſes; and ſome neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for his eſtabliſhing the faction, raigning at that preſent, were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Hauing therefore gotten the *Citadell* into his hands, he needed no more, ſaue to aſſure what hee had alreadie. Hee ſtrengthned himſelfe by diuers marriages; taking firſt to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius*, his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus*, and ſiſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*, which bare vnto him many children, that ſerued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (enuying his proſperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes againſt him, euen in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterpriſe was more paſſionately, than wiſely gouerned. He had ſhamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſte all, that hee might afterwards take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelues from his tyrannie. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ranſaked his treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his wife, that for the griefe thereof ſhee poiſoned her ſelfe. But hee followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred ſoone enough to take reuenge, by making a ſpeedie riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his knowne, no, not of his ſuſpected enemies. After that, he grew ſo doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any perſon, no, not ſo much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnſtript and ſearched. He was the greateſt Robber of the people, that euer raigned in any State; and withall the moſt vnreſpectiuely cruell.

After this, he ſeparated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the *Iland*, from the reſt; like as the *Spaniard* did the *Citadell* of *Antwerpe*: therein he lodged his treaſures, and his Guards.

He then beganne to make warre vpon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while hee lay before *Herbeſſe*, an in-land Towne, the *Syracuſians* rebelled againſt him; ſo, as with great difficultie hee recouered his *Citadell*: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their paſſage through the Citie, with one thouſand and two hundred horſe, hee againe recouered the maſterie ouer the *Syracuſians*. And when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their Harueſt, he diſarmed all the Townes-men remayning: and new ſtrengthned the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. He incloſed that part alſo, called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand labourers, hee finiſhed in three weekes; being two leagues in compaſſe. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thouſand Targets, with as many ſwords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thouſand corſlets, and all other ſutable armes. Which done, he ſent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly enfeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greeke* Townes, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make warre vpon them: and, not ſtaying for anſwere, he tooke the ſpoile of all the *Phœnician* ſhips, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh*, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with foureſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and ſends his brother *Leptines* to ſea, with two hundred Gallies, and fiue hundred ſhips of burden. Moſt of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yeelded vnto him; ſauing *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyra*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of theſe, he firſt wonne *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the ſword; but before *Egeſta* hee loſt a great part of his Armie, by a ſallie of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arriues; but, ere he tooke land, he loſt in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ſhips of warre, and fiue thouſand Souldiers, beſides many ſhips of burden. This notwithſtanding, hee recouered againe *Motya* vpon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſena*,

sena, he tooke *Lypara*, and (soone after) *Messena*, and rased it to the ground. Now beganne *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. Hee therefore fortified all the places hee could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which hee supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward *Syracuse*; and he himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was vtterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twentie thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authours tell vs; That one Citie should be able to furnish fiue hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twentie thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, we heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer hapned in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the fift went to besiege *Algier*, hee had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of ships, and threescore and fiue Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spaine*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italie*. But in old times it was the manner to carrie into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our daies it is not so; neither indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, *Dionysius* postes away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, hauing receiued aide from the *Lacedæmonians*, vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recouer their libertie. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding aduantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the *Carthaginians*; as it is said, that aboue an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for a great summe of monie; on condition that he should steale away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behinde him. The rest of the *Africans* fell vnder the swords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while brauely defended themselues, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbeare to deliuer vnto memorie the like practises, when they meete with their matches: That which hapned vnto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very sutable to this treacherie, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present, when *De Piles* related the injurie done vnto him. He had rendered *St. Iohn d' Angelie*, to the *French* King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. Hee rendred it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safetie, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anion* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshalls of *France*, he was set vpon, and broken in his march; spoiled of all that he had; and forced to saue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with ensignes displaid, and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit auailing him. It needes not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus break his faith, since

Kings,

Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionyſius, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie *Meſſena*. *Mago*, who ſtaied in *Sicil*, to hold vp the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beaten by *Dionyſius*; who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupply of foureſcore thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but they take egges for their monie, and make peace with *Dionyſius*, leauing the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to ſhift for themſelues: whom *Dionyſius*, after a long ſiege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

He then paſt into *Italie*, obtained diuers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & foureſcore thouſand crownes, to furniſh him with threeſcore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſeruance of couenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to performe vnto them the peace that they had ſo dearely bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might beſiege them, and ruine them vtterly, with the more eaſe. Now to the ende hee might not, without ſome colour, falſifie the faith that hee had giuen to them; he pretended to want victual for his Armie, at ſuch time as hee ſeemed ready to depart out of *Italie*, and ſent to them to furniſh him therewith; promiſing to returne them the like quantitie, at his comming home to *Syracuſe*.

His reſolution was, that if they refuſed to furniſh him, hee would then make their refuſall the cauſe of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he deſired, that then they ſhould not be able, for want of food, to endure a ſiege any long time againſt him. For to ruine them hee had fully determined, at what price ſoeuer. And great reaſon he had to take reuenge of them, if he had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his raigne, he deſired them to beſtow a daughter of ſome of their Nobilitie vpon him, for a wife: they anſwered, That they had not any one fit for him, ſaue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words. *Alexander* the Great forgaue many ſharpe ſwords, but neuer any ſharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truely of his errours. And certainely, it belongs to thoſe that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes: and to none elſe, eſpecially in publique.

It is ſaid, that *Henrie* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed againſt the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biting taunts, that hee vſed againſt him before *Amiens*, than for his conſpiracie with the *Spaniard*, or *Sauoyan*: for he had pardoned tenne thouſand of ſuch as had gone farther, and drawne their ſwords againſt him. The contemptuous words that Sir *Iohn Parret* vſed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfait letter of the Romiſh Prieſt, produced againſt him. So fared it with ſome other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the ſame, and a worſe fortune, ſoone after.

To bee ſhort, hee made them know new bread from old. Hee aſſaulted their Towne on al ſides, which he continued to doe eleuen moneths, till he wonne it by force. He vſed his victorie without mercie; ſpecially againſt *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres hee made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and raſing of this Citie; and thoſe with variable ſucceſſe. For as in one encounter hee ſlue *Mago*, with ten thouſand *Africans*: ſo the ſonne of *Mago* beat him, and ſlue his brother *Leptines*, with foureteene thouſand of his Souldiers. After which hee bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Proſperitie and Aduerſitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had raigned eight and thirtie yeeres, he died: some say, in his bedde, peaceably; which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a fooliſh one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, hee gaue order to haue him slaine, or sold for a slaue. For he could endure no man, that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stiled his crueltie, *The hate of euill men*; and his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his iustice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men doe: and I wonder not at it; for it is a world: and as our *Sauiour Christ* hath told vs, *The World will loue her owne*.

To this *Dionysius*, his sonne of the same name succeeded; and inherited both his Kingdome, and his Vices. To winne the loue of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, hee remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that hee had fastned vnto himselfe the peoples affections; he cast off the Sheepes skinne, and put on that of the Woolfe. For being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to bee slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath beene said) had two Wiues; *Doris* of *Locris*; and *Aristomache* a *Syracusian*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* hee had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him: and by *Aristomache* he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrosyne*, he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the yonger, called *Areta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death, *Dion* tooke her to Wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a just, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that hee was wholly giuen ouer to sensualitie, preuailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to instruct the youg King. And hauing perswaded the King to entertaine him, hee wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* beganne to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dions* seueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour; and caused him soone after to be banished out of *Sicil*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies found meanes, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that al the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, then to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilest *Dion*, in the meane time hauing furnished fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himself Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which hee made, to serue the King with so great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had serued the King for none other ende, than to raise and enrich themselues, and had already beene raised and enriched, thought themselues bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceiue

ceiue it aright. But theſe couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to ſtile his *Loue* and *Liberalitie*, *Pride* and *Preſumption*; and heartned the yong King, in his oppreſſing, and eating vp his owne people, of whoſe ſpoiles they themſelues ſhared no ſmall portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulſe at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Corteſe*, one of the braueſt men that euer *Spaine* brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the ſiege at his owne charge. But he had neuer good day after it. For they that enuied his victories, and his conqueſt of *Mexico* in the weſt *Indies*, perſwaded the Emperour, that *Corteſe* ſought to value himſelfe aboue him; and to haue it ſaid, That what the Emperour could not, *Corteſe* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly baniſhed, the Tyrant was contented, at firſt, to ſend him the reuenewes of his Lands, and permit him to diſpoſe of his moueables, at his own pleaſure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in ſhort time. Had he continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue beene well pleaſed to liue well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after ſome time, *Dionyſius* made Port-ſale of this Noble-mans goods; and thereby vrged him to take another courſe; euen to ſeeke the reſtitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, eſpecially his great liberalitie, had purchaſed much loue in *Greece*. This loue made him ſuſpected and hated of the Tyrant: but it ſtood him in good ſtead, when he ſought to raiſe men, with whoſe helpe he might returne into *Sicil*. Yet he got not aboue eight hundred (for hee caried the matter cloſely) to follow him in this aduenture. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuſe*, as many as ſhould be needfull, that would readily aſſiſt him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*; marched to *Syracuſe*; entred the Citie without reſiſtance; armed the multitude; and wonne all, ſaue the *Citadell*.

Dionyſius was then abſent in *Italie*; but hee quickely had aduertiſement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned haſtily to *Syracuſe*: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and ſome forceable attempts to recouer the Towne, he was faine to depart; leauing yet the Caſtle to the cuſtodie of *Apollocrates*, his eldeſt ſonne. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philiſtus*, comming with a ſtrength of men to aſſiſt him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recouerie of his Countries libertie, had the ſame reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Eſtates. He was diſgraced, aſſaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himſelfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great ioy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuſe*, new troups enter the Caſtle: they ſallie out, aſſaile, ſpoile, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is ſent for, with humble requeſt: yet, ere hee could arriue, *Dionyſius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townesmen, thinking themſelues ſecure, ſhut the gates againſt *Dion*. But the next night they of the Caſtle ſallie againe, with greater furie then euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and ſet fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the ſecond time to their ſuccour; the loue of his Countrie ſurmounting all the injuries that he had receiued. Hee ſets vpon the Garriſon of the Caſtle, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire, euery-where kindled, with the other part. In concluſion, after he had conquered both the fire and the ſword, that had well-neere burnt to aſhes, and depopulated *Syracuſe*, he recouered the Caſtle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and ſent *Apollocrates*, after *Dionyſius* his Father, into *Italie*. But their malice, of whom he had beſt deſerued, and whom he had loued moſt, gaue an vntimely ende to his dayes. For he was ſoone after this his victorie, murdered by *Calyppus*; who, after he had, with ill ſucceſſe, a while gouerned *Syracuſe*, was ſlaine with the ſame Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeeres after the death of *Dion*, *Dionyſius*, with the aſſiſtance of his friends in *Italie*, recouers his eſtate, and returnes to *Syracuſe*, driuing *Nyſæus* thence, whom he

found Gouernour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more then euer, his crueltie, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracusian* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not onely to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The *Syracusians*, being deseruingly afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Icetes* also sends thither, and disswades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land any Armie in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Icetes*, more inraged then disswaded, sent *Timoleon* with nintreene Gallies, to deliuer *Syracuse* from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuse*, and with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, driuen *Dionysius* into the Castle, where hee besieged him.

Icetes, being himselfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arriued at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*; whose Captaines aduised *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, then he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vsed to him in priuate; that he might, by publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselues, that a victorie, obtayned by a few faire words, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleons* desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, fauoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the presse; and hauing set saile, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recouered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully receiued by *Andromachus* the Gouernour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, were surpising *Icetes* his Armie, hee slue a part thereof, and put the rest to runne. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The *Adranitans* ioyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld vp himself, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie daies, after his arriuall, had recouered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to liue there a priuate man, was still inuaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Icetes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the Castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are staid in *Italie* by foule weather. *Icetes* is strengthned with threescore thousand *Africans*, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Icetes* assaulteth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victualls, and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* doe therefore resolue to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captaine of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arriue: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth

Icetes,

Icetes, being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might easily haue conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of farther punishment, he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats downe the Castle (which he called *the nest of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the Citie when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feede on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to *Corinth*, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italie*; others, from other parts of the Iland.

But a new storme ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arriue about *Lilybæum*, with threescore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their prouisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a Riuer.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boysterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are vtterly broken: ten thousand slain; fiue thousand taken; with all their carriages and prouisions: among which there were found a thousand corslets, gilt, and grauen. After this *Timoleon*, gaue an ouerthrowe to *Icetes*, and following his victorie, tooke him, with his sonne *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great crueltie) he suffered *Icetes* his wiues and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife and a yong child of his, with *Aristomache* his sister, to to be cast into the Sea. *Plut. in vit. Tim.*

He againe preuailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and wonne *Catana* it selfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, wonne the towne; deliuering *Hippon*, to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*; on condition, That they should nor passe the Riuer of *Lycus*. After this, he liued in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnely buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funeralls, being for euer ordained to bee kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered *Syracuse*, from the tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the inhabitants enioyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enioyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthie to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

Twentie yeares after the death of *Timoleon*, there started vp an *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to bee a *Prætor*; finally became Lord and Soueraigne of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ranne, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principalitie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was imployed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their warres against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable seruice: and on the contrarie, as memorable seruice for the *Murgantines*, against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so streightly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and naturall enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians*, to relieue *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace betweene himselfe and

the *Syracusians*; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and seruant to the state of *Carthage*, for euer after. *Amilcar* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betweene *Agathocles*, and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen *Prætor*; he entertaines fiue thousand *Africans*, and diuers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented *Syracusians* (the Citie being also diuided into many factions) he assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; diuides the spoile of the rich, among the poore; and giues libertie to his Souldiers, to robbe, to rauish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls; their furie had no further subject to worke on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sickenesse, by which the common-wealth was vtterly consumed, he found no better, than the violēt remedies, which he had administred; & that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an *Oligarchie*, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient & indifferent *Democratie*, by which it had beene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For as hee knew, that hee had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, then the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had beene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a peece of his patterne; but the one was of base; the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertie from a Common-weale; the other sought only to succeede in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the other, after he had obtayned the Crowne, sought, by making of good lawes, to recouer the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Iustine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him fiue thousand men to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyrannie, and to let him vexe and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that he should reduce all *Sicil* into such termes, as would make it become an easie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meere falsehood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redresse. Embassadours were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his couenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africke*, and a new Captaine appointed to succeede in his charge, with such forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not harken to it. All this tended, to saue their Confederates from suffering such iniuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it seuerely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so reserued, vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had some notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusian*, as

gaue

gaue him not onely meanes to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelfe, both in power and authoritie, euen againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtome of thoſe, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices: thinking to deale ſubtilly, and finely, they ſpinne their threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* ſaw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deale ſubſtantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked deuices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into ſo much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which ſome of his forego-
10 ers had taught him; and, for feare of ſuch a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerued to informe *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolued to get the ſtart of them in action. He diſſembled no longer; but, inſtead of ſpoile and robberie, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his owne, ere the *Carthaginian* forces arriued: which thinking to haue encountred an ill-eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them ſharpe entertainement. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their
20 buſineſſe vndone, and returne into *Africk*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furniſhed, was broken by foule weather, and the beſt part of it caſt away, euen whileſt it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the ſonne of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of this ſhip-wrack, was bold to paſſe ouer into *Sicil*, and landed not farre from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was ſoone readie to examine the cauſe of their comming. Many skirmiſhes paſſed betweene them, in which (commonly) the *Syracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſſe begat preſumption; whereby he loſt a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerſe chance is enough to ouerthrow the ſtate of a Tyrant, if it be not vp-held by great
30 circumſpection. The warre was ſoone transferred to the walls of *Syracuſe*; within which *Agathocles* was cloſed vp, and driuen to make his laſt defence by their helpe, who may be judged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great maſſacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new tyrannie, were (for the moſt part) ſuch, as had beene either mercinarie Souldiers, infranchiſed ſlaues, or baſe and needie people; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent Gouernement, and Executioners of the murders, and ſpoile, committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerued, and (withall) ſo fearfull, that they durſt not ſtirre. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelues and their Citie; Famine
40 was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſitie, *Agathocles* aduentured vpon a ſtrange courſe, which the euent commended, as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in thoſe veſſells that rode in the Hauen; and committing the gouernment of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himſelfe of a meane, both to raiſe the ſiege, and to repaire all other loſſes. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the beſieged from iſſuing forth.

Now, at ſuch time as *Agathocles* was readie to depart, aduertiſement came, that many ſhips of burden, laden with corne, and other prouiſions, were drawing neere
50 vnto *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe, the *Carthaginians* hoiſe ſaile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not farre gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, iſſuing forth of the Port, with purpoſe (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor fled back into the Citie,

Citie, but made all speede towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten into *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieued by their comming, for that *Agathocles* had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admirall perceiued; first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leisure to doe mischiefe in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Nauie followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselues, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them; and, hauing sunke, or taken many, draue the rest to flie which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his voiage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discouer vnto them his project; letting them vnderstand, That there was no better way to diuert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Ile of *Sicil*, than by bringing the warre to their owne dores. For here (said hee) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercinarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if wee offer greater wages than they can giue: which wee may better promise and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus hee talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many braue wordes encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reseruing one or two, to vse as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, saue only in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; which after they had throughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians*, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroied in *Sicil*. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage*, vnto the enemie; they raise a great Armie, and know not vnto whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno*, and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldome happens, that dissension betweene Commanders produceth any fortunate euent. Necessitie draue *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolued to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stirre: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in peeces.

The reputation of this victorie, brought ouer a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* societie, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victorie, wins many Townes, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good successe. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to succour the state of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilest hee was trauailing in the conquest of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* sends them fiue thousand men: all his forces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to bee drawne home

home by one, that could ſcarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But theſe good hopes had a bad iſſue. He ſpent ſome time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the *Syracuſians*: and hauing brought his matters to ſome good order, he conceiued a ſudden hope of taking *Syracuſe* by ſurpriſe. It was a prettie (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that he ſhould ſuppe the next day within *Syracuſe*. His fancie begot this dreame, and he belieued it. He made more haſte, than good ſpeede, toward the Citie: and comming vpon it on the ſudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambuſh to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried priſoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that he had no great cheare to his ſupper: for they ſtruck off his head, and ſent it into *Africk* (a welcome preſent) to *Agathocles*.

This good ſucceſſe of things at home, did put ſuch courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and ſtile himſelfe *King of Africk*. He had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promiſes to deliuer the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he ſaid) it was ſufficient vnto himſelfe to haue diuerted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might raigne quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Sicilian*, taking an aduantage, did murder this his aſſiſtant; and afterwards, by good words, and great promiſes, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his warres. Thus his villanie found good ſucceſſe; and he ſo preuailed in *Africk*, that he got leiſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*. Many Townes in *Sicil* had imbraced a deſire of recouering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had ſo long beene expoſed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. Theſe had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cauſe: when the comming of *Agathocles* abated their high ſpirits, and his good ſucceſſe in many fights, compelled them to obedience. Out of *Sicil* he returned into *Africk*, where his affaires ſtood in very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his ſonne, had loſt a battaile; and (which was worſe) had ill meanes to help himſelfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accuſtomed promiſes of great bootie and ſpoile. It had now beene time for him, to offer peace to the *Carthaginians* which to obtaine, they would (queſtionleſſe) haue giuen to him, both monie enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their Citie had beene diſtreſſed, not only by this his warre, but by the treaſon of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himſelfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conqueſt of *Carthage* it ſelfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the loſſe of a battaile, not ſo memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the ſtrange euents following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old ſacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abſtained, euer ſince they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of ſome, the goodlieſt of their priſoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the ſaid Idoll, in way of thankefulneſſe for their victorie. The fire, with which theſe vnhappie men were conſumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings neereſt vnto the Altar; and ſpreading it ſelfe farther through the Campe, with the deſtruction of many men, cauſed ſuch a tumult, as is vſuall in the like caſes. At the ſame time, the like accident of fire burnt vp the Pauilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleeuing, that the noiſe in the aduerſe Campe, was a ſigne of the enemies comming to inuade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a ſafe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a ſecond errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had reuolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the laſt battaile) hee beganne to aſſaile them, and was ſo ſtoutly reſiſted, that he loſt, in this blinde fight,

aboue

aboue foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neere hope of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, hee knew no more how to moderate his present weake feares, than lately he had knowne how to gouerne his ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to steale closely aboord his ships, with his yonger sonne (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flie into *Sicil*; thinking it the best course, to shift for himselfe, as wanting vessells wherein to transport his Armie. His elder sonne, *Archagathus*, perceiued his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by meanes of a sudden tumult, hee was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leauing both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noised through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage caused not only the common Souldier, but euen such as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base; I neede not vse wordes to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriuing him of the succours which reason offered, the sequele doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians:* to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuertheless, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace with *Carthage* vpon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discouered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his feares, vrged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deuised new engines of torment; wherein striuing to exceede the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brasse, that should serue to scortch mens bodies, and withall giue him leaue to behold them in their miserie. So deuillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slaue to his brutish affections. In these mischiefes he was so outragious, that he neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preserue his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom hee had chased out of their Countrie, tooke armes against him, and draue him into such feare, that hee was faine to seeke the loue at *Carthage*, which, by ruling well, he might haue had in *Sicil*. He freely deliuered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Townes of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They requited him honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and siluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he preuailed against the Rebells, and setled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in *Sicil*, hee made a voiage into *Italie*. There hee subdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yeelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoile the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he beleiue those to be gods, that had continually giuen deafe eares to his horrible periuries? Then hee returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grieuous sickneſſe fell vpon him, that rotted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only *Theogenia* (a wife that hee had taken out of *Ægypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a yonger sonne of his owne, beganne to contend about the Kingdome.

Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slue his Vncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdome without asking any leaue. These tidings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with feare and sorrow. He saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom hee knew that no fauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only hee now held deare, which were, *Theogenia*, and her children. Therefore hee aduised her and them to flie before they were surprised: for that otherwise they could by no meanes auoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. Hee gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselues hastily, and make speede into *Ægypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as he first beganne it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines* his Souldiers traiterously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the Iland. Then also did the *Carthaginians* beginne to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driuen to send for *Pyrrhus* to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soone wearie of the Countrie (as hath beene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champaine field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superioritie. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speede, the order of our Storie will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman warre in Sicil. How HIERON, *King of Syracuse, forsooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.*

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at *Messana*, brought the warre vnto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfe by what meanes he could, when they were not in case to giue him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once hee had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilest *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the masterie. In this good moode, the new *Roman* Consulls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vse of their present aduantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consulls had brought a great Armie into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring ouer *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusian* held them busied (which I finde not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no lesse to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to runne into manifest perill of subuersion, for their sakes, that should haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without strayning them-

themselues to giue him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the daies of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare out a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the easier against them both. Yet indeede, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had beene, when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason, to trie the vttermost hazard of warre against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into slaverie: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient, if they could with- 10
draw it from the partie of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be gouerned by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as he might preserue his owne tyranie: the later, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to winne the loue of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that hee enjoyed a long and happie raigne, liuing deare to his owne Subjects, beloued of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, *That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie*, made vnwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the *Romans*, made vnable to compasse it. 20

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Sea-fight in generall.

HIERON, having sided himselfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victuals, and other necessaries: so that they, presuming vpon his 30
assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spaine*, to come to their aide; who being arriued, they made the Citie of *Agrigentum*, the seat of the warre, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly Citie, built by the *Geloi*, vnder conduct of *Arision* and *Pystilus*. The compasse was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This Citie, by reason of the fertilitie of the soile, and the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glorie and riches. The plentie and luxurie thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, That the *Agrigentines* built *Palaces* of such sumptuositie, as if they meant to liue for euer; and made such feasts, as if they meant to die the next day. But their greatest pompe and magnificence, was in their goodly Temples, and Theaters, Water-conduits, and Fish-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are sufficient argument, that *Rome* it selfe could neuer boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, (by which we may iudge of the Temple it selfe) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of diuers colours; a worke the most magnificent and rare, that euer hath beene seene: on the other side, the warre of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that siege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that warre; all of the like beautifull stone, and of equall stature to the bodies of men in those ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but pettie things, and meere trifles. It would require a volume, to expresse the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, *Concord*, *Iuno Lacinia*, *Chastitie*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Master-peeces of those exquisite Painters, and Caruers, *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be seene. But in processe of time it ranne the same fortune that all other great Cities haue done, and was ruined by diuers calamities of warre: whereof this warre present brought vnto it not the least.

The *Roman* Consulls, hauing made peace with *Hieron*, returne into *Italie*; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumius*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arriue. They goe on towards * *Agrigentum*: and finding 40
no enemie in the field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harueft being come, a part of the *Roman* armie range the Country to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sallie furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Armie, but are in the end repelled into the towne with great losse: but by the smart felt on both 50
sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, & the besieged kept within their couert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselues, cut a deepe trench, betweene

tweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out ſide thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any quarter ſuddenly, by a ſallie, nor thoſe of the Countrie without, breake vpon them vnawares: which double defence kept the beſieged alſo from the receiuing any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whileſt the *Siracuſian* ſupplies the aſſailants with what they went. The beſieged ſend for ſuccour to *Carthage*: after they had beene in this ſort pent vp fiue moneths. The *Carthaginians* imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno*; who arriues with it at *Heraclea*, to the Weſt of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himſelfe into the field, and ſurpriſeth *Erbeſus*, a Citie wherein the *Romans* had beſtowed all their prouiſion. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* campe no leſſe ſtreightly aſſieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the *Romans*: inſomuch, as if *Hieron* had not ſupplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the ſiege. But ſeeing that this diſtreſſe was not enough to make them riſe; *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from *Heraclia*, hee makes approch vnto the *Roman* campe. The *Romans* reſolue to ſuſtaine him, and put themſelues in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horſe-men to charge their Vantguard, to the ende to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay ſhadowed behind ſome riſing ground. The *Numidians* performe it accordingly; and while the *Romans* purſued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing ſlaughtered many, beats the reſt into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay ſtrongly incamped, waiting vntill ſome oportunitie ſhould inuite them. But *Annibal*, that was beſieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by ſignes as meſſengers, made *Hanno* know, how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke ſuch dilatorie courſes. *Hanno* thereupon, a ſecond time, prouoked the Conſulls to fight. But his Elephants being diſordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he loſt the day: and with ſuch as eſcaped, he recouered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiuing this, and remayning hopeleſſe of ſuccour, reſolued to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and ſecured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; hee ruſht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and paſt by the *Roman* campe without reſiſtance. The Conſulls purſue him in the morning, but in vaine: ſure they were, that he could not carrie the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the *Romans* entred, and pittifully ſpoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victorie, purpoſe henceforth rather to follow the direction of their preſent good fortunes, than their firſt determinations. They had reſolued in the beginning of this Warre, only to ſuccour the *Mamertines*, and to keepe the *Carthaginians* from their owne coaſts: but now they determine, to make themſelues Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good ſucceſſe, to ſaile ouer into *Africke*. It is the diſeaſe of Kings, of States, and of priuate men, to couet the greateſt things, but not to enioy the leaſt; the deſire of that which wee neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vſe and fruition of what wee haue alreadie. This curſe vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them ſince the beginning of the World to this day.

To proſecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octacilius*, two new Conſuls, are ſent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Maſters of the field, many inland Townes gaue themſelues vnto them. On the contrarie, the *Carthaginians* keeping ſtill the Lordſhip of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to ſecure their owne coaſts, often inuaded by the *African* fleets, as alſo to equall themſelues in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ſhipwrights-craft, a ſtorme of winde thruſt

one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of fiue bankes, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by fiue on euery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-sands many seates, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the sand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed euery yere) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kind of warfare, then well aduised, past ouer to *Messena* with seuenteene Gallies, leauing the rest to follow him. There hee staid not, but would needs row alongst the cost to *Lipara*, hoping to doe some piece of seruice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian*, was at the same time Gouernour in *Panormus*; who being aduertised of this new Sea-mans arriuall, sent foorth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling vpon the Consull vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* receiued this good newes, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Consull; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than *Cornelius* had beene. For hee, fancying to himselfe to surprise the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points prouided; sought them out with a fleet of fiftie saile: wherewith falling among them, hee was well beaten, and leauing the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the *Romans* vnder *Cornelius* had lost but seuenteene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fiftie.

The *Romans*, being aduertised of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heauie and slow, the *African* Gallies hauing the speede of them, deuised a certaine engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselues with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the waightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serue them, nor their Mariners craft; the Vessells, wherin both Nations fought, being open: so that al was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by reason of their breadth, more steadie; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may bee giuen betweene one of the long boates of his Maiesties great ships, and a *London barge*.

Certainly, hee that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must bee skilfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in: hee must beleeue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betweene fighting loose or at large, and grapling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre: for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Strosse*, lost at the *Azores*, when hee fought against the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, been lost in the yeare 1588. if he had not beene better aduised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboord them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himselfe with those great and powerfull Vessells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of *England*. For twentie men vpon the defences,

fences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselues withall. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it: which had he not done, hee had not beene worthie to haue held his head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands, then for the Presse) I say, That a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselues neere together, in a grosse squadron; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall back vpon their next fellowes: of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable, or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twentie ships, which giue themselues scope, after they haue giuen one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and staying, they may giue them the other: and so the twentie ships batter them in pieces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas those, that fight in a troupe, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vse but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred saile giue themselues any distance, then shall the lesser fleet preuaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that by aduantage of ouer-sailing their fellowes keepe the winde: and if vpon a Lee-shore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall back into their own squadron, then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it selfe. That such aduantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall speed, it hath been wel enough conceiued in old time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* inuaded them, it may easily be obserued. *Thucid. l. 6.*

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord HENRIE, *Prince of Wales*; a subiect, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclypse of the Sunne, wee shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall words and sorrowes; I will therefore leaue him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by loosing their aduantage of swift boats, and boording the *Romans*, haue lost fiftie saile of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, haue gotten libertie to saile about the West part of *Sicil*; where they raised the siege layed vnto *Segesta*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Diuers enterfeats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to inuade Africk: and obtaine a great victorie at Sea.

THE victorie of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Naual triumph, that was euer seene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the *Romans* a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not onely to get *Sicil*, but all the other Iles betweene *Italie* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soone after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertised, that some quarrell

was growne betweene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe a-part, he sent forth *Hanno* to set vpon them; who taking them vnawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately beene beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtayned the trust of a new fleet, wherewith hee arriued at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertayned for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Seas from *Sicil*, arriued in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set vpon him vnawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping their danger. But it little auailed him to haue escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second vnfortunate voiage, that they hanged him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath beene said of old) *Non est bis in bello peccare*; *In warre it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till **Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had sought in vaine to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being vnable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they departed thence, and tooke certaine inland Townes, as *Mytistratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, betweene *Panormus* and *Messana*. The yeare following, *C. Atilius* the Consul, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discouered a Company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste hee made, and lost all, saue the Gallie which transported him: wherein himselfe escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten vp: who renewing the fight, recouered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fiftie, ** *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

The *Romans* resolue to transport the warre into *Africk*; the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that euer fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Romane* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers, to euery Gallie, one with the other. *The Roman* fleet was diuided into foure parts, of which the three first made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flancks,

and

* If wee may giue credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus*, a diligent writer, hath left vs in his Historie of *Sicil*; *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first Cities that hath beene built in all *Europe*. For whereas *Thucydides* seemes to make it a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*; *Ranzanus*, *in libello de Panormo*, *lib. 6.* affirmes that it was first, and long before the time which *Thucydides* sets downe, founded by the *Chaldæans*, and *Damascenes*. To proue which, he tells vs of two inscriptions vpon marble in the *Hebrew* Character, found at *Panormus* in the time of *William* the second, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens, and other strangers; which, being translated into *Latine*, say as followeth: *Viuente Isaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumæa, atq; in Valle Damascena, Esau filio Isaac; ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adiuncti sunt multi Damasceni, atq; Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem Insulam, sedes perpetuas locauerunt in hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominauerunt.* In the other marble table are found these words: *Non est alius Deus præter vnum Deum; non est alius Potens, præter eundem Deum, &c. Huius Turris Præfectus est Saphu, filius Eliphar filij Esau, fratris Iacob filij Isaac, filij Abrahami: & Turri quidem ipsi nomen est Baych; sed Turri huic proximæ nomen est Pharah.* And this inscription (saith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Castle *Baych*, in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred, thirtie and foure. Now whether these inscriptions were truely as ancient, as these men beleeue they were, I leaue euery man to his owne faith. But that the Citie was of aged times, it appeares by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greekes* past first into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certaine it is that they did in the first *Punik* warre; to wit, the *Carthaginians*, who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Corneliu-*, commanding this Armie) tooke it. And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syracuse*, it sent him in ayde three thousand Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than subiect to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Siracuse* destroied, it became the first Citie and Regall seat, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that Iland, as of the Emperours of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*: which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which growes about it.

** The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherin euerie Oare hath fiue men to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had foure to an Oare: and the *Triremes*, three. Some haue thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had fiue ranks of Oares, one ouer another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been so, they must then haue had fiue decks each ouer other: which hath seldome been seen in ships of a thousand Tonnes, neither could the third, fourth, and fift rankes, haue reached vnto the water with the Oares.

and the third ſquadron, the Baſe: the point thereof (wherein were the two Conſulls as Admirals) looking toward the enemie; and the middle ſpace lying emptie. Their Veſſels of carriage were towed by the third ſquadron. After all came vp the fourth, in forme of a *Creſcent*; very well manned, but exceeding thinne: ſo that the hornes of it incloſed all the third ſquadron, together with the corners of the firſt and ſecond. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceiue by the relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I coniecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and ſtretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haij*; a long front of horſe, and thinne: which forme, ſince the Piſtoll preuailed ouer the Lance, they haue changed. Behind this firſt out-ſtretched front, their Battalions were more ſolide: for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Cathaginians*, had thus ordered them, of purpoſe, (his Gallies hauing the ſpeed of the *Romans*) that, when the firſt fleet of the *Romans* haſted to breake through the firſt Gallies, they ſhould all turne taile, and the *Romans* purſuing them (as after a victorie) diſorder themſelues, and, for eagerneſſe of taking the Runn-awaies, leaue their other three ſquadrons farre behinde them. For ſo it muſt needes fall out; ſeeing that the third ſquadron towed their horſe-boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Reareward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it ſucceeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the *Carthaginian* firſt fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gaue after them with all ſpeede poſſible, not ſo much as looking behinde them for the ſecond ſquadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawne neare vnto the bodie of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the firſt) receiued great loſſe, till their ſecond ſquadron came vp, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* alſo, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, inuaded the *Roman* Reareward, and preuailed againſt them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell backe to their ſuccour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heeles; as not able to ſuſtaine both ſquadrons. The Reare being relieued, the Conſulls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed their victuailers, which was alſo in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Conſulls, joyning their ſquadrons to it, but the *Carthaginians* on that part alſo to running. This victorie fell to the *Romans*, partly by the hardineſſe of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being firſt beaten, could neuer after joyne himſelfe to any of his other ſquadrons, that remained as yet in faire likelihood of preuailing, ſo long as they fought vpon euen termes, and but ſquadron to ſquadron. But *Amilcar*, forſaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Roman* fleet vningaged, and readie to giue ſuccour to any of the other parts that were oppreſt. So as in concluſion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they loſt but foure and twentie of theirs; whereas the *Africans* loſt thirtie that were ſunk, and threeſcore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had alſo diuided his fleet into foure ſquadrons, (beſides thoſe that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, while hee himſelfe fought with one ſquadron that charged him, all the reſt of the enemies fleet had beene at the ſame time entertained, he had preuailed: But the ſecond ſquadron, being free, came to the reſcue of the firſt, by which *Amilcar* was oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſt and ſcattered, the Conſuls had good leiſure to relieue both their third and fourth ſquadron, and got the victorie.

Charles the fift, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the ſecond his ſonne, where he aduiſeth him concerning Warre againſt the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battailes betweene them and the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould neuer faile to charge the *Ianiſars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reſt. For (ſaith he) the *Ianiſars*, who are alwaies reſerued intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the *Turke* repoſeth his greateſt confidence; come vp in a groſſe body, when all the troups, on both ſides are disbanded and in confuſion; whereby they carie the

victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reseruation, did the *Romans* also preuaile against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarij* in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious aduantage it hath euer beene found, to keepe some one or two good troupes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

§. VIII.

The Romans preuaile in Africk. ATILIVS *the Consull propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is vtterly beaten, and made prisoner.*

NOw the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arriued at the *Promontorie* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some fortie leagues from *Heraclea* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (leauing the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the *Promontorie*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne, about fiftie *English* mile from it. There they disimbarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; without which all inuasions are fooliſh. By this time were the *Africans* also arriued at their owne *Carthage*; fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselues thither: but being aduertised, that they had taken *Clypea*, they made prouisions of all sorts: both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order giuen from the Senate, was, that one of the Consulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twentie thousand *African* captaines, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fifteene thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Townes and Places, that were vnwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came vnto *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the Riuer of *Bagrada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twentie foot long, which he slue, not without losse of many Souldiers, being driuen to vse against it such engines of warre, as serued properly for the assaulting of Townes. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Hanno* and *Bostar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought ouer out of *Sicil* fiue thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse to succour his Countrie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were carefull to hold themselues free, from necessitie of comming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adis*, they incampe neere vnto him, and strongly (as they thinke) on the top of an hill: but thereby they loose the seruices, both of their *Elephants*, and of their horse-men. This disaduantage of theirs *Regulus* discouers, and makes vse of it. He assailes them in their strength, which they defend a-while; but in fine the *Romans* preuaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceede to **Tunis* a Citie within sixteene miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

* This Citie was taken from the *Turkes* by *Charles* the fift, in the yeere 1536. and was one of the three Keyes, which he gaue in charge to *Philip* the second his sonne to keepe safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: and *Cadiz*, the Key of *Spaine*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that hee neuer found them againe; where we staid not to pick any locke, but brake open the dores, and hauing rifled all, threw it into the fire.

the third, our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands:

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By the loſſe of this battaile at *Adis*, and more eſpecially by the loſſe of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly diſmaied. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the Weſt, inſult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and ſpoile their Territory, and force thoſe that inhabite abroad, to forſake their villages and fields, and to hide themſelues within the walls of *Carthage*. By reaſon hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his owne aduantage, and aſſures himſelfe that the Citie could not long hold out: yet he feared leſt it might defend it ſelfe, vntill his time of Office, that was neere expired, ſhould be quite runne out, whereby the new Conſulls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no reſpect but to it ſelfe, perſwades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded vnto them ſo vnworthy and baſe conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly poſſeſſed with feare, beeame now ſo couragious and diſdainefull, that they reſolued, either to defend their libertie, or to die to the laſt man. To ſtrengthen this their reſolution, there arriued at the ſame time a great troupe of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly ſent to entertaine. Among theſe was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus, a Spartan*: who being informed of what had paſſed, and of the ouerthrow which the *Carthaginians* receiued neere vnto *Adis*, gaue it out publiquely, that the ſame was occaſioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is ſent for; giues the reaſon of his opinion; and in concluſion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himſelfe into the field. The Armie which he led, conſiſted of no more than twelue thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces, wherwith the *Carthaginians* ſought for all that they had, Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wiues, and Children: which might well make it ſuſpected, that the Armies by Sea, before ſpoken of, were miſſe-numbred; the one conſiſting of an hundred and fortie thouſand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thouſand: were it not commonly found, that they which vſe the ſeruice of mercinarie Souldiers, are ſtronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troups vpon faire and leuell ground, fitteſt both for his Elephants and Horſe, preſented them battaile. The *Romans* wondred, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were that it ſhould be ſoone abated. Their chiefe care was, how to reſiſt the violence of the Elephants. Againſt them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as *a forlorne hope*; that theſe might, either with darts and other caſting weapons, driue back the beaſts vpon the enemies, or at leaſt breake their violence, and hinder them from ruſhing freely vpon the Legions. To the ſame end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had beene accuſtomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the leſſe ſubject vnto the impreſſion of the Elephants; ſo were they the more expoſed vnto the violence of horſe, wherein the enemie did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reaſonable diſtance: his horſe-men, and ſome light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The firſt onſet was giuen by the Elephants, againſt which the *Velites* were ſo vnable to make reſiſtance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into ſome diſorder. In this caſe, the depth of the *Roman* battaile was helpfull. For when the beaſts had ſpent their force, in piercing through a few of the firſt ranks; the ſquadrons neuertheleſſe perſiſted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horſe, hauing at the firſt encounter, by reaſon of their aduantage in number, driuen thoſe of *Atilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flanke, and put them in great diſtreſſe; who being forced to turne face euery way, could neither paſſe forward, nor yet retire; but had much adoe to make good the ground whereon they ſtood. In the meane while, ſuch of the *Romans*, as had eſcaped the furie of the Elephants, and left them at their backes, fell vpon the *Carthaginian* Armie, that met them in very good

good array. It was no euen match. The one were a disordred Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to haue dealt with the enemie vpon equall termes. Here was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight, the *Romans* haltily recoiling to the bodie of their Armie, which being surrounded with the enemie, and spent with trauaile, fell all to rout, vpon the defeat of these troups, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtayned a full victorie; destroying the whole *Roman* Armie, saue two thousand, and taking fiue hundred prisoners, together with *Atilius* the Consull. Of their owne they lost no more than eight hundred mercinaries, which were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*: that wheeling about, to auoide the Elephants, bare downe all before them, and made way euen to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no lesse her vassalls, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soeuer they had beene in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which she neuer gaue nor sold to any mortall man. With what ioy these newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, wee may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no lesse then this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of EVRIPIDES, *Mens vna sapiens, plurium vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equall not one wise minde*.

After this great seruice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more enuied then honoured, or for what other cause it is vnknowne.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Consull, was very memorable. Hee was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: giuing his faith to returne if the businesse were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainely saw that his Countrie should loose by the bargaine: so far was he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his owne miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to haue the prisoners in *Africk* left to their ill destinies. This done, hee returned to *Carthage*: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seeme to haue iudged him an obstinate and malicious enemie; that neither in his prosperitie would harken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to perseuc himselfe and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small aduantage. Whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithfull obseruance of his word giuen, cannot be too much commended. But that graue speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to haue proceeded from a vaine-glorious frowardnesse, rather than from any necessitie of state. For the exchange was made soone after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargaine, by so much as *Regulus* himselfe was worth. As for the authoritie of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider that they liued vnder the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more greeuous to him than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither doe I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselues herein; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the *Romans* deserued to be no better intreated for as much as it was their ordinary practice to vse others in the like sort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customarie. It was the *Roman* fashon, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were such, as had alwaies made faire warres with them. Where-

fore

fore it ſeemes not meet, in reaſon, that they ſhould crie out againſt the like tyrannicall inſolence in others, as if it were lawfull only in themſelues.

The conſideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the ſudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* feare was changed by meere deſperation; calls to remembrance the like inſolencie of others in proſperitie, that hath bred the like reſolution in thoſe, to whom all reaſonable grace hath beene denied. In ſuch caſes I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more teſtimonies; approuing the true rules, from which our paſſions carrie vs away.

In the yeere 1378. the *Genowaies* wonne ſo faſt vpon the *Venetians*, as they not only draue their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* it ſelfe. This bred ſuch an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered vnto the *Genowaies* (their ſtate reſerued) whatſoeuer they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blowne vp with many former victories, would harken to no compoſition; ſaue the yeelding of their Citie and State to his diſcretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with diſdaine, thruſt out to Sea with all their remaining power, and aſſaile *Doria* with ſuch deſperate furie, that they breake his fleet; kill *Doria* himſelfe; take nineteene of his Gallies, foureſcore boats of *Padoa*, and foure thouſand priſoners; recouer *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victorie, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies*, baſely to begge peace, to their extreme diſhonour and diſaduantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might haue commanded, to their greateſt honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flanders*, in the yeere 1380. when hauing taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell reuenge vpon the *Gantois*, he refuſed mercy to the reſt, who in all humilitie, ſubmitting themſelues to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and eſtates, to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure. This when he had vnaduiſedly refuſed, and was reſolued to extinguiſh them vtterly; they iſſue out of their Citie with fiue thouſand choſen men, and armed with a deſperate reſolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter *Bruges (pell-mell)* with his vanquiſhed followers; and enforce him to hide himſelfe vnder an heape of ſtraw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he eſcaped, and ſaued himſelfe. Such are the fruits of inſolencie.

§. IX.

How the affaires of Carthage proſpered after the victorie againſt ATILIVS: *How the Romans hauing loſt their fleet by tempeſt, reſolue to forſake the Seas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betweene Nations diuided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had beene loſt in *Africk*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Onely *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit downe, and aſſaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loſſe of *Atilius* with their forces in *Africk*, and withall, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſſe Armie, and tranſport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by *M. Æmilius*, and *Ser. Fuluius*, their Conſulls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, ſet out of purpoſe, vpon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* tooke by force an hundred and fourteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had beene beſieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicil*, in hope to recouer all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty voyage they deſpiſe the aduice of the Pilots,

Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent stormes; which euer hapned betweene the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-starre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleete had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to saue themselues vpon such an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perswaded, that the winde and seas feared them no lesse, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themselues. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were aduised, they would needes put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie against the *Carthaginian* fleet; to take a few worthlesse Townes vpon the coast. The mercilesse windes in the meane while ouertake them, and neere vnto *Camerina*, ouerturne and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but foure score of three hundred and fortie ships: so as their former great victorie was deuoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recouered *Rome*.

* There is no Part of the World, which hath not some certaine times of outragious weather besides their accidentall stormes. We haue vpon our coast a Michaelmas flaw, that seldome or neuer failes: In the west *Indies*, in the moneths of *August* and *September*, those most forcible winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or Northwinds, are very fearefull: and therefore they that Nauigate in those parts, take harbor till those months take end. *Charles* the fift being as ill aduised, in passing the Seas towards *Algire*, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the counsaile of *A. Doria*, as he was in like vnseasonable times to continue his siege before *Metz* in *Loraine*, lost an hundred and fortie ships by tempest, and fifteene Gallies, with all in effect in them of men, victuailes, horses, and munition: a losse no lesse great, than his retrait, both from before the one and the other, was extreme dishonourable.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Vessells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the ouerthrow of *Atilius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arriues at *Lilybæum*; where hee beginnes to vexe the *Partisans* of *Rome*. But aduersitie doth not discourage the *Romanes*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twentie ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leauing a Garrison therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to bee doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they imploied *C. Seruilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consulls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to haue perished, neere vnto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were faine to heaue all ouer-boord, that so they might get off: then, hauing with much a-doe doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italie*, they lost an hundred and fiftie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the God of the warres fauoured them no more, than the God of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, foure hundred & sixe ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby receiued, perswaded them to giue ouer their Nauigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into *Sicil*, vnder *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consulls. These they transported in some three-score ordinarie passage-boats, by the straights of *Messana*, that are not aboue a mile and an halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the ouerthrow which *Atilius* receiued in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholericke against the *Carthaginians*, than before: so that for two yeeres after, they kept the high and woodie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champian Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Nauie, much lesse to maintaine the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicil*, making sometimes a march of aboue an hundred and forty *English* mile by land,

which

which could not be performed with an Armie, and the prouisions that follow it, in lesse than fourteene daies; the *Carthaginians* would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and fortie houres.

An old example we haue, of that great aduantage of transporting Armies by water, betweene *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Nauie and Armie, and could not preuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorset-shire*, so drawing *Edmond* and his Armie thither. There finding ill entertainement, he againe shipt his men, and entred the *Seuerne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcester-shire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back againe to *London*: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where hee pleased, ere succour could arriue. And this was not the least helpe, which the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their libertie, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artilerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue beene able to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now liuing, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages haue brought forth, in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Boisleduc*, or *Gertreuiden Berg*; which the enemie (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as soone as the winde serued, he suddenly set saile; and arriuing in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned vp the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yssel*, and sate downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march ouer land round about *Holland*, aboue fourescore mile, and ouer many great Riuers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Againe, when the *Spanish* Armie had ouercome this wearisome march, and were now farre from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile vp the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing downe the streame, he was set downe before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Towne he also tooke, before the *Spanish* armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* armie was no sooner arriued in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Hulst*, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a Citie of notable importance, and mastred it.

And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not hauing the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemie, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spaine* than *England* should bee an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolued to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the yeare 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugall*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would haue kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weake at Sea, through the great ouerthrow of his mighty *Armada*, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeere foregoing. Surely, it had not beene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleuen thousand. But where should this his Armie haue beene bestowed? If about *Lysborne*; then would it haue beene easie vnto the *English*, to take, ransack, and burne the Towne of *Groine*, and to waste the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations, of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marquesse of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hastie leauie of eight thousand, vnder the Earle of *Andrada*, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to S^r *John Norris*, and his Associates: considering, that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them; tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouer all the Countrie, which they fired. If a roiall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begunne

begunne the warre in *Galicia*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their S^t. *Iago*, whose Temple was not farre from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir *Iohn Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdome, whither comming strong, he expected to bee readily and joyfully welcomed: could they haue hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march ouer the Countrie to *Lysborne*, sixe daies iournie? Did not hee (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the Riuer of *Lysborne* to *Cascaliz*, and there, hauing wonne the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let vs consider of the matter it selfe; what an other Nation might doe, euen against *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if wee had none. This question, *Whether an inuading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of England, were there no fleete of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is alreadie handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Cæsars* Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmatiue. This he holds only vpon supposition; *in absence of our shipping*: and comparatiuely; as, that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer an enemie to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keepe our enemie from treading vpon our ground: wherein, if wee faile, then must wee seeke to make him wish, that he had staied at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question generall, and positiue, *Whether England, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemie from landing*; I hold that it is vnable so to doe: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduenture. For the incouragement of a first victorie to an enemie, and the discouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guienne*, they of the *Protestant* religion, after the battaile of *Moncounter*, entred that Countrie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable meanes, *ieuse bien garde a Monsieur l' Admiral, de faire boire ses Cheuaux en la Garonne*; *I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the Riuer of Garonne*. *Monsieur de Langey*, on the contrarie side, preferres the not fighting vpon a frontier with an inuading enemie, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of *France* held, against the Emperour *Charles*, when hee inuaded *Prouence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerse consideration to be had, betweene such a Countrie as *France* is, strengthned with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inuasions vpon firme land, that these great Captaines spake: whose entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot bee resisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countrie: except euery Creeke, Port, or sandie Bay, had a powerfull Armie, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelue thousand foot; and that those twelue thousand be laied in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and sixe thousand at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troups (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) bee directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this prouision, if the enemie, setting saile from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first

firſt watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their ſternes, ſhall arriue by dawne of day at the *Neſſe*, and thruſt their Armie on ſhore there; it will be hard for thoſe three thouſand that are at *Margat*, (twentie and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the *Neſſe*. Nay, how ſhall they at *Foulkſton* bee able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? ſeeing that the enemie, at his firſt arriuall, will eyther make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred ſhot of great Artillery, and quickly put the firſt three thouſand, that were intrenched at the *Neſſe*, to runne; or elſe giue them ſo much to doe, that they ſhall be glad to ſend for helpe to *Foulkſton*; and perhaps to *Margat*: where-
10 by thoſe places will bee left bare. Now let vs ſuppoſe, that all the twelue thouſand *Kentiſh* Souldiers arriue at the *Neſſe*, ere the enemie can be ready to diſimbarque his Armie, ſo that hee ſhall finde it vnſafe, to land in the face of ſo many, prepared to withſtand him; yet muſt we beleeue, that he will play the beſt of his owne game; and (hauing liberty to goe which way he liſt) vnder couert of the night, ſet ſayle towards the Eaſt, where what ſhall hinder him to take ground, eyther at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elſewhere, before they at the *Neſſe* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more eaſie than to doe it. Yea the like may bee ſayd of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coaſt. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themſelues out of breath, will eaſily
20 out-runne the Souldiers that coaſt them. *Les Armees ne volent point en poſte; Armies neyther flye, nor runne poſt*, ſayth a Marſhall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of Ships may be ſeene at Sunne-ſet, and after it, at the *Liſard*; yet by the next morning they may recouer *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot ſhall not bee able to march it in ſixe dayes. Againe, when thoſe troupes, lodged on the Sea-ſhores, ſhall be forced to runne from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length ſit downe in the mid-way, and leaue all at aduenture. But ſay it were otherwiſe; That the inuading enemie will offer to land in ſome ſuch place, where there ſhall be an Armie of ours readie to receiue him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders
30 and Captaines, ſhal be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the yeare 1588.) to attend the perſon of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coaſt, can be of no ſuch force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* ſhould haue landed in *England*.

The Ile of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in ſuch a caſe. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and ſtrengthned by art: it being euery where hard of acceſſe; hauing no good harbour wherein to ſhelter a Nauie of friends; and vpon euery coue or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approch of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylua*, and *Monſieur* 1582.
40 *de Chattes*, that held it to the vſe of *Don Antonio*, with fiue or ſixe thouſand men, thought to haue kept the *Marqueſſe of Santa Cruz*, from ſetting foot on ground therin; the Marqueſſe hauing ſhewed himſelfe in the Roade of *Angra*, did ſet ſaile, ere any was aware of it, and arriued at the *Port des Moles*; farre diſtant from thence, where hee wanne a Fort, and landed, ere *Monſieur de Chattes*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Stroſſie*, ſlaine the yeere before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* priſoners murdered in cold blood, had inſtructed *de Chattes* and his followers, what they might expect at that Marqueſſe his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were ſlow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *Engliſh* would bee perſwaded to
50 make ſuch diligent haſte, from *Margat* to the *Neſſe*, and backe againe, it may bee doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not meaſured the one halfe when they found themſelues preuented by the more nimble ſhips of *Spaine*.

This may ſuffice to proue, that a ſtrong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horſe, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it liſt, in *England*,

France, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fayal*, in the yeere 1597. is alleaged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal*, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may by a ciuill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeed some which were in that voiage, who aduised me not to vndertake it: and I harkened vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilest they desired mee, to reserue the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficultie: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, then to inuade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more ease then I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place, yea euen there where I landed, if I would haue taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince & Nation, that a few Ilanders should not think any aduantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that some *Low-Countrie* Captaines, and others, not of mine owne squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselues with a sweet conceipt (though it would haue bin short, when I had landed in some other place) *That for want of their helpe I was driuen to turne taile.* Therfore I tooke with me none, but men assured, Cõmanders of mine own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Haruey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *Iohn Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henrie Thinne*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captaine *Laurence Kemis*, Captaine *William Morgan*, and others, such as well vnderstood themselues and the enemie: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vndertooke. As for the *working of the Sea, the steepenesse of the Cliffes*, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made fiue or sixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wal, whereon their Musketiers lay on the rest for vs, and wonne the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done with lesse danger, so that it should not haue serued for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example: but the reasons before alleaged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more priuate, then to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of brauerie, and take the shorter course; hauing it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that *the Enemie was more then a Coward*; (which yet was more then we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peece of seruice, by seeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concernes the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemie troubled vs more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop vs in place of his aduantage; that many of our men were slayne or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to bee past, when we had wonne good footing) would needes follow vs to the Town were driuen by him, to forsake the pace of a man of warre, and betake themselues to an hastie trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall; his Majesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdaine, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten

vpon

vpon their owne ground, or elſewhere by a forraigne enemie; yet to entertaine thoſe that ſhall aſſaile vs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentiſh* Capons, I take it to be the wiſeſt way. To doe which, his Maieſtie, after God, will imploy his good ſhips on the Sea, and not truſt to any intrenchment vpon the ſhore.

§. X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the maſtrie of the Seas. The victorie of CEACILIVS *the Roman Conſull at Panormus: The ſiege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entred Lilybæum at pleaſure, in deſpight of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to ſtop the paſſage of good ſhips. The Romans, by reaſon of grieuous loſſes receiued, vnder* CLAVDIVS *and* IVNIVS *their Conſulls, abandon the Seas againe.*

WHen, without a ſtrong Nauie, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keepe what they had alreadie gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elſewhere, they reſolued once againe, notwithſtanding their late miſaduentures, to ſtrengthen their fleet and ſhips of warre. So cauſing fiftie new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſulls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiuing that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the ſhipwarke which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the ouerthrow which they receiued by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſſe daring than they had beene in the beginning of the warre; and withall, that one of the Conſulls was returned into *Italie*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with onely the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he remoued with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſull was better aduiſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approches ſomewhat neere the Towne, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deepe trench to be cut, a good diſtance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground ſufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gaue order that they ſhould aduance themſelues, and paſſe ouer the new trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt vpon them. From thoſe beaſts he commanded them to retire, by ſlow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no meanes paſſe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled and beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the trench, and by thoſe that lay in the trench it ſelfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiouſly vpon their owne foot men, and vtterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius*, eſpying this aduantage, ſallied with all the force hee had; and charging the other troups, that ſtood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking al their Elephants.

The report of this victorie being brought to *Rome*, the whole ſtate, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred ſaile, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to giue end to that warre, that had now laſted foureteene yeeres. With this fleet and armie the *Romans* reſolue to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) ſaue *Drepanum*, that was neere adjoyning. They ſet downe before it, and poſſeſſe themſelues of all the places of aduantage neere vnto it, eſpecially of ſuch as cõmand the hauen, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſixe towres of defence; & by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the city, as the defendants begin to deſpaire.

Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giueth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could bee made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other pettie Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reuealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saued *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* vseth the helpe of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers; and imployeth *Hannibal* to appeaze the troups of the *Gaules*, which did wauer, and had sent their agents to the enemie. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vndertaken, are faine to liue in the *Roman* campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, hauing *Hannibal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in despight of all resistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible ioy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolue to set vpon the *Romans* in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* vndertakes the seruice; and hauing receiued his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to *Ægusa*, a little Iland neere *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recouered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipping his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steerage, and himselfe expert in all parts of the channell) recouered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despight of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to vndertake him. This enterprise, and the wel performing of it, was very remarkeable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a-farre-off, the aduenture which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of warre will not feare to passe by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: no, though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouthes against him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were at Warre; our *East-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmarke* to trade with the subiects of his enemies, and he threatned to sinke their ships if they came through the streights of *Elsenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her *Maiesties*, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the aduenture; and sustaining some Vollies of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the prouision he could, to stop them, or sinke them, at their returne. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Elsenour*; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any

wound

wound receiued. Neither was it long ſince, that the Duke of *Parma* beſieging *Antwerp*, and finding no poſſibilitie to maſter it, otherwiſe then by famine, laid his Cannon on the bancke of the Riuer, ſo well to purpoſe, and ſo euen with the face of the water, that he thought it impoſſible for the leaſt boat to paſſe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blowne vp by any winde of glorie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheeſe, euen the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in *Antwerp*, paſſed in boats of ten or twelue Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in deſpight of it, when a ſtrong Weſterly winde, and a Tide of floud fauoured them; as alſo with a contrarie winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: ſo as he was forced, in the ende, to build his *Stockado* ouerthwart the Riuer, to his maruailous trouble and charge.

The Fort St. *Philip* terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when we ented the Port of *Caliz*; neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaied vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanque, from ſixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The ſiege of *Oſtend*, and of many other places, may be giuen for proofe, how hard a matter it is to ſtop the paſſage of a good ſhip, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is ſo ſet, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no paſſage along beſide it, or that the ſhips are driuen to turne vpon a bow line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in ſuch places, is it of great vſe, and fearefull: otherwiſe not.

But to returne to our aduenturous *Rhodian*: Hee arriues in ſafetie at *Carthage*, and makes them know the eſtate of *Lilybæum*. Others alſo, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the ſame ſucceſſe. The *Romans* therfore labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpoſe, fill many Merchants ſhips with great ſtones, and ſinke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe in part: but they grounded ſo many of thoſe great-bellied boats in the beſt of the entrance, as at laſt it made a manifeſt riſing and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the paſſage. Hereby it came to paſſe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her courſe by night, and not ſuſpecting any ſuch impediment, ranne her ſelfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chace, and gathered vpon him; he findes what ſhee is, both by her forme and by her ſwiftneſſe: and being not able to runne from her, reſolued to fight with her. But ſhe is too well manned for him, ſo that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly diſtreſſed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this deſpaire there roſe ſo violent a tempeſt, as ſome of the *Romans* woodden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of *Lilybæum*, were ouer-turned. A *Greeke* Souldier vndertakes to fire thoſe that were fallen, and performes it: for the fire was no ſooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempeſt, it increaſed ſo faſt, as it became reſiſtleſſe, and in the end burned all to aſhes, and melted the braſen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon deſpaire and wearineſſe hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: ſo that they reſolue, by a long ſiege, to ſtarue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had paſt, a ſupply of ten thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Rome*, vnder *M. Claudius*, the Conſull. He arriues at *Meſſana*, and marcheth ouer land to *Lilybæum*: where hauing re-inforced the Armie, and ſupplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the ſurpriſe of *Drepanum*, a Citie on the other ſide of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This ſeruice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Conſull embarques his troups, and arriues on the ſudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Gouernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new ſupply arriued at *Lilybæum*, was at firſt amazed at their ſudden approch; but hauing recouered his ſpirits, hee perſwades

swades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be incloſed. Herewithall hee promiſeth great rewards to ſuch, as by their valour ſhall deſerue them; offering to leade them himſelfe, and to fight in the head of his fleete. Hauing ſufficiently encouraged his men, he thruſts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Conſull, deceiued of his expectation, calls back the foremoſt Gallies, that he might now marſhall them for defence. Hereupon ſome row backward, ſome forward, in great confuſion. *Adherbal* findes and followes his aduantage, and forceth the Conſull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himſelfe, hauing the land on his back: hoping thereby to keepe himſelfe from being incompaſſed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, ſo ſtreightned, as hee could not turne himſelfe any way from his enemies, nor range himſelfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of reſiſtance, keeping the ſhore on his left hand, he thruſt out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, beſides his owne, and ſo fled away: all the reſt of his fleete, to the number of ninetie and foure ſhips, were taken or ſunke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this ſeruice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiſcretion and flight, as much diſgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding this great loſſe, arme threeſcore Gallies, with which they ſend away *L. Iunius*, their Conſull, to take charge of their buſineſſe in *Sicil*. *Iunius* arriues at *Meſſana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, thoſe excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twentie Gallies he had; and beſides theſe, hee had gotten together almoſt eight hundred ſhips of burthen, which were laden with all neceſſarie prouiſions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arriues at *Syracuſe*, where he ſtaies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for ſome, that were too ſlow of ſaile, to keepe companie with him along from *Meſſana*. In the meane time, hee diſpatcheth away towards *Lilybæum*, his *Quæſtors* or Treaſurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with ſome Gallies for their conuoy.

Adherbal was not careleſſe, after his late victorie: but ſtudied how to vſe it to the beſt aduantage. The ſhips and priſoners that he had taken, he ſent to *Carthage*. Of his owne Gallies hee deliuered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had threeſcore and ten more vnder his owne charge; and ſent him to trie, what good might be done againſt the *Roman* fleet, in the Hauen of *Lilybæum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* ſuddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he findes the *Romans*, more attentiue to the keeping in of the beſieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their owne againſt another fleet. So hee chargeth them, boords and takes ſome, and fires the reſt. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and haſtens to the reſcue. But *Himilco*, Gouernour of the Towne, is not behinde hand; who ſallies out at the ſame time, and putting the *Romans* in great diſtreſſe, giues *Carthalo* good leiſure to go through with his enterpriſe.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coaſt of *Sicil*, deuiſing how to worke miſchiefe to the enemie: wherein Fortune preſented him with a faire occaſion, which he wiſely managed. He was aduertiſed by his Scouts, that they had deſcried, neere at hand, a great fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſells. Theſe were the victuallers, which the Conſull *Iunius*, more haſtily than prouidently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybæum*, *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their comming: for hee and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to ſeeke ſhelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder couert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to ſaue them only from the preſent danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that aſſailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the reſt, that could not long ride vnder thoſe rocks, but vvould be forced,

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by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to saue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilest he was busied in this care; the Consull *Iunius* drew neere, and was discouered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Consull had neither meanes to flie, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemie. The *Carthaginian*, seeing this, betakes him selfe to a Station betweene the two *Roman* fleets; where hee watcheth, to see which of them would first stirre, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicil*, betweene the *Promontorie* of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we doe in the West of *England*, before a Southerly storme) hasted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to couer themselues from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beasts, their Soothsayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly ouer-taken with a boisterous South winde, and all their Gallies forced against the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

This calamitie so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolued againe to forsake the Seas, and trust onely to the seruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in an Iland, against those that haue a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbeare to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* haue done, in their *Indian Discoueries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an inuincible constancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needfull, haue beene the enemies, wherewith euery one of their most noble Discouerers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many yeeres haue passed ouer some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more then one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not beene disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they enjoy; and well they deserue to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recouered by AMILCAR; *who stoutly holds warre with them fiue yeeres. The Romans hauing emptied their common treasurie, build a new fleet, at the charges of priuate men. The great victorie at Sea of* LVCTATIVS *the Consull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.*

THE *Romans* were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybæum*, and seeke to make sure to themselues all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring relieſe. The Consull *Iunius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had receiued, bethought him what enterprise to vndertake. In the end hee resolued to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Iland; and of theſe, by cunning or treason, hee got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated betweene *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restraine the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Countrie. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were verie defencible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the *Carthaginians* sent forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and armie, who sailing to the coasts of *Italie*, did throughly repay the spoiles which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For hee first of all wasted and destroied the Territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred hee into *Sicil*; and finding there no walled Citie in the *Carthaginians* power, that serued fitly to infeſt the *Romans*, hee occupied a peece of ground of great aduantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himselfe betweene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized vpon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him oportunitie, to scoure all the coast of *Italie* with his fleet, wasting all along as farre as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicil* hee held the *Romans* to hard worke: lying neere vnto *Panormus*, where in three yeeres abode hee did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemie could neuer bee drawne to hazard the maine chance. Hauing wearied himselfe and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, hee vndertooke a strange peece of worke at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garrisons, placed there by *Iunius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Neuertheleſſe *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which hee conueighed his men into the Citie of *Eryx*, that was about the middest of the ascent, ere the enemie knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged. And no leſſe was *Amilcar* himselfe restrained, by both of theſe Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeeres more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrarie did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent vnto the prosequuting of this businesse at *Eryx*. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Liuie*, spake vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of *Carthage* neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the *Ro-*

Liu. Dec. 3. l. 10.

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mans had vtterly forſaken the Seas, partly by reaſon of their great loſſes; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held reſiſtleſſe; *Amilcar*, with a ſmall Armie, had ſo well acquited himſelfe, to the honour of his Countrie, that by the triall of fiue yeares warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equall, if not ſuperiour to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deuiſed and gone, for the diſlodging of this obſtinate Warriour: no way ſeemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the maſtrie of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of ſupply, ſhould not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficultie was found. The common treaſurie was exhauſted: and the coſt was not little, that was requiſite vnto ſuch an enterpriſe. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon priuate purſes. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*; which example wrought ſo well, that they, whoſe abilitie would not ſerue to doe the like, joyned with ſome others, and laying their monie together, cōcurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaid, when the warre was finiſhed. By this voluntarie contribution, they made and furniſhed two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent ſwift-rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was ſhewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Luctatius Catulus*; who paſt with the ſame into *Sicil*, the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*, indeuouring by all meanes to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertiſed that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindfull of the late loſſes which his Predeceſſours had receiued; he was carefull to put himſelfe in order, againſt their arriuall.

Hanno was Admirall of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wiſe in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the arte of ſeeming reuerend. How his reputation was firſt bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, of things vndertaken by men more worthie than himſelfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient ſort, whoſe cold temper is auerſe from new enterpriſes, and therewithall an opinion of great fore-ſight, confirmed by euery loſſe receiued. More particularly, hee was gracious among the people, for that hee was one of the moſt grieuous oppreſſours of their ſubject Prouinces; whereby he procured vnto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall ſuch hatred, as turned it al to their great loſſe. Hee had ere this beene imployed againſt the *Numidians*, and wilde *Africans*, that were more like to Rouers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of thoſe fugitiue Nations, hee learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great diſhonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which loſt not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counſaile, when, hauing ſhewed himſelfe an vnworthie Captaine, he betooke himſelfe to the long Robe. Yet is hee much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerue the League betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well hee deſerued of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his preſent voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which he thence-forth commended.

Hanno had very well furniſhed his Nauie, with all needfull prouiſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities) but hee had neither beene carefull in trayning his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellowes. Hee thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert *Romans* giue way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſſe force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the Seas. Yet in one thing hee had either

conceiued a-right, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſaile to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his ſhips of their lading: and hauing thus lightned himſelfe, he meant to take aboord ſome part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himſelfe, by whoſe helpe he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make the enemie repent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could haue beene performed. But *Catulus* vſed all poſſible diligence, to preuent the execution of this deſigne: not becauſe hee was informed of the enemies purpoſe, but for that he knew it to be the beſt for them, and for that feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was deſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to ſuffer this conuoy to paſſe along to *Eryx*, vpon vnlikely hope of better oportunitie in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould haue done, *Catulus* had performed. Hee had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; hee had lightned his Gallies of all vnneceſſarie burthen; and hee had taken aboord the choice men of the *Roman* Land-ſouldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt encounter, were vtterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies ſtemmed and ſunke, and ſeuentie taken, wherein were few leſſe than ten thouſand men, that were all made priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of winde, eſcaping to the Ile of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, vtterly diſcouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to reſolue. Meanes to repaire their fleete in any time there were none left; their beſt men of warre by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whoſe valour and judgement the honour and ſafetie of the Common-weale reſted, was now ſurrounded by his enemies in *Sicil*, where hee could not bee relieued. In this extremitie, they make diſpatch vnto *Amilcar* himſelfe, and authorize him to take what courſe ſhould ſeeme beſt vnto his excellent wiſedome; leauing all concluſions to his election and ſole counſaile.

Amilcar, whom no aduerſitie, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibilitie of recouerie, had euer vanquiſhed, looking ouer euery promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future hee was not able) reſolued to make triall, whether his neceſſitie might bee compounded vpon any reaſonable termes. He therefore ſent to *Lutatius* the Conſull an Ouerture of peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many arguments from the preſent pouertie of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly harkened vnto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with prouiſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: Firſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould clearely abandon the Iſle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they ſhould neuer vnder-take vpon *Hieron* King of *Syracuſe*, nor inuade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they ſhould ſet at libertie, and ſend back into *Italie*, all the *Romans*, whom they hold priſoners, without ranſome. Laſtly, that they ſhould pay vnto the *Romans* two thouſand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteene hundred and twentie thouſand crownes: the ſame to be deliuered within twentie yeeres next following.

Theſe Articles were ſent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approued: but ten Commiſſioners were ſent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. Theſe Commiſſioners added a thouſand talents to the former ſumme; and required a ſhorter time of payment. Further alſo, they tooke order, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not onely depart out of *Sicil* it ſelfe, but ſhould alſo with-draw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betweene it and *Italie*, renouncing their whole intereſt therein.

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Such was the end of the firſt *Punick Warre*; that had laſted about twentie foure yeares without intermiſſion; in which time the *Romans* had loſt, by fight or ſhipwrack, about ſeuen hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians*, about fiue hundred: the greatneſſe of which loſſes, doth ſerue to proue the greatneſſe both of theſe two Cities, and of the Warre it ſelfe; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in generall, did ſhew themſelues the brauer Nation; and *Amilcar*, the moſt worthie Captaine.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers actions paſſing betweene the firſt and ſecond Punick Warres.

§. I.

Of the cruell warre begunne betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercinaries.

THE *Romans*, hauing partly by force, and partly by compoſition, thruſt the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Ilands thereunto adjacent, gaue them rather meanes and leiſure to helpe themſelues in a following warre, than cauſe to hold themſelues contented with the preſent peace. It is a true rule, *Quòd leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; *That lawes are giuen by the Conquerors, and receiued of the conquered.* Q. curt. l. 4. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the anſwer that was made vnto them, by one of the *Priuernates*; or elſe had forgotten to follow it, in this waightie buſineſſe. For when one of *Priuernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cauſe of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romans might hope for, or aſſure themſelues of, if they quitted their preſent aduantage ouer them*; he anſwered in theſe words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; ſi malam, haud diuturnam*; *If the peace be good and faithfull that you giue vs, it will be perpetuall; if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this anſwere, the Senate, at that time, gaue ſuch approbation, that it was ſaid, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; an credi poſſe, vllum populum, aut hominem dentq; in ea conditione, cuius eum pœniteat, diutius quàm neceſſe ſit manſurum? That it was the ſpeech of a manly, and a free man; for who could beleeue, that any people, or indeede any one man, would continue longer in an ouer-burdened eſtate, than meere neceſſitie did enforce?* Now if the *Romans* themſelues could make this judgement, of thoſe Nations, who had little elſe, beſides their manly reſolution, to defend their libertie; ſurely, they groſly flattered themſelues, in preſuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour vnto themſelues, would ſit downe any longer by the loſſe and diſhonour receiued, than vntill they could recouer their legs, and the ſtrength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occaſion, by whom (while well entertained) not only priuate men, but Kings and publique States, haue more preuailed, than by any proper proweſſe or vertue; with-

with-held the tempeſt from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it moſt fearefully vpon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themſelues.

For after that the firſt *Punick Warre* was ended; *Amilcar*, leauing *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence moſt conueniently the Armie might be tranſported into *Africk*: the care of which buſineſſe he committed vnto *Geſco*, to whom, as to a man of approued ſufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. *Geſco* had an eſpeciall conſideration of the great ſummes, wherein *Carthage* was indebted vnto theſe Mercinaries; and, withall, of the great diſabilitie to make paiment. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way, to ſend them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that ſo the firſt might haue their diſpatch, and be gone, ere the ſecond or third Companies arriued. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not beene hard to perſwade any ſmall number, lodged within ſo great a Citie as *Carthage*, vnto ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition, as the preſent emptineſſe of the common Treaſurie did require: ſo that the firſt might haue beene friendly diſcharged, and a good preſident left vnto the ſecond and third, whileſt their deſiunction had made them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, ſome that would be contented to gratifie the Publique ſtate, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped by ſuch an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detayned the firſt and ſecond commers; telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increaſed, and many diſorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much diſquieted the Citie, not accuſtomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remoue them all to ſome other place where they might be leſſe troubleſome. This muſt be done by ſome colourable words of perſwaſion: for their number was alreadie ſo great, that it was not ſafe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuiſed, that they ſhould all attend the comming of their fellowes, at *Sicca*: receiuing euery one a peece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers beginne to diſlodge; leauing behinde them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning ſhortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to truſſe vp their fardells, that they might haue none occaſion left, to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they remoued, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arriuall, and their owne pay. Buſineſſe they had none to doe, and therfore might eaſily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their diſcourſe inclining them to nothing elſe. Their daily talke was, how rich they ſhould be, when all their mony came in; how much would fall to euery ſingle ſhare; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne *Arithmeticians*; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could finde moſt reaſon to increaſe their demands, to the very higheſt, euen beyond their due. No part of their long ſeruice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promiſes of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as ſo many obligations, not to be cancelled, without ſatisfying their expectation by ſome vnordinarie largeſſe.

Thus the time paſſeth away; vntill the whole Armie being arriued, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they ſhall all be made rich; eſpecially if they can hold together, in maintaining ſtoutly the common cauſe. So thinke they all; and aſſemble themſelues to heare what good newes this meſſenger had brought: with a a full reſolution to helpe his memorie, in caſe he ſhould happen to forget any part of the many promiſes made vnto them; all which were to be conſidered in their Donatiue. *Hanno* begins a verie formall Oration; wherein he bewailes the pouertie of *Carthage*; tells them, how great a ſumme of mony is to be paid vnto the *Romans*, reckons vp the exceſſiue charges,

charges, whereat the common-wealth had beene in the late warre; and finally deſires them to hold themſelues contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they bare vnto the Citie, to remit the reſt. Few of them vnderſtood his diſcourſe: for the *Carthaginian* Armie was compoſed of ſundry Nations, as *Greekes*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. Yet they ſtared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleaſed with his very geſture. But when ſuch, as conceiued the whole tenour of his ſpeech, had informed the reſt what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men, ſo that nothing would ſerue to appeaſe them. *Hanno* would faine haue aſſwaged their furie, but he knew not how: for hee leſſe vnderſtood their diſſonant lowde noiſes, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of many countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither eaſily ſtirred vp to mutinie, nor eaſily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The beſt that *Hanno* can doe, is to vſe the helpe of Interpreters, and meſſengers. But theſe Interpreters miſtake his meaning; ſome, for want of skill; others, of ſet purpoſe; and ſuch as deliuer his errandes in the worſt ſenſe, are beſt beleeued. Finally, they thinke themſelues much abuſed by the *Carthaginians*, and reſolue to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer diſtance. In this moode they leaue *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a little of *Carthage*, and there they incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their one errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum inprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat
Fortibus & miſeris.

Haue ſpeciall care, that valiant pouertie
Be not oppreſt with too great iniurie.

But this proud citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath alſo beene careleſſe in prouiding to ſecure her ſelfe againſt the inconuenience that might followe. She had ſuffered the whole multitude, whereunto ſhee was like to giue cauſe of diſcontent, to ioyne it ſelfe into one bodie, when the ſeuerall troupes might eaſily haue beene diſperſed: ſhee hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of theſe poore men, which had ſhee retained in ſhew of kindneſſe, ſhee might haue vſed them as Hoſtages, for her owne ſafetie; and by imploying a miſerable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of warre, ſhee hath weakened the reputation of her braueſt Captaines, that might beſt haue ſerued to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely enough it is, that *Amilcar* had no deſire to be vſed as an inſtrumẽt in defrauding his owne ſouldiours of their wages: epecially conſidering, that as he beſt could beare witneſſe of their merits, ſo was hee not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereto may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to *Amilcar*, had the boldneſſe to impoſe the blame of his owne wretched counſaile, vpon the liberall promiſes made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wiſely, in ſuffering thoſe that maligned him, to haue the managing of their own plot, and to deale the cards which themſelues had ſhuffled. This they continue to doe as fooliſhly, as they had at firſt begun. They furniſh a market at *Tunis*, for the ſouldiours; whom they ſuffer to buy what they liſt, and at what price they liſt. They ſend euer and anon ſome of their Senatours into the Campe; who promiſe to ſatisfie all demands, as farre forth as it ſhould be poſſible. And thus by ſhifting from one extreme to another, they make the ſouldiours vnderſtand, into what feare the City was driuen; which cannot but adde much inſolency to the paſſions alreadie ſtirred vp.

This ſudden change of weather, and the true cauſe of it, is quickly found by the

Armie, which thereupon growes wise, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great harueſt. Monie must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue loſt their horſes, in publique ſeruice of the ſtate. The ſtate ſhall pay for them. They had liued ſome yeares, by making hard ſhift, without receiuing their allowance of victualls from *Carthage*. If they had liued, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ſhips did bring in prouiſion; or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ſerue. They ſaid that they had beene ſometimes driuen to buy; and that (ſince they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouiſion, during the whole time, and according to the deareſt price that wheat had borne, whileſt the warre laſted. Such are now the demands of theſe Mutiners; who might eaſily haue beene ſatiſfied with farre leſſe charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the firſt. But now they make none end of craving. For whileſt the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this corne-monie; the Souldiers haue deuiſed many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater ſumme of monie, without all regard of ſhame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of theſe controuerſies which daily did multiply, it was thought conuenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, ſhould be choſen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condeſcended, and made choiſe of *Geſco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had ſhewed himſelfe at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, eſpecially when they were to be tranſported into *Africk*: partly out of a diſlike which they had conceiued of *Amilcar*; for that he had not viſited them in all this buſie time. So *Geſco* comes among them; and, to pleaſe them the better, comes not without monie: which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calles vnto him firſt of all, the Captaines, and then, the ſeuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had paſſed; aduiſing them temperatly concerning the preſent; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would alwaies be mindfull of their good ſeruices. After this he beganne to put hand to his purſe: offering to giue them their whole paie in hand; and then after to conſider of other recknonings, at a more conuenient time. This had beene well accepted, and might haue ſerued to bring all to a quiet paſſe; if two ſeditious ringleaders of the multitude had not ſtood againſt it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a ſturdie fellowe, and audacious, but a ſlaue; that in the late warre had fled from a *Roman* whom hee ſerued, and therefore ſtood in feare, leſt he ſhould be deliuered backe to his Maſter; at whoſe hands he could expect no leſſe, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raiſing ſuch troubles as might ſerue to withdraw men from care of priuate matters, and make his owne reſtitution impoſſible, were his Maſter neuer ſo importunate. With *Spendius* there aſſociated himſelfe one *Matho*; an hote-headed man, that had beene ſo forward in ſtirring vp the tumult, as hee could not chooſe but feare, leſt his owne death ſhould bee made an example, to deterre others from the like ſeditious behauiour. This *Matho* deales with his Countrimen, the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in farre worſe condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any forreyne mercinaries. For (ſaith he) *theſe our companions haue no more to doe, than to receiue their wages, and ſo get them gone: but wee, that are to ſtay behinde in Africa, ſhall be called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone; ſo that we ſhall haue cauſe to wiſh, that wee had returned home beggers, rather than loaden with the monie, which (little though it be) ſhall breake our backes. Yee are not ignorant, how tyrannically theſe our haughtie Maſters of* CARTHAGE *doe reigne ouer vs. They thinke it reaſonable, that our liues and goods ſhould be at their diſpoſition; which they haue at other times beene accuſtomed to take away from vs, euen without apparent cauſe, as it were to declare*

declare their Souereigntie: what will they now doe, seeing that we haue demeaned our selues as free men, and beene bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done? Ye all doe know, that it were a very shame for vs, if hauing beene as forward in euerie danger of warre, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaues, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithstanding yee may assure your selues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soone as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wise; and consider, that they hate and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past: vnlesse wee now take our time, and, whilest we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatlie, that their hatred shal not be able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in monie, wherewithall they haue hired others against vs, and vs against others. At the present they haue neither monie nor friends. The best Armie that euer serued them, whereof wee are no small part, lies at their gates, readie to helpe vs if we be men. A better opportunitie cannot be expected: for were our swords once drawne, all AFRICK *would rise on our side. As for the* CARTHAGINIANS, *whither can they send for helpe? The case it selfe is plaine: but we must quickely resolue. Either we must preuent the diligence of* GESCO, *by incensing these* GAVLES *and* SPANIARDES, *and procuring them to drawe bloud, or else it behoueth vs to please our good masters, by ioyning with them against our fellowes, yea by offering to forgiue vnto them all our wages, if so (peraduenture) they may be wonne to forgiue vs, or not ouercruelly to punish our faults already committed. Hee is worthily a wretched slaue, that neither hath care to winne his Masters loue, nor courage to attempt his owne libertie.*

By such perswasions *Matho* winnes the *African* souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedie of monie, as of qurraell; which hee that seekes, will not misse to finde. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demandes, for horses and victuailes to some other more conuenient time; they breake into great outrage, and say that they will haue all, euen all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuell to the fire alreadie blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the onely men to whom the souldiours will hearken: if any other stand vp to make a speech, a showre of stones, flying about his eares, puts him to silence, that hee shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath beene said alreadie by these good spokesmen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can bee heard, saue onely *throwe, throwe.*

Now the Rebellion beginnes to take forme. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, vnder faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentures himselfe vpon their furie. One while hee deales with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle words: another while hee workes with the seuerall Nations; putting them all in hope of their owne hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorilie, to giue them their owne, and not to feed them with wordes. The truth is, that they are not so couetous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answere, then of a good payment. This is more then *Gesco* knowes: he sees not that *Matho* hath, any more then bare words, to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he telles them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of monie, to seeke it of their Captaine, *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them & deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treasure that he had brought; yea vpon him also, and al that are with him:

as intending to take this in part of paiment, and, for the reſt, to take another courſe. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleaſed them to ſee their fellowes beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they caſt into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can finde; that ſo the Armie may be freed from danger of *good admonition*, which they call Treaſon. After this followes open warre. *Matho* ſollicites all *Africk*; and his Embaſſadours are euerie where well entertained. Neither is it needefull to vſe perſwaſion: the very fame of this rebellion ſufficeth to drawe the whole countrie into it. Now muſt the *Carthaginians* bee plagued for thoſe oppreſſions, with which they haue plagued others. It is true that aduerſitie hath neuer beene vntold of her errours: and as ſhe is euer aſſured to heare her owne, ſo commonly with her owne ſhee vndergoes thoſe of other men. The *Africans*, finding the *Carthaginians* hang vnder the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impoſitions were mercileſſe; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their corne; that they doubled their tributes in al things elſe; and that they inflicted vpon their vaſſals the greateſt puniſhments for the leaſt offences. Theſe cruelties the *Carthaginians* themſelues haue forgotten: but the people, that haue ſuffered ſo much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely ſuch as can beare armes, are ready to doe ſeruice in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to ſale for maintenance of ſo iuſt a quarrell. By this great forwardneſſe, and liberall contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are ſupplied with a ſtrong aide of threeſcore and tenne thouſand *Africans*: and are moreouer furniſhed with monie, not onely to ſatisfie the preſent appetite of their men, but ſufficient to continue the warre begun, though it ſhould be of long endurance.

§. II.

Diuers obſeruations vpon this warre with the mercinaries.

†. I.

Of Tyrannie, and how tyrants are driuen to vſe helpe of mercinaries.

HEre let vs reſt awhile, as in a conuenient breathing place: whence wee may take proſpect of the ſubiect, ouer which we trauaile. Behold a tyrannicall Citie, perſecuted by her owne mercinaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as being almoſt neceſſarie, that a tyrannie ſhould bee vpheld by mercinarie forces: it is common that mercinaries ſhould be falſe: and it is common, that all warre made againſt Tyrants, ſhould be exceeding full of hate and crueltie. Yet wee ſeldome heare, that the ruine of a Tyrannie is procured or ſought, by thoſe that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and ſeldome or neuer doe we reade of any warre, that hath beene proſecuted with ſuch inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is *A violent forme of gouernment, not reſpecting the good of the ſubiect, but onely the pleaſure of the Commander.* I purpoſely forbeare to ſay, that it is the vniuſt rule of one ouer many: for verie truely doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion ouer their ſubiects, was none other than a meere tyranny; though it were ſo, that they themſelues were

Thucyd. l. 6.

a great

were a great Citie, and a popular eſtate. Neither is it peraduenture greatly needefull, that I ſhould call this forme of commanding, *violent:* ſince it may well and eaſily bee conceiued, that no man willingly performes obedience, to one regardleſſe of his life and welfare; vnleſſe himſelfe bee either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extreme paſſion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for ſome Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very ſlaues; and he that is moſt cruell to ſome, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheleſſe, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers diſcretion cannot extend it ſelfe, vnto notice of the difference which might bee found betweene the worth of ſeuerall men; it is commonly ſeene, that the taſte of ſweetneſſe, drawne out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a reliſh, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not ſuffer it to bee reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeeke out bounds, to preſcribe vnto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that hee hath gotten, by extorting from ſome few: by ſparing none, hee ſhould haue riches in goodly aboundance. He hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue ſpared more. He hath wrung all their purſes, and now he hath enough: but (as Couetouſneſſe is neuer ſatisfied) he thinkes that all this is too little for a ſtock, though it were indeede a good yearely Income. Therefore he deuiſeth new tricks of robberie, and is not better pleaſed with the gaines, then with the Art of getting. He is hated for this; and he knowes it well: but hee thinkes by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exerciſe, to torment and murder all, whom he ſuſpecteth: in which courſe, if he ſuſpect none vnjuſtly, he may be ſaid to deale craftily; but if Innocency be not ſafe, how can all this make any Conſpiratour to ſtand in feare, ſince the Traitor is no worſe rewarded, than the quiet man? Whereforehee can thinke vpon none other ſecuritie, than to diſarme all his Subiects; to fortifie himſelfe within ſome ſtrong place; and for defence of his Perſon and ſtate, to hire as many luſtie Souldiers as ſhall be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not bee of his owne Countrie: for if not euery one, yet ſome one or other might chance to haue a feeling of the publique miſerie. This conſidered, he allures vnto him a deſperate rabble of ſtrangers, the moſt vnhoneſt that can bee found; ſuch as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to ſupport him, by whoſe onely fauour they are maintained. Now leſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſſe, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward, than he doth giue, ſhould be drawne to turne his ſword againſt the Tyrant himſelfe: they ſhall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to robbe, to rauiſh, to murder, and to ſatisfie their owne appetites, in moſt outragious manner; being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their Maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hatefull to all men elſe. Conſidering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I muſt be faine to ſay, that theſe are not dreames: though ſome *Engliſh-man* perhaps that were vnacquainted with Hiſtorie, lighting vpon this leafe, might ſuppoſe this diſcourſe to be little better. This is to ſhew, both how tyrannie growes to ſtand in need of mercinarie Souldiers, and how thoſe Mercinaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmely aſſured vnto the Tyrant.

†. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie ouer her Subiects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercinary Souldiers.

NOw concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subjects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, then that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jelous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the lesse neede hath shee therefore, to secure her selfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needes the lesse, to pluck from her Subiects. If warre, or any other great occasion, driue her to necessitie, of taking from her Subiects more than ordinarie summes of monie: the same necessitie makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeede, no wrongs are so grieuous and hatefull, as those that are insolent. *Remember* (saith *Caligula* the Emperor, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list*: these wordes were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And *Iuuenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell *Roman* Dame vpon her slaues; that whilest shee was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grieuances wherwith a domineering State offendeth her Subiects, are free from all sence of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of libertie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needefull, that shee should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throtes, and maintaine them in all villanie, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselues, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a Tyranne, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, That the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant lodeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruel Citie. Not without some apparance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other priuate passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall haue neede to vse the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lasciuious, when *Cato* was faine to rise and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauitie, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By common practice, & generall approued custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the priuate vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphysicall abstraction of *the vniuersall* from *the singular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *those of whom it is compounded*. I say therefore (as I haue said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, then vnder many thousands. The reasons, prouing this, are too many to set downe: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident, may reforme him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successour may proue better. Many Tyrants haue beene changed into worthie Kings: and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditarie to their posteritie, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Gouernment, euen a lawfull Monarchie. But they that liue vnder a tyrannicall Citie, haue no such hope: their Mistresse is immortall, and will not slacken the reines, vntill they bee pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightie Chariotier. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindefull

of

of the future. New flies, and hungrie ones, fall vpon the ſame ſore, out of which, others had alreadie ſucked their fill. A new Gouernour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home emptie to their hiues, without a good lading of waxe and honie. Theſe flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or whatſoeuer elſe, in all the Prouince, is worthie to be deſired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becomming themſelues, within a little ſpace, the enemies that he feareth moſt. To grow into acquaintance with theſe maſterfull gueſts, in hope to win their friendſhip, were an endleſſe labour (yet it muſt be vnder-gone) and ſuch as euery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what auaileth it? The loue of one Gouernour is purchaſed with gifts: the Succeſſour of this man, he is more louing than could be wiſhed, in reſpect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrarie faction at home, a bitter enemie to both his fore-goers, who ſeekes the ruine of all that haue beene inward with them. So the miſeries of this tyrannie are not ſimple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or *Of Recouerie*, againſt extorting Magiſtrates: yet wee finde, that it ſerued not wholly to reſtraine their Prouinciall Gouernours; who preſuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Prouinces, to worke all theſe enormities rehearſed; though ſomewhat the more ſparingly, for feare of judgement. If the ſubjects of *Rome* groned vnder ſuch oppreſſions; what muſt we thinke of thoſe, that were vaſſalls vnto *Carthage*? The *Romans* impoſed no burthenſome tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grieuous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for hauing beene ill Gouernours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deuiſed by one Magiſtrate, ſerued as preſidents to inſtruct another; euery man reſolued to doe the like, when it ſhould fall to his turne; and he was held a notable Stateſman, whoſe robberies had beene ſuch, as might affoord a good ſhare to the common treaſure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice, are not extant: the gouernement of *Verres* the *Roman*, in *Sicil*, that is liuely ſet out by *Tullie*, may ſerue to informe vs, what was the demeanour of theſe *Punick Rulers*, who ſtood in feare of no ſuch condemnation, as *Verres* vnder-went. By proſequuting this diſcourſe, I might inferre a more generall Propoſition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her ſubject Prouinces ſo mildly, as a King: but it is enough to haue ſhewed, That the tyrannie of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one moſt wicked man.

Suteable to the crueltie of ſuch Lords, is the hatred of their ſubjects: and againe, ſuteable to the hatred of the ſubjects, is the jealouſie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in warres abroad, the *Carthaginians* durſt vſe the ſeruice of *African* ſouldiers; in *Africk* it ſelfe, they had rather bee beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the ſame purpoſe did *Hannibal*, in the ſecond *Punick Warre*, ſhift his mercinaries out of their owne Countries; *Vt Afri in Hiſpaniâ, Hiſpani in Africâ, melior procul ab domo futurus vterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati ſtipendia facerent*; *That the Africans might ſerue in Spaine, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges.* Liu. Dec. 3. l. 1. It is diſputable, I confeſſe, whether theſe *African*, and *Spaniſh* hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercinaries*: for they were ſubiect vnto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet ſeeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere deſire of gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely ſtand vpon proprietie of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* alſo doth, no better than Mercinaries.

†. III.

†. III.

The dangers growing from the vse of mercinarie Souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries.

THe extreme danger, growing from the imploiment of such Souldiers, is well obserued by *Machiauel:* who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, deuourers, and destroiers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often, and in time of greatest extremitie, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but reuolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercinaries (saith *Machiauel*) which filled all *Italie*, when *Charles* the eighth of *France* did passe the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French* King wonne the Realme of *Naples*, with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queene *Ioane* of *Naples*, abandoned her seruice on the sudden; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of *Arragon*. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race Duke of *Millan*: who, being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his slaues; euen with the same Armie which themselues had leuied for their owne defence. But *Lodouick Sforza*, the sonne of this *Francis*, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in loosing his whole estate by the trecherie of such faithlesse Mercinaries, as his owne father had beene. For, hauing waged an Armie of *Switzers*, and committed his Duchie, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemie the *French* King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* to his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vsing the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turkes*, against his neighbour Princes; he could neuer, either by perswasion or force, set them againe ouer Sea vpon *Asia* side: which gaue beginning to the *Christian* seruitude, that soone after followed. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Cassander*, sought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same *Alexander*, who had inuited him, and made himselfe King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turke* was called into *Ægypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, against his Opposite: but this *Turke* did settle himselfe so surely in *Ægypt*, that *Saladine* his Successour became Lord thereof; and of all *the holy Land*, soone after. What neede we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The *Britaines* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrie; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be alleadged, the good successe of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeede these *Low Countries* haue many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Seamen, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue seldome beene able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessitie therefore compelled them to seeke helpe abroad: and the like necessitie made them forbeare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raised by their Trade, they maintained the warre: and therefore could ill spare, vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might

might be, whileſt they had none other than mercinarie Souldiers. Many fruitleſſe attemps, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witneſſe it: and that braue Commander, Count *Lodowick of Naſſau*, felt it to his griefe, in his retrait from *Groeninghen*; when in the very inſtant, that required their ſeruice in fight, his mercinaries cried out aloud for monie, and ſo ranne away. This was not the only time, when the hired ſouldiers of the *States*, haue either ſought to hide their cowardize vnder a ſhew of greedineſſe; or at leaſt, by meere couetouſneſſe, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not ſtand to proue this by many examples: for they themſelues will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monſieur* the Duke of *Anion*, brother to the *French* King; ſaue that it is follie to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that ſuch Aiders make themſelues Lords ouer thoſe, to whom they lend their ſuccour: but where ſhall we meet with ſuch another as this *Monſieur*, who, for his protection promiſed, being rewarded with the Lordſhip of the Countrie, made it his firſt worke, to thruſt by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples neck? Well, hee liued to repent it, with griefe enough. Euen whileſt he was counterfeiting vnto thoſe about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie ſorrow for the poore Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily beleeuing the Towne to bee ſurpriſed and wonne; the death of the Count S^r. *Aignan*, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, diſcharged againſt his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapned; ſhewing that they were his owne *French*, who ſtood in neede of pittie. Then was his fained paſſion changed, into a very bitter anguiſh of minde; wherein, ſmiting his breſt, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire de moy*; *Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the *Netherlands* will not ſerue to proue, that there is litle danger in vſing mercinarie ſouldiers, or the help of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithſtanding they were obedient vnto neceſſitie, and ſought helpe of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wiſely, and proſpered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the ſame danger; when the Queen of *England* refuſed to accept the Soueraigntie of their Countrie, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the *Spaniard* their enemie, purſued him with continuall warre; when the heire of *England* raigned in *Scotland*, a King too juſt and wiſe (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miſeries, or to helpe thoſe that had attempted the conqueſt of his owne inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very ſafely repoſe confidence, in the forces of theſe their Neighbour-Countries. The ſouldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they ſhould receiue; but well affected vnto the cauſe that they tooke in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, to the ſide whereon he fought; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, where the *Engliſh* would haue rewarded him with death, if his faith had beene corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore truſted with the cuſtodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the neceſſitie of the poorer ſort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three ſuch Princes, raigning at one time, ſhall agree ſo well, to maintaine againſt the power of a fourth, injurious (or at leaſt ſo ſeeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Countrie, of the ſame Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may ſuch a Countrie be ſecure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other buſineſſe, in hope of like ſucceſſe. But theſe circumſtances meet ſo ſeldome, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercinarie, and forraigne auxiliarie forces, are no leſſe dangerous, than the enemie, againſt whom they are entertained.*

†. IIII.

That the moderate gouernment of the Romans gaue them assurance to vse the seruice of their owne subiects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vse and benefit of the like moderation.

HEre may it be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to vse seruice of other souldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne subiects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they auoide the inconueniences aboue rehearsed? The answere is; That their Armies were compounded vsually of their owne citizens, and of the *Latines*, in equall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subiects, as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldome they did imploy so many,) ten Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting: which serued to keepe in good order their subiects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themselues. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they enioyed, made them assured vnto the State of *Rome*: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how easie soeuer, seemes troublesome to the necke that hath been accustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of *Italie* haue taken occasion of seuerall aduantages, to deliuer themselues from the *Roman* subjection. But still they haue beene reclaimed by warre; the Authors of rebellion haue sharpely punished; and the people, by degrees, haue obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common citie of all *Italie*. Yea, in processe of time it was granted vnto many cities, and those farre off remoued, euen to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where Saint *Paul* was borne, That all the Burgesses should be free of *Rome* it selfe. This fauour was conferred absolutely vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subiects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readie way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the reuiew of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the *Romans* good gouernment, That when some, for their well-deseruing, haue had the offer to be made citizens of *Rome*; they haue refused it, and held themselues better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that *Petellia*, a citie of the *Brutians* in *Italie*, chose rather to endure all extremitie of warre, than, vpon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; euen when the *Romans* themselues had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subiects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as hauing beene faithfull to the vtmost. Such loue purchased these milde Gouernours, without impairing their Maiestie thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as neede required, with other helpe of their owne subiects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperitie of *Rome* to be the common good.

Liu. Dec. 3. l. 3.

Liu. ibid.

The moderate vse of soueraigne power being so effectuall, in assuring the people vnto their Lords, and consequentlie, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyrannie, whose effects are contrarie, hath beene so common in all ages. The like, I know, may bee said, of all Vice, and

and Irregularitie whatſoeuer. For it is leſſe difficult (whoſoeuer thinke otherwiſe) and more ſafe, to keepe the way of Iuſtice and Honeſtie, than to turne aſide from it; yet commonly our paſſions lead vs into by-pathes. But where Luſt, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, ſeduceth our reaſon, the ſame vnrulie appetite either bringeth with it an excuſe, or at leaſt-wiſe taketh away all cauſe of wonder. In tyrannie it is not ſo: for as much as we can hardly deſcrie the paſſion, that is of force to inſinuate it ſelfe into the whole tenour of a Gouernment. It muſt be confeſſed, that lawleſſe deſires haue bred many Tyrants: yet ſo, that theſe deſires haue ſeldome beene hereditarie, or long-laſting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, ſometimes before his death; by which meanes the Gouernment hath beene reduced to a better forme. In ſuch caſes, the ſaying of *Ariſtotle* holds, *That Tyrannies are of ſhort continuance.* But this doth not ſatisfie the queſtion in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exerciſe Tyrannie? why did the *Athenians*? why haue many other Cities done the like? If in reſpect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill courſe for the ſafetie of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherein ſo many thouſand citizens, diuided and ſubdiuided within themſelues by factions, did all concurre, notwithſtanding the much diuerſitie of temper, and the vehemencie of priuate hatred among them? Doubtles, we muſt be faine to ſay, That Tyrannie is, by it ſelfe, a Vice diſtinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt, euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; euery one in his proper degree. Other deſires of Mankinde, are common likewiſe vnto bruit beaſtes; and ſome of them, to bodies wanting ſenſe: but the deſire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reaſon; whereunto is alſo anſwerable an aptneſſe to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirſt are giuen by nature, not onely to Man and Beaſt, but vnto all ſorts of Vegetables, for the ſuſtentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Luſt, and other Affections are likewiſe naturall, in conuenient meaſure, both vnto Mankinde, and to all creatures that haue ſenſe, for the ſhunning or repelling of harme, and ſeeking after that which is requiſite: euen ſo is this deſire of ruling or obaying, engrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reaſonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuile forme of iuſtice. All theſe in bred qualities are good and vſefull. Neuertheleſſe, Hunger and Thirſt are the Parents of Gluttonie and Drunkenneſſe, which, in reproach, are called beaſtlie, by an vnproper terme: ſince they grow from appetites, found in leſſe worthie creatures than beaſtes, and are yet not ſo common in beaſtes, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of ſuch other Paſſions as deſcend no lower than vnto bruit beaſtes, are held leſſe vile; and perhaps not without good reaſon: yet are they more horrible, and puniſhed more grieuouſly, by ſharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worſe, than of that which is beſt; there is not any Paſſion, that nouriſheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which iſſueth from the moſt noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence ariſe thoſe two great miſchiefes, of which hath beene an old queſtion in diſpute, whether bee the worſe; That all things, or That nothing, ſhould be lawfull. Of theſe, a dull ſpirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occaſioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrarie diſtemper, whoſe vehemencie the bounds of Reaſon cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no countrie is able to ſubſiſt: yet the defectiue dulneſſe, that permitteth any thing, wil alſo permit the execution of Law, to which, meere neceſſitie doth enforce the ordinarie Magiſtrate; whereas Tyrannie is more actiue, and pleaſeth it ſelfe in the exceſſe, with a falſe colour of iuſtice. Examples of ſtupiditie, and vnaptnes to rule, are not very frequent, though ſuch natures are euery where found: for this qualitie troubles not it ſelfe in ſeeking Empire; or if by ſome errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himſelfe in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) ſome friend or elſe a wife, is not wanting to ſupply the defect, which alſo crueltie doth helpe

Ariſt. Pol. lib. 5. c. 12.

to

to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & fœlix scelus, a fortunate mischiefe*, as long as it can subsist. *There is no reward or honour (* saith PETER CHARRON*) assigned to those, that know how to increase, or to preserue humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it.* CAESAR, and ALEXANDER, haue vn-made and slaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the errour of Mans iudgement, in valuing things according to common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannie, when it growes to ripenesse, is none other, than *Feritie*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast; no lesse than Periurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceede in villanie, the faults of Gluttonie and drunkennesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that vsed their bodily force to the destruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius* and *Agathocles*, whose mischieuous heads were assisted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference betweene Freemen, and slaues.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwaies, and simplie, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason ouer Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which hee that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to bee, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterlie rule, which God

Gen.c.1.v.28. gaue vnto *Adam*, when he said; *Haue dominion ouer the fish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire, and ouer euery liuing thing that moueth vpon the earth*: which also hee

Gen.9.2. confirmed vnto *Noah*, and his children, saying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, shall be vpon euery beast of the earth, and vpon euery fowle of the aire, vpon all that moueth vpon the earth, and vpon all the fishes of the Sea; into your hands are they deliuered.* Hee who gaue this dominion to Man, gaue also an aptitude to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disabilitie to gouerne themselues, proues them, according vnto *Aristotles* doctrine, to be naturallie slaues.

Arist.Pol.l.1.c.3 Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppresse men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfulnesse thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shal not be punished for the death of a seruant, whom he hath slaine by correction,

Exod.c.21.v.21 if the seruant liue a day or two, because *he is his monie*; or else by the captiuitie of the

Num.c.30.v.40 *Midianitish* girles, which were made bond-slaues, and the Sanctuarie had a part of them for *the Lords tribute*. Doubtlesse the custome hath beene very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse vpon *Canaan*, that hee should be *a seruant of seruants*; and *Abraham*

Gen.9.25.

Gen.12.v.16. had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-seruants, and maide-seruants*, which were none other than slaues. Christian Religion is said to haue abrogated this olde kinde of seruilitie: but surely, they are deceiued, that thinke so. Saint *Paul* desired the li-

Epist. to Philem. vers.14. bertie of *Onesimus*, whome he had wonne vnto *Christ*: yet wrote hee for this vnto *Philemon*, by way of request, crauing it as *a benefite*, not vrging it as a dutie. Agree-

1.Cor.c.7.v.20. & 21. able hereto is the direction, which the same Saint *Paul* giueth vnto seruants: *Let euery man abide in the same calling wherein hee was called: art thou called, being a seruant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, vse it rather.* It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in feare, of being discouered by their slaues, vnto the persecuters of religion. *Mahomet* likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drewe many

many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as vnlawfull, vnto his ſectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; ſaue that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moores*, it ſeemes he did not. In *England* we had many bond-ſeruants, vntill the times of our laſt ciuile warres: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning *Villenage* are ſtill in force, of which the lateſt are the ſharpeſt. And now, ſince ſlaues were made free, which were of great vſe and ſeruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurſes and other the like Trades; ſlaues in Nature, though not in Lawe.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawfull, or not; *Ariſtotle* hath well proued, that it is naturall. And certainly wee finde not ſuch a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite diſtance in eſtate of the elect & reprobate) the wiſeſt excell the moſt fooliſh, by far greater degree, than the moſt fooliſh of men doth ſurpaſſe the wiſeſt of beaſts. Therfore when Commiſeration hath giuen way to Reaſon: we ſhall find that Nature is the ground euen of Maſterly power, & of ſeruile obedience, which is therto correſpondent. But it may be truly ſaid, that ſome countries haue ſubſiſted long, without the vſe of any ſeruilitie: as alſo it is true, that ſome countries haue not the vſe of any tame cattell. Indeede the affections which vphold ciuill rule, are (though more noble) not ſo ſimplie needfull, vnto the ſuſtentation either of our kind, as are Luſt, and the like; or of euerie one, as are hunger and thirſt; which notwithſtanding are the loweſt in degree. But where moſt vile, and ſeruile diſpoſitions, haue libertie to ſhew themſelues begging in the ſtreets; there may wee more iuſtly wonder, how the dangerous toile of ſea-faring men can finde enough to vndertake them, than how the ſwarme of idle vagabonds ſhould increaſe, by acceſſe of thoſe, that are wearie of their owne more painefull condition. This may ſuffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingraſted euen by Nature, a deſire of abſolute dominion: whereunto the generall cuſtome of Nations doth ſubſcribe; together with the pleaſure which moſt men take in flatterers, that are the baſeſt of ſlaues.

This being ſo, we finde no cauſe to maruaile, how Tyranny hath beene ſo rife in all ages, and practiſed, not onely in the ſingle rule of ſome vicious Prince, but euer by conſent of whole Cities and Eſtates: ſince, other vices haue likewiſe gotten head, and borne a generall ſway; notwithſtanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vſed well the inferiour Paſſions: how then can we expect, that the moſt noble affections ſhould not bee diſordered? In the gouernment of wife and children, ſome are vtterly careleſſe, and corrupt all by their dull conniuencie: others, by maſterly rigour, hold their owne blood vnder condition of ſlauerie. To be a good Gouernour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publike aboue all reſpects whatſoeuer, is the Vertue iuſtly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue, many ages affoord not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Ariſtotle*, as one of them; and deſeruedly, if this praiſe be due to extraordinarie height of fortitude, vſed in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we conſider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto *the fountaine of all goodneſſe*: wee ſhall finde, that no Morall vertue, how great ſoeuer, can, by it ſelfe, deſerue the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we muſt ſearch the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; ſuch as *Dauid*, *Ioſaphat*, and *Ioſias* were. Of Chriſtian Kings if there were many ſuch, the world would ſoone be happie. It is not my purpoſe to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praiſe where it is due; or by preferring a leſſe excellent. But he that can finde a King, religious, and zealous in Gods cauſe, without enforcement either of aduerſitie, or of ſome regard of ſtate; a procurer of the general peace and quiet; who not onely vſeth his authoritie, but addes the trauell of his eloquence, in admoniſhing his Iudges to doe iuſtice; by the vigorous influence of whoſe Gouernment, ciuilitie is infuſed, euen into thoſe places, that haue beene the dennes of ſauage Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that hath quite aboliſhed a ſlauiſh *Brehon*

Law, by which an whole Nation of his ſubiects were held in bondage; and one, whoſe higher vertue and wiſdome doth make the praiſe not onlie of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abſtinence from the bloud, the wiues, and the goods, of thoſe that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto ſome good Princes, to appeare leſſe regardable: he, I ſay, that can finde ſuch a King, findeth an example, worthie to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder ſuch a King, it is likelie by Gods bleſſing, that a Land ſhall flouriſh, with increaſe of Trade, in countries before vnknowne; that Ciuilitie and Religion ſhall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen cõuntries; and that the happineſſe of his ſubiects, ſhall cauſe the Nations farre off remoued, to wiſh him their Souereigne. I neede not adde hereunto, that all the actions of ſuch a King, euen his bodilie exerciſes, doe partake of vertue; ſince all things tending to the preſeruation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, ſeeketh how to imitate the vnſpeakeable goodneſſe, rather than the inacceſſible maieſtie, with both of which himſelfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe alſo belong to the furtherance of that common good, which hee procureth. Leſt any man ſhould thinke me tranſported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reaſon; I adde hereunto, that ſuch a King is neuertherleſſe a man muſt die, and may erre: yet wiſdome and fame ſhall ſet him free, from *errour*, and from *death*, both with and without the helpe of *time*. One thing I may not omit, as a ſingular benefite (though there be many other beſides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruit of his goodneſſe. The people that liue vnder a pleaſant yoke, are not onely louing to their Souereigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muſter of men, then of ſtout fighters, if neede require: whereas on the contrarie, he that ruleth as ouer ſlaues, ſhall bee attended in time of neceſſitie, by ſlauiſh mindes, neither louing his perſon, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may bee furious, and ſlaues outragious, for a time: but among ſpirits that haue once yeelded vnto ſlauerie, vniuerſally it is found true, that *Homer* ſaith, *God bereaueth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he caſteth him into bondage.*

Hom. Odyſſ. l. 17.

Of theſe things, I might perhaps more ſeaſonably haue ſpoken, in the generall diſcourſe of Gouernement: but where ſo liuely an example, of the calamitie following a tyrannicall rule, and the vſe of Mercinaries, thereupon depending, did offer it ſelfe, as is this preſent buſineſſe of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barely deliuered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the warre againſt the Mercinarie was diuerſlie mannaged by HANNO *and* AMILCAR, *with variable ſucceſſe. The bloudy counſailes of the Mercinaries; and their finall deſtruction.*

BEeing now to returne vnto thoſe Mercinaries, from whome I haue thus farre digreſſed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I ſhould call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they ſeeke their wages already due; ſo that they are neither Mercinaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all beene ſubiects vnto *Carthage*, then might they iuſtly haue beene termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegeance to that State, which they endeuoured to ſubuert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and ſtill call them Mercinaries, as *Polybius* alſo doth.

Theſe

Theſe vſing the aduantage of their preſent ſtrength, beſieged * *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being ſeated vpon the weſterne Hauen of *Carthage*, where it is diuided by a necke of land; *Hippagreta* ſtanding inwards vpon the great Lake; *Vtica* further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunes* abandoned, which lay filthie to hinder the *Carthaginians*, from paſſing vp into the countrie: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to followe the warre in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the buſineſſe it ſelfe awakes them haſtilie. They are hardly preſt on all ſides; and therefore trauailed their braines to the vttermoſt, how to ſhake off theſe furious dogges from their ſhoulders, who ſometimes by night, ſometimes by day, came vnto the very walles of their Citie. In this exigent *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accuſtomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatſoeuer was needfull, as well to relieue a Towne beſieged, as to batter and aſſaile any place defended againſt him. With theſe prouiſions, and with an hundred Elephants, hee came to *Vtica*; ſo ſuddenly, that the enemies as men ſurpriſed, forſooke their Trenches, and retired themſelues vnto a riſing peece of woody ground, where they might be ſafe againſt the violence of his beaſts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Numidians*, whoſe cuſtome was, after any loſſe, to flie two or three whole daies iournie off; preſently entred the Towne; to ſhew himſelfe, after this his victory. But theſe good fellowes, againſt whom he was to warre, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as ſoone as they perceiued, that hee knew not how to vſe a victorie; they aſſailed their owne Campe, and with great ſlaughter, draue the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themſelues within *Vtica*; and got poſſeſſion of all the ſtore, that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with ſutable indiſcretion: looſing the benefit of many faire opportunites, and ſuffering the enemies to take poſſeſſion of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firme land.

The *Carthaginians*, perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their ſhete-anchor; ſending to the field their great Captaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furniſhed with ten thouſand foote of ſupply, and ſeuentie Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he ſhould be able to meet with the enemie vpon equall ground. For beſides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had ſuffered them to winne the only Bridge, by which the Riuer *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was paſſable vnto theſe, that were to trauaile into the Continent. This Riuer had not many foords, nor thoſe eaſie for a ſingle man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept ſuch guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailing in ſeeking way by force. As for the Bridge it ſelfe, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lie commodiouſly, intentiue onely to the cuſtodie thereof. But *Amilcar* had obſerued, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* vſed to be ſometimes cloyed with ſand and grauell, that was driuen in by certaine cuſtomarie windes, & could not be driuen out againe, by force of that ſlow Riuer, till the winde falling, or changing, ſuffered the weight of the waters, to diſburden their channel. Hereof he made vſe; and taking his opportunity, paſſed the Riuer; contrarie to all expectation, either of the enemie, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no neede to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come ouer *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improuident grauitie of *Hanno*, but with an able ſpirit, euen with their own Maſter in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was ſoone changed into preſumption; when more than fifteene thouſand of their owne ſocietie, were come from *Vtica*; and other tenne thouſand from the gard of the Bridge. Their

* *Vtica* is ſeated in the great *Bay*, that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the Promontorie of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Farina*, or *Biſerta*; and by the *Africans* themſelues, *Garel Melba*. *Niger* ſaith, that the Towne it ſelfe is ruined, and the place, whereon it ſtood, now called *Mazachares*. It was verie ancient, and built before *Carthage*, ſaith *Silius*. As it flouriſhed before *Carthage* was ſet vp; ſo did it after *Carthage* was throwne down by the *Romans*, in the third *Punick* Warre. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it againſt *Ceſar*. *Victor*, that worthy Diuine, was Biſhop thereof in the time of *Genſeric* the *Arrian*, who lined all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the ſtorie of his cruelties.

Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne iudgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they resolued to charge him on all sides, and beate him downe, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended vpon him; watching for some aduantage; and still exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittest for the seruice of his Elephants, which hee placed in front of his Armie. Neither made hee shewe of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnes of his enemies to increase, till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neere, as would bee little for their good, if hee should turne vpon them, he hastened his march, euen to such a pace, as made a shewe little differing from plaine flight. The Mercinaries presently fell vpon his skirts; beleeuing, that for feare of them he was ready to runne away. But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victorie, were driuing at the heeles of those that had the Reare; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotely, but in very good order, so that amazed with the apprehension of inexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrowe, there were sixe thousand of the Mercinaries slaine, and about two thousand taken; the rest fled; some to the Campe at *Vtica*; others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wanne the place easily: the enemies being thence also fled vnto *Tunes*, as not hauing recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victorie, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Townes reuolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africke*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recouerie of their freedome; hee perswaded *Spendius*, and *Autaritus* that was Captaine of the *Gaules*, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwaies to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and hee himselfe continued to presse the Towne of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessarie for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such waies as there were: for all the countrie lay not leuell. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plaine, surrounded with hilles, that were occupied by the Mercinaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficultie; the fame of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For *Naraua∫us*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion seruing to get the acquaintance and loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* ioyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wanne from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naraua∫us* turned vnto the *Carthaginians* side. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approue his owne valour, to his new friend. So the victorie was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellowes, and foure thousand taken prisoners, but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Autaritus* the *Gaule*, escaped to doe more mischiefe. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vnwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, as tending

tending to winne from them, the hearts of their ſouldiers. Wherefore they reſolued to take ſuch order, that not a man among them ſhould dare, to truſt in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafetie, whileſt *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertiſement, wherein was contained, that ſome of their company reſpectiue onely of their priuate benefit, and careleſſe of the generall good, had a purpoſe to betraie them all vnto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull, to looke well vnto *Geſco*, and his companions, whom theſe traitours had a purpoſe to enlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the ſouldiours, exhorting them to fidelitie; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanitie of *Amilcar*, toward ſome, was none other than a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as alſo telling them, what a dangerous enemie *Geſco* would prooue, if hee might eſcape their hands. While hee is yet in the midſt of his tale; were letters come, to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Autaritus* and ſpeakes his minde plainely: ſaying, that it were the beſt, yea the onely way, for the common ſafetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deuiſing to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with thoſe that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his life, than to trouble themſelues with looking to his cuſtodie; that by ſuch a courſe euery one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victorie alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeake here-againſt, were worthy to bee reputed Traitours. This *Autaritus* was in great credit with the ſouldiours, and could ſpeake ſundrie languages, in ſuch ſort, that hee was vnderſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheleſſe there were ſome, that for loue of *Geſco*, ſought to alter his intended crueltie; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* priſoners which they tooke, ſhould be ſerued in like ſort: and that the ſubiects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home: which rule they obſerued euer afterwards.

Of this crueltie I need ſay no more, then that it was moſt execrable feritie. As for the counſaile of vſing it, it was like vnto the counſaile of ACHITOPHEL; *All Iſrael ſhall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee, be ſtrong.* Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to auoide the puniſhment of leſſe offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull ſpirits of thoſe that haue beene wronged, are breeders of this deſparation: to which may be added, ſome deficiencie of Lawes, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of malefactors, according to the decree of their ſeuerall crimes. A coward thinkes all prouiſion too little, for his owne ſecuritie. *If* PHOCAS *be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour MAVRITIVS) *then is he murderous.* To be ſtedfaſt and ſure, in taking reuenge; is thought a point of honour, and a defenſatiue againſt new iniuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of *Chriſtianitie*; and ſuch a qualitie diſcouered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwiſe would haue repented, and ſought to make amends, for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it, which wrought ſo much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to ſuſpect euen their gentleneſſe, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like vnto the errours of Princes and Gouernours, are the errours of Lawes. Where one and the ſame puniſhment, is awarded vnto the leſſe offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his owne ſecuritie.

Againſt theſe inconueniences Mercie and Seueritie, vſed with due reſpect, are the beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his owne ſouldiours were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courſes; his humanitie

was readie to inuite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honestie and shame, he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance; casting them vnto wilde beasts, to be deuoured.

Vntill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himselfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may seeme, for that nothing is remembred of him, since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorrie to want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to such extremitie, as threatned vtter ruine to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, & came to *Amilcar*, with whom hee ioyned his forces. By this accesse of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more then in former times: rather he could now performe nothing; such was the hatred betweene him and his vnworthy Colleague. The Townes of *Vtica* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood alwaies firme on the *Carthaginian* partie, did now reuolt vnto the enemie, murdering all the souldiours that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The prouisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were lost in foule weather: and *Carthage* it selfe stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilest one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages beene vsed, as the safest course, to send foorth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities, *Athens* and *Rome*; which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perswading themselues, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will vse the greater diligence. They haue also ioyned two chiefe Commanders in equall commission, vpon this further consideration; the better to restraine the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all Common-weales haue beene iealous, hauing beene taught by their examples that haue made themselues Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that haue imployed them. In this point, the *Venetians* haue bin so circumspect, as they haue for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, serueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them trust: but in mannaging the warre it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made neere vnto *Rome* it selfe, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*; which honor (the greatest of any that *Rome* could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeeres seruice; it is no maruaile, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end then victorie. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise then was desired, one *Dictator* was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeede the manner, to send foorth both the Consuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vnlesse one businesse seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be ioined in the administration. Now although it was so, that the *Romans* did many times prenaile with their ioynt Generals: yet was this neuer or seldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modestie hath often beene such, that the lesse able Captaine, though of equall authoritie, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, receiued great and most dangerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the second *Punick* warre we shall finde examples. On the contrarie side, in their warres most remote, that were alwayes mannaged by one, they seldome failed to winne exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those tenne Generals, which serued the *Athenians* at the Battaile of *Marathon*, it may truly be said, that had not their temper been better, than the iudgement

of

of the people that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelues to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affaires had found the ſame ſucceſſe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being ſo ouer-warie, and the other ſo haſtie, as all came to nought that they vndertooke; whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, hauing ſole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale moſt remarkeable ſeruice. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall diſcretion and valour; but that the one hath more of furie than of iudgement, and ſo the contrarie, by which the beſt occaſions are as often ouerſlipt, as at other times many actions are vnſeaſonably vndertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condy* was ſlaine after the Battaile of *Iarnac*, (which Prince, together with the Admirall *Chaſtillon*, had the conduct of the Proteſtant Armie) the Proteſtants did greatly bewaile the loſſe of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, perſon, and birth; yet comforting themſelues, they thought it rather an aduancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For ſo much did the valour of the one, out-reach the aduiſedneſſe of the other, as whatſoeuer the Admirall intended to winne by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to loſe, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſines: who, though they were ſtill ſicke of their ill-grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were vnwilling to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, committed the deciſion of their controuerſies, vnto the Armie that ſerued vnder them. The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Campe: which he did; and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to proſper ſomewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a ſiege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much; hauing in their Campe aboue fiftie thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garriſons. Neuertheleſſe, the Citie was too ſtrong for them to winne by aſſault: and the entrance of victuailes they could not hinder, if any ſhould bee ſent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuſe*, though during the warres in *Sicil* he aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their Alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and conſequently his owne; becauſe if no other State gaue the *Romans* ſomwhat to trouble their diſgeſtion, the Principalitie of *Syracuſe* would ſoone be deuoured by them. The *Romans* alſo gaue them ſome ſlender aſſiſtance, and for the preſent refuſed good offers made vnto them by the Mercinaries. This they did, to ſhew a kind of noble diſpoſition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the ſequele manifeſtly proued.

Whileſt *Matho* and his followers were buſily preſſing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent, in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their ſupply: ſo that finding themſelues more ſtraightly beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vaine attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſue into the field: where *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captaine aſſiſting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leauing *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the buſineſſe. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horſe of *Narauiſus*, made *Spendius* feareſull to deſcend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himſelfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the ſtraighteſt paſſages, wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelfe, with little diſaduantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could bee matched by the labour of *Spendius*. Hee drew the enemie to many skirmiſhes; in all which the ſucceſſe was ſuch, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and day:

day: ſtill intrapping ſome of them, and ſometimes giuing them the ouerthrow in plaine battaile: vntill at length he got them into a ſtraight, whence ere they ſhould get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough, to perceiue their owne diſaduantage: and therefore they had the leſſe ſtomake to fight; but awaited for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreſeeing, that neceſſitie might teach them, to dare impoſſibilities, vſed the benefit of their preſent feare, and ſhut them cloſe vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miſerably for ſuccour, that came not: and hauing ſpent all their victuailes, were ſo pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their priſoners. This they ſuffred patiently, as knowing that they had not deſerued any fauour from *Carthage*; and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not bee vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to ſuch extremitie, that they were faine to deuoure their owne companions, and yet ſaw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obſtinacie was broken; and they threatned their Captaines with what they had deſerued, vnleſſe they would goe foorth to *Amilcar*, and ſeeke ſuch peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autaritus*, fell to conſultation, wherein it was reſolued, to obey the multitude, and yeeld themſelues, if it were ſo required, vnto the death, rather than to periſh by the hands of their owne companions. Hereupon they ſend to craue parle, which is granted; and theſe three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in perſon. What they could ſay vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it ſeemes that they tooke the blame vpon themſelues, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould chooſe, out of the whole number of theſe enemies, any ten whom they pleaſed, to remaine at their diſcretion; and that the reſt ſhould all be diſmiſſed, each in his ſhirt, or in one ſingle coate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told theſe Ringleaders, that he choſe them preſently, as part of the ten, and ſo commanded to lay hands on them: the reſt he foorthwith went to fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon ſo gentle articles, thought themſelues betraied: and therefore amazedly ranne to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the ſame aſtoniſhment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iuſtice, in accompliſhing reuenge, and eaſe in doing the execution. They were all ſlaine: being fortie thouſand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the reuolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naraueſus* and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places readie to yeelde: *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely ſtanding out, vpon feare of deſerued vengeance; and *Tunes*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe ſtrength of the enemie. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the walles; to terrifie thoſe of his olde companions, that were ſtill in armes. With this rigour the ſiege began; as if ſpeedie victorie had beene aſſured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the oppoſite ſide: too farre aſunder to helpe one another in ſudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circumſpect.

Matho from the walles beheld his owne deſtinie, in the miſerie of his companion, and knew not how to auoide it otherwiſe, than by a caſt at dice with fortune. So he brake out vpon that part of the *Carthaginian* Armie, that lay ſecure, as if all danger were paſt, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with ſo great and vnexpected furie he ſallied, that after an exceeding ſlaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* priſoner; on whom, and thirtie the moſt noble of the *Carthaginian* priſoners, he preſently reuenged the death of *Spendius* by the ſame torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing

till

till it was too late; neither had he ſtrength enough remaining, after this great loſſe, to continue the ſiege; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no leſſe within *Carthage*, vpon the fame of this loſſe; than had beene the ioy of the late great victorie. All that could beare armes, were ſent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; whom, it ſeemes, they thought the moſt able of their Captaines ſuruiuing the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one ſole Generall, neere vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue truſted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this haſtie exigent, to deuiſe about repealing it. But thirtie principall men are choſen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* campe, and by all good perſwaſions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It neerely touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the careleſneſſe of *Hannibal* ſeemed to be imputed vnto him, by ſending his enemie to moderate his proceedings. Neuertheleſſe after many conferences, the authoritie of the Senatours preuailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whileſt this warre laſted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to followe good directions, though afterwards hee returned to his old and deadly hatred. *Liu. Dec. 3. l. 1.*

In the meane ſeaſon *Matho* was come abroad; as meaning to vſe the reputation of his late ſucceſſe, whileſt it gaue ſome life vnto his buſineſſe. He had reaſon to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmiſhes, and light exerciſes of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did ſo farre abate the ſtrength, and withall diminiſh the credit of *Matho*, that he reſolued to trie the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his deſires ſhould be accompliſhed, or his cares ended. To this concluſion the *Carthaginians* were no leſſe prone, than *Matho*: as being wearie of theſe long troubles, and inſupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it ſelfe in many trials; and well aſſured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemie had not what to oppoſe. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouiſion: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing foorth into the fielde, all that lay in Garriſon.

The iſſue of this Battaile might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to preſume, ſaue their daring ſpirits, which had beene well cooled by the many late skirmiſhes, wherein they had learned how to runne away. The *Carthaginians* had reaſon to dare, as hauing often beene victorious: and in all points elſe they had the better of their enemies; eſpecially (which is worth all the reſt) they had ſuch a Commander, as was not eaſily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the deſire of libertie ſhould worke ſo much, in men accuſtomed to ſeruitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whoſe future and preſent good lay all at once ingaged in that aduenture. So the *Carthaginians* wanne a great victorie, wherein moſt of the *Africans* their enemies were ſlaine; the reſt fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeelded; and *Matho* himſelfe was taken aliue. Immediatly vpon this victorie, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made ſubmiſſion to their old maſters: *Vtica* onely, and *Hippagreta* ſtood out, as knowing how little they deſerued of fauour. But they were ſoone forced, to take what conditions beſt pleaſed the victours. *Matho* and his fellowes were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they ſuffered all torments that could be deuiſed, in recompence of the miſchiefes which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had laſted three yeeres, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whoſe ſubiects did not loue them, ſhould with leſſe expence, by contenting their Mercinaries, haue preuented in the beginning.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driuen out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrarie to the peace.

WHilest *Matho* and *Spendius* were making this terrible combustion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bostar* the Gouernour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vse. Against these one *Hanno* was sent with a small Armie (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselues with those that were already reuolted, than to indanger themselues by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all iealousie and distrust, they resolued to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that haue vndertaken the quarrell of an vniust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they haue in hand. It is indeed the best pawne, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some such Actions, as are equally vnpardonable to all.

By such a kind of crueltie did the vngratefull *Mantinæans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when hee had formerly possest himselfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did not onely spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gaue them equall freedome with the rest of the Cities vnited. These *Reuolts* are also common in our Court-warres; where, in the conquests of newe fortunes, and making of newe parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of olde friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by old enemies. *Ce sont les coups de vieille escrime. These*, (say the *French*) *be the blowes of the old art of fencing.*

These Mercinaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: onely they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Ilanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiours, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrie: but they could not agree about the profit of the victorie. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the souldiours were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselues, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, betweene *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnlesse the riches of *Carthage* had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to saue themselues in *Italie*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refused, vpon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieued *Matho* and *Spendius* with corne; of whom the

the *Carthaginians* tooke almoſt fiue hundred, and held them in priſon. Hereof was made a great complaint: ſo that the Romans ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, requiring ſatisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to diſpute: they quietly yeelded to releaſe them all. This was ſo kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admoniſhing them to carry all prouiſions to *Carthage*. And vpon the ſame reaſon, did they forbeare to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Vtica*, offering it ſelfe vnto their ſubiection. This might haue ſerued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all poſteritie: had not the iſſue proued, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them ſo temperate, no longer than the hope laſted of thriuing better thereby, than they ſhould haue done by open breach of faith. The whole eſtate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had he beene ouerthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie muſt either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of merciles villaines, or haue humbled herſelfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom ſhee had lately ſtriuen for ſuperioritie. That extreme neceſſitie, whereinto *Matho* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one ſallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage* was not farre from ſuch a miſerable choice. Wherfore it was not vnwiſely done of the *Romans*, to make ſuch demonſtration of kindneſſe, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a rich, but ſinking ſhippe, to runne her ſelfe aground vpon their ſhore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recouerie of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiuing that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recouered her feete againe; began to ſtrike at her head. They entertained the proffer of thoſe Mercinaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced warre againſt this enfeebled and impoueriſhed Citie, vnder a ſhameleſſe pretence, *that the preparations made for* SARDINIA, *were made indeed againſt Rome it ſelfe*. The *Carthaginians* knew themſelues vnable to reſiſt; and therefore yeelded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I ſee not what reaſon they could alleage) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inuaſion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently ſought occaſion of warre. But neceſſitie taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the monie was paied, how hardly ſoeuer it was raiſed. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complaine of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Couenants: ſhe her ſelfe hath broken the peace alreadie, which *Amilcar* purpoſeth to make her dearely repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, ſhall be accompliſhed by *Hannibal* his renoumed ſonne.

§. V.

How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the African Rebellion, and the ſecond Punicke Warre.

THe iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expreſſing their deſire to picke a quarrell; ſerued to inſtruct the *Carthaginians* in a neceſſarie leſſon. That either they muſt make themſelues the ſtronger, or elſe reſolue to be obedient vnto thoſe that were more mighty. In a Citie long accuſtomed to rule, the brauer determination eaſilie tooke place: and the beſt meanes were thought vpon, for the increaſe of puiſſance and Empire. The ſtrength, and the iealouſie of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts vpon the Mediterran ſeas; but the riches of *Spaine*, that lay vpon the *Ocean*, were vnknowne to *Rome*: wherefore that Prouince might ſerue, both to exerciſe the *Carthaginians* in warre, and to repaire their decaied forces, with all needfull ſupplies. Of this *Spaniſh* Expedition, the charge and ſoueraigne truſt was committed vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom

whom his Countrie did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recouer strength by his meanes, that had saued it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other enuious men, that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to bee the most worthy of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; aduising men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whose amitie they said, that the felicitie of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common weale; they got none other reputation, than of singularitie: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisedome.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable seruices that he did, to the singular benefit of his Countrie. He passed the Streights of *Hercules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the westerne coast of *Spaine*; in which Countrie, during nine yeeres that he liued there, hee subiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Prouinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) hee was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*; *Asdrubal* his sonne in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in *practice* and cunning, than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subiects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow iealous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauen, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it neerely retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but begin to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicil*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselues in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be inuaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But hee needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to be feared: it is enough if hee request; since his request shall haue the vertue of a command.

* The *Spaniards* haue since built a Citie of the same name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1532. was sackt by the *English* in the yeere 1585

Yet were the *Romans* vtterly destitute of all good colour; that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spaine*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probabilitie) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spaine*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had beene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that hee should forbeare to proceed any further, than to the Riuer of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howsoeuer the generalitie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to auoide all occasion of warre with *Rome*: yet the brauerie of one man might proue more fastidious, and, resenting the iniurie, returne such answere, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell,

quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdruball* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue this insolent couenant inserted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his owne power, with such appearance of conformitie to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and sought no further.

If it had beene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*, yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vnlesse an oath had also beene extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authoritie of *Asdrubal*; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of periurie, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wanne some reputation in *Spaine*. For when it was once conceiued by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needes be mistresse ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiuing blowes from a stouter Dame; there were soone found some, that by offering themselues to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-seruants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. *The Saguntines*, a people on the South side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemie in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Neuertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*; we shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the Riuer *Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themselues would not passe, in any Discouerie or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon *Spaine*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foote, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoeuer it were; this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mightie Citie. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themselues right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spaine* eight yeeres: (being slaine by a slaue, whose master he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

§. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of PYRRHVS, *to the raigne of* PHILIP *the sonne of* DEMETRIVS *in Macedon.*

IN the long terme of the first *Punick* warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was growne somewhat like vnto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole countrie had recouered by degrees, a forme of libertie: the pettie tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not onely serued to defend themselues, but to giue protection to others. This conuersion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had beene in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroch vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, betweene *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Selencus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning sixe and thirtie yeeres; yet so, that he was diuers times thence expelled, not onely by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath beene alreadie shewed, but by *Alexander* the sonne of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his souldiours, euen at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Amie of the *Gaules*, he was conuerting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receiue his Garrisons. But his yong sonne *Demetrius* raised an Armie; wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not onely out of *Macedon*, but out of his owne *Epirus*, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this yong Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; which was iustly termed *the fetter of Greece*. The Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, stood vpon a steep rockie hill on the North side of the towne; and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the towne; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betweene the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* vnto the other; besides the commoditie of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polysperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made between *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I finde nothing else, than that he was thought to bee poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceiued his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a tricke. The deuice was this. *Antigonus* sent his yong *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish old widdow perceiued not how vnfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as readie, to consent, as was his sonne to desire it, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the middest of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Ladie, whose iealousie had beene exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase hee was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauitie beseeming his old age. But as hee had stollen it; so was it againe stollen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the losse of it, being alreadie spent with age.

Demetrius,

Demetrius, the ſonne of this *Antigonus*, ſucceeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually buſied in warre; wherin his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About theſe times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Græcians* to caſt off their yoke.

Philip, the onely ſonne of *Demetrius*, was a yong child when his father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minoritie of the Prince; but he aſſumed the name and power of a King, though hee reſpected *Philip* as his owne ſonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorſhip; and was alſo called *Doſon*, that is as much as, *Will-giue*, becauſe he was ſlow in his liberalitie. He repreſſed the *Dardanians* and *Theſſalians*, which moleſted his Kingdome, in the beginning of his raigne. Vpon confidence of this good ſeruice, hee tooke ſtate vpon him, as one that rather were King in his owne right, then onely a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were ſoone appeaſed by faire words, and a ſeeming vnwillingneſſe of his to meddle any more with the Gouernment. The *Achaians* tooke from him the Citie of *Athens*, ſoone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all or moſt that hee held in *Greece*, if their owne eſtate had not beene endangered by a neerer enemy. But ciuile diſſention, which had ouerthrowne the power of *Greece*, when it flouriſhed moſt; ouerthrew it eaſily now againe, when it had ſcarcely recouered ſtrength after a long ſickneſſe; and gaue to this *Antigonus* no leſſe authoritie therein, than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like aduantage.

Theſe *Achaians*, from ſmall beginnings, had increaſed in ſhort time to great ſtrength and fame: ſo that they grew the moſt redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithſtanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not onely draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the reſt of the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, to bee gouerned by one Lawe, and to vſe one and the ſame ſort of waights, meaſure, and monie.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the firſt that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had beene by the *Macedonian* Captaines diuided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as moſt of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they firſt ſubiected themſelues, after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tiſamenus* the ſonne of *Oreſtes* poſſeſt the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this eſtate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whome, when his ſonnes ſought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predeceſſors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as ſeeming moſt equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with ſome ſmall changes according to the diuerſitie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempeſt-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For thoſe twelue Cities, called *the Cities of alliance*, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battaile of *Leuctres*; were, by diſturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a warre, no leſſe fooliſh than cruell, among themſelues. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Lagus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, left the world; two of the ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenſes* and the *Dimæi*, vnited themſelues, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For hauing beene, ſome of them *Partiſans* with ſundrie *Macedonian* Captaines, and others hauing beene gouerned by pettie Kings; they began to faſten themſelues in a ſtrong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before ſpoken of, and partly, at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* made his firſt voiage into *Italie*. Now after the vniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimæi*, to whom alſo the Cites of *Tritæa*, and *Phara*, ioyned themſelues;

Ægira chaſed out her Garriſons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the ſame Confederacie. Theſe Cities, for twentie & fiue yeeres, vſed the ſame forme of Gouernement with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and ſoone after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynenſis* was the firſt, and *Aratus* the ſecond.

This *Aratus* was a noble yong Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who liuing at *Argos* in exile, whileſt his Countrie was oppreſſed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other baniſhed men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chaced the Tyrant, and reſtored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more buſie in watching what to get among the *Greekes*, than wiſe in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entred into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it receiued more increaſe, by their acceſſion, than it added ſtrength to them; yet the benefit of this coniunction ſerued well enough againſt *Antigonus*, whoſe ſubtilty was ſomewhat greater than his valour. As the induſtrie and counſaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Countrie from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league: ſo further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great coſt of one hundred and fiftie talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuerſies, betweene the baniſhed *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had poſſeſſion of theſe mens Lands; as alſo with the ſame mony he drew many others to aſſiſt him in thoſe enterpriſes following, that redounded to the ſingular good of all *Achaia*. The mony he obtained of *Ptolemie Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*; who partly had a deſire to hold ſome ſtrong and ſure friendſhip in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuerſation of *Aratus* himſelfe, that made a dangerous voiage to him into *Ægypt*, and fed his pleaſure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The firſt of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the ſurprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by ſome theeues that he had hired for the purpoſe, who liuing in the place, had practiſed to rob *Antigonus* his treaſurie, paſſing in and out by a ſecret path among the rockes. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeede *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather ouer-come by their owne feare, than by any force of the aſſailants; as miſtruſting leſt the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing loſt the aduantages of the place already, vpon which they had preſumed, before they were aware of any enemie.

In theſe kinde of night-ſeruices, ambuſhments, ſurpriſes, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was as timorous. By this ſtrange mixture of cowardize and courage, he miniſtred argument of diſputation, to Philoſophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was eſteemed, and in ſome caſes approued) might looke pale and tremble, when he beganne battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diuerſified, by the ſundry natures of men, and in a manner confined, vnto ſeuerall ſorts of action. In reſoluing which doubts it may be ſaid; that all vertue is perfected in men by exerciſe, wherein they are trained by occaſion: though a naturall inclination ſtandeth in neede of little practice; whereas the defect hereof muſt be ſupplied with much inſtruction, vſe, good ſucceſſe, and other helpe, yet hardly ſhall grow abſolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In ſincere affection to his Countrie he was vnreproueable, and ſo acknowledged: as his following actions will teſtifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* reuolted ſoon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the ſame Corporation. So did the *Trœzenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew ſo powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterpriſe vpon *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* waſted the Ile of *Salamis*, to ſhew his ſtrength,

and

and ſent home the *Athenian* priſoners, without ranſome, to allure the Citie by ſhew of loue; yet the *Athenians* ſtirred neither againſt him, nor for him, as being now growne honeſt ſlaues to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more ſtrongly. The *Achaians* came ſometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people ſtirred not: once they entred it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recouerie of their owne freedome; ſundrie times, and with diuers euent, they fought with the Tyrants, (who roſe vp one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and ſlue one of them in battaile; but all ſufficed not: vntil at length *Ariſtomachus* the Tyrant was ſo terrified, perſwaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he conſented to reſigne his eſtate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppreſſed the *Phliaſians*. Whileſt this buſineſſe with the *Argiues* was on foot, *Lyſiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis* was ſo well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulſion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got ſuch credit, that he was choſen Generall of their forces (which was a yeerly Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one man) euerie ſecond yeere, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* ſucceeding one another by turnes. But thoſe late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus*, were carried with priuate paſſion from care of the generall good; in which courſes they oppoſed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as ſhall appeare in due time.

The *Achæans* hauing obtayned ſo much puiſſance and reputation, that *Ptolomie* King of *Ægypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the libertie of *Athens*. It is ſtrange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had loſt a battaile, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in ſigne of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter ſeruit, aut ſuperbè dominatur*; *It is either baſe in ſeruice, or inſolent in command*. Neuertheleſſe when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by monie, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the *Macedonian* Garriſon, purchaſed libertie to the *Athenians*, who thencefoorth held good correſpondence with the *Achæans*, louing them, and ſpeaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, ſcorning it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glorie.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increaſed within *Peloponneſus*, by iuſtice and honeſtie; ſo did the *Ætolians*, in the vtter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponneſus* it ſelfe, waxe very powerfull, by ſturdineſſe of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had ſtoutly defended themſelues againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to doe and ſuffer much; partly by the natural ſtrength and faſtneſſe of their Countrie; but eſpecially by the benefit of the time, which called away theſe famous Captaines to other buſineſſe, as hath beene related. They had moleſted *Caſſander*, in fauour of *Antigonus*; and were themſelues as much plagued by him, & by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a ſtout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to doe with *Demetrius*, the ſonne of the firſt *Antigonus*, and more or leſſe, with al the Kings of *Macedon* ſucceeding him. They likewiſe held often Warre with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponneſus*: ſo that they were hardened with perpetuall trauaile; ſeldome putting off their Armour. But their hardineſſe ill deſerued the name of valour, ſeeing they had no regard of honeſtie or friendſhip; meaſuring all things by their owne inſolent wil, and thinking al people baſe-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themſelues.

Theſe *Ætolians* had lately made great ſpoiles in *Peloponneſus*, and occupied a good part of the countrie. They had inuaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and ſacked

Pallene; where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them greedie of a new voiage thither, as to a Countrie wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driuen to seeke helpe of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The warre which the *Achæans* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giuing thanks in words, deuised how to requite the benefit with some great mischiefe. They saw that the *Achæans* were desirous, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very iealous. Wherefore these *Ætolians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselues should be called into helpe (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in booties and Territorie. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their deuice vnto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that his Kingdome had sustained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedæmonians* cause to take armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been medling with the *Archadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedæmonians* to looke about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselues, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was alreadie become *Achæan*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subiect to the iniuries of any stronger Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand slaues; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Auarice and Luxurie raigned among them, the poore was oppressed by the rich, & the generositie of spirit, that had sometime beene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seuen hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not aboue one hundred had lands: all the rest were needie people and desirous of innouation. Hereupon followed inteſtine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus* his laws. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equal diuision of lands. All the yonger, and the poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsailors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They were hastie to take away all debts, and cancell bonds, for they themselues were deeply indebted: but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindred, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerse Kings driuen to take Sanctuarie; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawne into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer knowne in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelties proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vsing their power, and more power than to them belonged,

against

againſt a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the lawes required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ſerued to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope, to adioyne *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæan* Common-wealth: though it were great iniuſtice to take ſuch aduantages, & attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the beneſit of *Sparta* it ſelfe, if it could haue beene wrought by perſwaſion.

But the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the iniuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, euen in their owne kind: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponneſus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, ſhould haue beene the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* hauing thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in mariage (perforce) to his owne ſonne *Cleomenes*. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and ſought to winne her affection, as well as he had her perſon. He diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former husband *Agis*, and by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himſelfe to be King, whilſt he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all occaſions of warre: for that he hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in ſo corrupt an eſtate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therfore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurpriſe *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he loſt the labour of a painefull nights trauaile, and diſcouered his enmitie to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorrie. By theſe degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcouered the *Ætolian* practice, and therfore would haue ſtaied the quarrell from proceeding too farre. But *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus* would needes fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo vrgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time General of the *Achæans*, (He & *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their tyrannie) who ſent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a journie to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerue: therefore he came in perſon, and tooke part of a buſineſſe, little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſſe in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight; but oppoſed himſelfe againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to giue battaile. Yet had the *Achæans* twentie thouſand foot, & one thouſand horſe, in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than fiue thouſand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report vpon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his cowardize. Neuertheleſſe the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their General the yere, following, againſt *Lyſiadas* his accuſer that ſued for the place. Being Generall himſelfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the ſlanderous wordes of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purpoſed to ſet vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, neere vnto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*; who vanquiſhed him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himſelfe all night for feare, ſo that he was thought to haue beene ſlaine. This miſaduenture *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue been expected, had he bin victorious. For whilſt there was no ſuſpition of any great matter that he could vndertake; he ſecretly wrought with ſome of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their Citie. The *Mantineans* had once before ioyned themſelues with the *Achæans*; but ſhortly vpon feare, or ſome other paſſion, they gaue themſelues

to

to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the *Achæan* societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred neere vnto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had somewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his aduantage. Therupon *Lysiadas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the *Lacedæmonians*, whom hee routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too farre into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driuen backe vpon their owne Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Armie was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achæans* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercinaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuertheless; wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intentiue to another businesse.

Cleomenes hauing led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painefull journies, forsooke the *Achæan* warre on a sudden, and came vnexpected home to *Sparta*, where hee slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gaue hee an accompt of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched vpon the power of Kings, and many disorders had growne in the Citie; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diuision of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. Hee also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether stand in neede of mercinarie helpe, as it lately had done, to saue it selfe from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied; and *Cleomenes* himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take aduantage of these his domesticall troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long, ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the Citie, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Countrie of *Megalopolis*; had ranged ouer all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*; and readie to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authoritie, hee proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principalitie of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend, about the possession of a few Townes: but aduentured to winne or lose all. The *Ætolians*, in fauour of his attempt, declared themselues on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and saw that *Antigonus* with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore hee deuised how to prouide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not bee) to saue all from vtter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, hee refused; fearing to bee so farre prest, as to hazzard in one battaile all the force of his Countrie, to which as hee had neuer any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprise, and defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner

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of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forſake the care of the weale publike, though in aiming at the generall good, it ſeemes that priuate paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Mantinæa* had not only opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but ſlaine the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vnto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince Generall of the *Achæans*, was now reuolted vnto the enemie, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemie* was too farre off to helpe; and the neereneſſe of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be vſefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be friend or enemie, as ſhould beſt agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt vnto his purpoſe; and inſtructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had beene well affected to the *Macedonians*, euer ſince the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by ſome eſpeciall benefits. At this time it lay neereſt vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deſerued ſuccour; yet could not well bee relieued by the *Achæans*, with their owne proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaſſadours ſhould bee ſent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requeſting leaue and good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonus* in their neceſſitie. This was granted, for lack of what elſe to anſwere: and the ſame Embaſſadours diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predeceſſours; of their preſent neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had giuen them inſtruction; ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his owne great loſſe or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how *Aratus* himſelfe did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* vnder the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentiue eare to their diſcourſe. He embraced the motion: and to giue it the more life, he wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe ſhould not be wanting, ſo farre forth, as it might ſtand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himſelfe, by theſe Meſſengers, to *Aratus*; aſſuring them, that he thought himſelfe highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceiued, not to haue beene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only vpon a iuſt and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this anſwere they returne to *Megalopolis*: and are preſently ſent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſitie of the time required.

The *Achæans* were glad to heare, that *Antigonus* was ſo inclinable to their deſire; and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his conſent; and praiſed the wiſedome of his Countrimen, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt meanes of their common ſafetie: adding neuertheleſſe, that it were not amiſſe, firſt of all to trie their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then ſhould they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus hee ſhewed himſelfe moderate, in that which himſelfe of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that hee might not afterward ſuſtaine the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſſe; ſince it might appeare, that he had not beene Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leiſurably, the generall conſent.

Neuertheleſſe in true eſtimation, this fineneſſe of *Aratus* might haue beene vſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie courſe. For it had beene more honourable, to make an end of the Warre, by yeelding vnto *Cleomenes* that power which they gaue vnto *Antigonus*: ſince therby he ſhould both haue freed his

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Countrie from all further trouble; and withall ſhould haue reſtored vnto the vniuerſall ſtate of *Greece*, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereſt it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittie) that Vertue hauing riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelfe, (as it were) in the ſeat of Principalitie, by length of time, and ſucceſſe of many actions; can ill endure the haſtie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelfe likely to bee ouer-topped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none; than that they lately had bin in dangerous caſe: neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one, when he thought himſelfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was iuſtly plagued, when he ſaw his owne honors reuerſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*; and in ſtead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long race of Kings, the poſteritie of *Hercules* was faine to doe ſacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a God, and was finally poiſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobilitie was but of fiue deſcents, and whom perhaps he might haue ſeene his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolomie* was loſt: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberalitie, as hee had vſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeeme, by their example, to be more warie both in truſting & diſburſing. *Cleomenes* himſelfe, whileſt this buſineſſe with *Antigonus* was a-foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Armie, & laboured by all meanes to draw the *Achæans* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their eſtate, without ſeeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where hee had ſo great a victorie, that the enemie was no longer able to keepe the open field. The calamitie was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelfe durſt not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted vpon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate vnto themſelues the command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in Warre. Hereunto if they would condeſcend, he promiſed vnto them, that he would preſently reſtore al places taken from them, and al his priſoners ranſom-free: alſo that they ſhould enioy their owne Lawes and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*: who deſired him to come vnto the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held, for the concluſion of the Warre.

Now ſeemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be ſettled in better order, than they had euer beene ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Warres, yea or ſince the *Perſian* Inuaſion: when God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme ſick, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuertheleſſe he ſent home the chiefe of his priſoners, to ſhew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his friendſhip: who aſſembled againe at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it; and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countrimen afraid of reſoluing. When all would not ſerue turne, he betooke himſelfe to his cunning; and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that hee ſhould doe well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiuing Hoſtages for ſafetie of his perſon. *Cleomenes* was already farre on his way, when he met with this aduertiſement: and tooke it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had beene an eaſie matter, to haue told him ſo much at the firſt, and not haue made him come ſo farre with an Armie, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſſe. Yet that which chiefly ſeemes to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themſelues and their Meſſengers; or if he would aduenture

uenture himselfe into the Citie, then to depriue him of all Royall shew, that might breede respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeede which *Aratus* feared, and for which he sought to hinder his comming thither in person: lest the people, hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, & finish the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these iuggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not farre behinde with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betweene feare of the one, and reuerence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceede, but abruptly brake vp, leauing all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his aduantage of their present weakenesse, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded vnto him willingly; many hee forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gaue as good words as could be wished: saying that he vtterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse he might first haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enemie the Stag: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled & bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserued, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiuing what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So hee withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Castle should bee ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was in doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be safely kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would harken to these perswasions, then would he giue him double the same pension, which hee had beene wont to receiue of King *Ptolemie*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peleponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soueraigntie of the Countrie; he desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be iointly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreatie serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, reiecting vtterly the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood, he seised vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrie of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Aduersarie was natiue.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neere to the *Isthmus*; hauing passed with his Armie through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the streights of *Thermopylæ* against him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this iournie. At his comming thither he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battaile, but rather to wearie him thence with hunger, against which hee came not well prouided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to doe: hee secretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauen; but was violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally he resolued to turne aside, and seeke a passage ouer the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexitie newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*,

gonus, and no leſſe troubled his enemies; The *Achæans* were gotten into that Citie, and the Garriſon which *Cleomenes* had left therein, thoughit was not driuen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly diſtreſſed, and ſtood in neede of preſent helpe. *Argos* had alwaies bin enemie to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forbare to chaſe out thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected, partly, at the entreatie of friends; and partly, for that they all made ſhew to be glad of his proſperitie. They were glad indeede of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elſewhere, as many as hoped that he would cauſe all debtors to be diſcharged from their creditours, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* inſtitution: in other places, where it would haue beene tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon, ſuch as were diſappointed of their vniuſt hopes, beganne to turne good Common-wealths-men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, becauſe hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achæans*; aſſailed his Garriſon; cut in peeces the Reſcue that he ſent; and compelled him at length, to forſake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his backe. For when he vnderſtood, by continuall meſſages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almoſt loſt: hee beganne to feare, leſt his labour in guarding the entry ſhould grow friuolous; the *Achæans* in the meane while ſpoiling all that lay within. Therefore hee forſooke his cuſtodie of the *Iſthmus*, and made all haſte towards *Argos*: which if he could ſaue, he meant to truſt fortune with the reſt. And ſo farre he preuailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argiues* and *Achæans* were glad to houſe themſelues, leauing him Maſter of the ſtreets: when the horſe-men of *Antigonus* were diſcouered a-farre off, haſting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himſelfe (to whom *Corinth* was yeelded, as ſoone as the *Spartan* had turned his backe) following apace with the bodie of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a ſafe retrait. This he did; and got him home into *Laconia*: looſing in ſhort ſpace all, or moſt, of that which he had beene long in getting.

Antigonus hauing ſhewed himſelfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wanne ſuch Caſtles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and reſtored them to the old Poſſeſſors. This done, he tooke his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*: to whom he declared the cauſe of his comming, and ſpake braue wordes, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into couenant with him, That they ſhould not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embaſſadour, without his conſent. All this while, & ſomwhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that ſeemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon*, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where he not only feaſted him as a great Prince, but ſuffered more than humane honours, as ſacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the reſt of *Achaia*: which had made (forſooth) a very wiſe bargaine, if in ſtead of *Cleomenes* that would haue beene a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, impoſed the burthen vpon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken: yet worſe muſt be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himſelfe ouer-carefully reſpected; when the ſtatues of thoſe Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the ſtatues, which he had erected, of thoſe that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the ſame King, and one only left vnto himſelfe at his earneſt entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was alſo ſpightfull. Neuertheleſſe in taking reuenge vpon thoſe that offended him, *Aratus* did ſatisfie his owne paſſion by the aide of theſe *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Ariſtomachus* to death, who had beene once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achæans*; and from them reuolting vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like ſort

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handled hee (though not as yet) the *Mantineans* for their ingratitude and crueltie ſhewed to the *Achæans*. For he ſlue all the principall Citizens, and ſold the reſt, men, women, and children, all for bond-ſlaues: diuiding the ſpoile; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Towne it ſelfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argiues*: who peopled it with a Colonie of their owne; and *Aratus* hauing charge of this buſineſſe, cauſed it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this crueltie there can be no better excuſe; than euen the flatterie, which *Aratus* was driuen to vſe to *Antigonus*: foraſmuch as it was a token of ſeruilitie, whereinto they had vrged and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leauing to ſpeake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill ſtate of the *Achæans*; Let vs returne into his warre againſt the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wanne *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphuſſa*: *Mantinæa* he diſpeopled, as was ſaid before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garriſon of his *Macedonians*; the reſt he reſtored to the *Achæans*: with whom he wintred at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his owne Territorie. The reaſon why he ſtirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, and to thoſe other Townes that hee wanne, was this: He had few Souldiers, and not monie enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Ægyptian* promiſed much, but would performe nothing, vnleſſe he might haue *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. Theſe were ſent into *Ægypt*; yet the aide came not. For *Ptolemie* was ſlow; as dealing in the buſineſſe of *Greece*, rather for his mindes ſake, than vpon any apprehenſion of neceſſitie. *Cleomenes* therefore prouided for himſelfe, as well as his owne abilitie would ſerue. He manumiſed all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedæmonian* ſlaues: taking monie for their libertie, and arming two thouſand of them, after the *Macedonian* faſhion. Hauing thus increaſed his forces, hee came on the ſudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay ſecure, as hauing defended it ſelfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* neere at hand in *Ægium*. The Towne he wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare armes, roſe haſtily againſt him; & though they could not driue him out, yet ſaued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their eſcape. He ſent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would bee of his partie. But they brauely refuſed his offer: wherefore he ſacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. Theſe newes aſtoniſhed the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* ſent haſtily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were ſo long in comming, that *Cleomenes* was ſafely gone home. Therfore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himſelfe to *Argos*, there to paſſe the reſt of this vnlucky winter, ſomewhat further from the eyes of the greeued *Achæans*. When he had laine awhile at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argiues* perceiuing that their Countrie would be ſpoiled, if *Antigonus* did not iſſue into the field; were very earneſt with him to goe forth and fight. But hee was wiſer then to be moued with their clamours; and ſuffered them to ſee their villages burnt; to bid him reſigne his Office of Protector vnto ſome that were more valiant; and to ſatisfie their paſſions with fooliſh wordes; rather than he would be ouer-come in fight, and thereby loſe more honour than could eaſily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his deſire, in weakning the reputation of his enemie: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other ſtrength, vnto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the ſeaſon was more fit for warre, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troups; meaning to requite theſe brauado's of his enemie, with the conqueſt of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other ſide, laboured to keepe the warre from his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrie of *Argos*, where he made

such hauocke, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coasting the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Countrie of the *Argiues*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Iuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorne, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yet serued to dishearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore hee concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting vp his rest, without more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Armie eight and twentie thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundrie Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* comming to *Selasia*, found his enemie so strongly incamped, vpon and between the hils of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before hee could aduance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which he greatly desired, without the hazzard of his whole armie, in assayling their wel-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being resolued to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*, but his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, & light-armed foot, incamped in the streight vallie between those hils, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts; and not onely disordered them, but were like to haue endangered al the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battaile, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Euclidas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground affoorded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proued a famous Captaine, serued then on horse, as a priuate yong man, among the *Achæans*. He seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driuen to fall backe vpon the Army following them; perswaded the Captaines of the *Achæan* horse, to break vpon the *Spartan* Mercinaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they receiued a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiuing them to be more orderly, than well aduised; entreated some of his owne Countrimen to follow him; gaue a charge vpon the *Spartans*; and forced them not onely to leaue the *Illyrians*, but seeke how to saue themselues. Being so farre aduanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to bee wonne, through the vnskilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore hee alighted, and perswaded the men at armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Euclidas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euen termes. So he recouered the Hill top; where though he was sore hurt, yet yee made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Euclidas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himselfe, was like to haue beene surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an extraordinarie speede. In this battaile ended the glorie of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light readie to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, then in many ages past.

Cleomenes

Cleomenes fled vnto *Sparta*: where he had no desire to stay, finding onely two hundred left, of sixe thousand *Spartans* that he had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So hee perswaded his people to yeelde themselues vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any time lie in his owne power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before prouided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for *Ægypt*. Hee was louingly entertained by *Ptolemie Euergetes*; who vndertooke to restore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behauiour and qualities. In the meane season hee had a pension allowed him, of foure and twentie talents, yeerely. But this *Ptolemie* died; and his sonne *Ptolemie Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious yong Prince, wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seeme to inuite him; *Ptolemie*, and his Minions, would neither giue him aide; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his owne friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weakenesse of *Ægypt*: nor well knew how to detaine him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countrimen, he vndertooke a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and seeke their libertie. In which attempt hee slue some enemies of his that he met; and hauing walked vp and downe the streets, without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) he, and his Companions, agreed together to bee ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead bodie *Ptolemie* was bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had beene sent thither as Hostages, together with the wiues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomones*; a generous Prince, but Sonne of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloudie ende, as now befell his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grand-children.

After the Victorie at *Sellasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: whereinto neuer the force of any Enemie, before him, could make way. Hee kindely entreated the Citizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Gouernment: tarrying there no longer, than two or three dayes; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an aduertisement that he receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* ouer-ranne, and destroied the Countrie. Had these newes come a little sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least-wise tarried a few dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdome of *Lacedæmon* would haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battaile with the *Illyrians*, and ouer-came them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-strayning his voice; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto *Philip*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolemie Philopater*; beganne to raigne in *Asia*, and *Ægypt*; Boyes all. Of these, *Ptolemie*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuenteene yeeres of his raigne. The vnripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vsual in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; vpon

which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.

WHilest things thus passed in *Greece*; and whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spaine*: the *Romans* had found themselues worke among the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made also warre with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little paine. With the *Gaules* they had much adoe, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Liuie* saith, a tumult then a warre. So that by al these light exercises, their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterran Sea*, it hath bene shewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be vtterly silent.

Liu. l. 21.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slauonia*: a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were inuited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to helpe the *Mydionians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrian* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honour of the victory, and the diuision of the spoile to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and wonne the Towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and at *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, should be ioyntly intitled in the victorie, and haue equall authoritie in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arriued, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Ætolians*; & though good resistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their owne multitude, partly by helpe of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their owne businesse, but stoutly sallied out of the Towne. Many of the *Ætolians* were slaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* tooke the spoile, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the monie, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the bootie that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, hee found it not vneasie, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For ioy of this he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleurisie*, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Teuta*, his wife.

Teuta gaue her people free libertie, to rob all Nation son at Sea, making no difference betweene friend and foe; as if shee had beene sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. Shee armed a fleet, and sent it into *Greece*: willing hee Captaines, to make warre,

Warre where they found aduantage, without any further reſpect. Theſe fell with the weſterne coaſt of *Peloponneſus*; where they inuaded the *Eleans*, and *Meſſenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, & ſtayed at the Citie of *Phœnice*, to take in victuailes and other neceſſaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*; that hauing beene Mercinaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, firſt *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but fayling to do either, they neuertheleſſe reuolted, and were for their miſdeedes diſarmed, and ſent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by theſe *Epirots*, and truſted to lie in Garriſon within their Towne. The *Gaules* were ſoone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betraied *Phœnice*; which deſerued none other, in truſting them. Al *Epirus* was preſently in armes, and haſtned to driue out theſe vnwelcome gueſts. But whileſt the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, vnder one *Scerdilaïdas*; whom Queene *Teuta* had ſent to help his fellowes. Vpon this aduertiſement, a part of them is ſent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Towne, and the ſtreights adioyning, by which theſe new commers muſt enter into their Countrie; another part of them remaines at *Phœnice*, to continue the ſiege. Neither the one, nor the other, ſped well in their buſineſſe. For *Scerdilaïdas* found meanes to joyne with his fellowes; and they that were beſieged within *Phœnice*, ſallied out of the towne, and gaue ſuch an ouerthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them deſpaire of ſauing their Countrie, without great and ſpeedie helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embaſſadours were ſent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: craning their helpe, with very pittifull termes of entreatie. They obtained their ſuit; neither was it long, before an Armie, ſent by theſe two Nations, was readie in *Epirus*, to preſent battaile vnto *Scerdilaïdas*. But *Scerdilaïdas* was called home, by letters from *Teuta* the Queene, that ſignified a rebellion of ſome *Illyrians* againſt her: ſo that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered compoſition; which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ranſome their Towne, and all their people that were priſoners; and that the *Illyrians* ſhould quietly depart, with all their bootie and ſlaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargaine; the *Illyrians* returned into their own Countrie by Land, ſending their bootie away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no ſuch great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occaſioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Marchants, whileſt they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, were ſo frequent, that Embaſſadours were ſent to require of *Teuta*, that ſhe ſhould abſtaine from doing ſuch iniuries. Theſe Embaſſadours found her very iolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that ſhee had, in ſhort ſpace, tamed her Rebels, and brought al to good order, ſaue only the towne of *Iſſa*, which her forces held ſtreightly beſieged. Swelling with this proſperitie, ſhee could hardly affoord a good looke to the vnmannerly *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyracie*, required amends. Yet when their ſpeech was ended, ſhe vouchſafed to tell them, That iniurie in publike ſhee would doe them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subjects to get commoditie, how they beſt could, by Sea. But (ſaid the yonger of the two Embaſſadours) we *Romans* haue a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of thoſe priuate wrongs that are borne out by publike authoritie: therfore we ſhall teach you, God willing, to reforme your Kingly manners, and learne better of vs. Theſe words the Queene tooke ſo impatiently, that no reuenge could ſatisfie her, but the death of him that had ſpoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, ſhee cauſed him to be ſlaine: as if that had beene the way, to ſet her heart at reſt; which was indeede the meane, to diſquiet and afflict it euer after.

The *Romans*, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by

Sea, consisting of two hundred saile, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselues any more, with requiring satisfaction: for this iniurie is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall warre. It is indeede contrarie to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to bee this; that since without mediation, there would neuer be an end of warre and destruction, therfore it was equally receiued by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadors should passe freely, and in safetie, betweene enemies. Neuertheless, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold vpon Embassadours sent by their enemies, not vnto themselues, but vnto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadours (thus emploied, to make the warre more terrible) as it is to kill the men of warre, and subiects, of an enemie. And so might the *Athenians* haue answered it, when they slew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a warre vpon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoeuer. For whereas the true Office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassadour doe it without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the *Ciuilians*; and goe on with the reuenge; taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queene was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stirre against her. She was indeede in an errour; that hath vndone many of all sorts, greater and lesse than she, both before and since: *Hauing more regard vnto fame, than vnto the substance of things.* The *Greekes* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had shee easily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be litle troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Armie, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that neuertheless, it preuailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; shee would haue continued to vse her aduantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not haue needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mightie than her selfe. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. Shee sent foorth a greater fleet than before, vnder *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could bee gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe; and one part of it fell with [a] *Dyrrachium*; the other, with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surprized by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In [b] *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed; wasted the Isle; and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were called in to helpe: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of lesse note, *Marcus Carynensis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Towne of *Corcyra*, dismaied with the ouerthow, opened the gates vnto *Demetrius Pharius*; who tooke possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison; sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane season, *Teuta* was angrie with her Captaine *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolued to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were euen readie to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when aduertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consull, of *Demetrius* his feare and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the businesse in hand. Wherefore the Consull sailed thither; where hee found the Towne of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the *Roman* protection. After

[a] *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo*, seated vpon the *Adriatick* Sea, betweene the Ilands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*.

[b] *Corcyra*, an Iland of the *Adriatick* Sea, not farre from *Durazzo*: called now *Corfu*, and in the possession of the *Venetians*.

After this good beginning, the Conſull ſailed alongſt the coaſt, to [c] *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he vſed thenceforth as his counſailer and guide. To *Apollonia* came alſo *Poſthumus*, the other Conſull, with the Land-Armie, numbred at twentie thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Thence they haſten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had beſieged; but vpon newes of the *Roman* Armie, they diſperſe themſelues. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twentie of their ſhips; and enforce the Queene *Teuta* to forſake the coaſt, and to couer her ſelfe in *Riſon*, farre within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haſte them homeward, and leaue the beſt places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part ſtaies behinde, and proſecutes the warre, in ſuch ſort, that *Teuta* was forced to begge peace: which ſhee obtained vpon miſerable conditions; to wit, That ſhee ſhould quit the better part of *Illyria*, & pay tribute for the reſt; and from thenceforth, neuer ſend any of her ſhips of warre, towards the coaſts of *Greece*, beyond the Iland of *Liſſa*: except it were ſome one or two veſſels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

[c] *Apollonia*, a Citie neere *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, vpon the Sea-coaſt. *Pinetus* calls it *Siſſopolis*.

After this *Illyrian* warre, the *Romans* ſent Embaſſadours into diuers parts of *Greece*, ſignifying their loue to the Countrie, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made warre with good ſucceſſe vpon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that ſome diſtreſſed Cities would take this occaſion, to deſire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wiſe enough to play their owne games. But no ſuch matter fell out. The Embaſſadours were only rewarded with thankes; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Iſthmian* paſtimes. This was an idle courteſie, but well meant by the vaine *Greekes*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, ſaue a little acquaintance, that ſhall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the warre betweene the Romans and Gaules, ſomewhat before the comming of HANNIBAL *into Italie.*

THe *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lumbardie*, were the next, againſt whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. Theſe were a populous Nation, and often moleſted *Rome*; ſometimes with their owne forces, and ſometimes with the aſſiſtance of thoſe that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the iſſue of that warre proued not anſwerable to the beginning, if we may giue credit vnto *Roman* Hiſtorians. In following times, their ſucceſſe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victorie, it yeelded them no profit, but was ſoone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduiſed: lightly ſtirred vp to warre, and lightly giuing ouer. At the firſt brunt, they were ſaid to be more than men; but when that was paſt, leſſe than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwaies carefull heede to their approch, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was ſudden, and vncertaine; by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, were called warres, but *tumultus Gallici*; *tumults of the Gaules*; and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italie*, and vſed to riſe with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and ſometimes before their ſetting forth, any ſmall occaſion ſerued to diſperſe them. Hauing receiued an ouerthrow; they would reſt ten, or twelue yeeres, ſometimes twentie or thirtie: till they were ſtirred vp againe, by yonger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whileſt they reſted; the ſtate of *Rome*, that againſt theſe made only defenſiue warre, had leiſure to grow, by ſetting vpon

vpon others. Herein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which hee intended to raiſe: that the *Gaules* neuer fell vpon *Italie*, with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whileſt *Pyrrhus* was trauailing in the ſame enterpriſe; or in either of the two former *Punick* warres: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it ſeemes that the *Gaules* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italie*, than ſtrangers had in *Gaule*. At leaſt, they knew not how to vſe their times: and were therefore like to ſmart, whenſoeuer the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, ſhould finde leiſure to viſit them at their owne home: which was now after the firſt *Punick* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had beene bold, to ſet vpon the *Gaules* in their owne Countrie: and that was three yeeres before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gaules*, inuading *Hetruria*, and beſieging *Arretium*, had wonne a great battaile and ſlaine *L. Cæcilius* with the moſt of his Armie. *Mannius Curius* the new Conſull, ſent Embaſſadours to them, to treat about ranſome of priſoners. But theſe Embaſſadours they ſlue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it ſo well, that they expelled theſe *Senones* out of their Countrie, and ſent a Colonie of their owne to inhabit it. This cauſed the [e] *Boij*, another people of *Gaule*, to feare the like meaſure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their ſide. But the *Romans* ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them ſue for peace, which laſted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* warre.

e There were diuers nations of the *Boij*; as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germanie*, in *Bourbonois* in *France*, and in *Aquitane*; but theſe *Boij* were of the *French* race, & dwelt at this time about the mouth of the Riuer of *Po*.

It vexed the *Gaules*, to ſee a *Roman* Colonie planted in their Countrie; who had beene accuſtomed to enlarge their bounds, by driuing out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Tranſalpines* (ſo the *Romans* called thoſe in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they are neerer; like as they called *Ciſalpines*, or *by-bither the Alpes*, thoſe who dwelt betweene them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reaſonably preſuming, that as their diſiunction had cauſed their loſſe, ſo their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the buſineſſe was ſo fooliſhly carried, that the *Ciſalpines* and *Tranſalpines*, fell together by the eares, putting the *Romans* only to *a tumult*, without further trouble of warre. Soone after, they were vrged by a greater indignitie, to goe more ſubſtantially to worke. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propoſed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, beſides one Colonie already planted in the territorie of the *Senones*, as many more ſhould be caried thither, as would ſerue to people the whole Countrie betweene *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating vtterly thoſe *Gaules*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it ſelfe, would not ouer-joy the Multitude. But the Commonaltie of *Rome* tooke this in ſo good part, notwithſtanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had euer after their good will.

This dreadfull Preſident extremely diſpleaſed the *Boij*: who being Neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like diſplantation. And becauſe all the reſt of the *Gaules* had reaſon to reſolue, that themſelues alſo ſhould bee rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Inſubrians*, which inhabited the Duchie of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boij*, & vpon a common purſe entertained the *Geſſates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in theſe times. The *Geſſates* hauing receiued a great Impreſt, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* & *Aneroeſtus*: who with the *Boij* and *Inſubrians*, compound an Armie of fiftie thouſand foot, and twentie thouſand horſe, and thoſe of the beſt men, and beſt appointed, that euer inuaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Seno-galli*, that had beene beaten out of their poſſeſſions, gaue a great increaſe of ſtrength. On the contrarie ſide, the *Venetians*, and the [f] *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleeuing in their proſperitie and riſing fortune. For feare of whoſe incurſions therefore, the *Gaules* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: With the reſt of their forces they entred into *Tuſcane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, ſend

f *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergamo*, on the North-ſide of the Riuer *Po* in *Italie*. There were alſo of theſe *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countie of *Maine*.

ſend *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to ſtop their paſſage; and in the place of C. *Atilius* their other Conſull, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuſcane*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the conſideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gaules* had aſſembled, they cauſed a view to bee taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of thoſe of their Allies: who were no leſſe willing than themſelues, to oppoſe the incurſions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cauſe, that their owne deſtruction could not bee preuented otherwiſe, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muſter, deſerue to be recorded: because they ſet out the power of the *Romans* in thoſe dayes. With the Conſulls they ſent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne: euery Legion conſiſting of fiue thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe; and of their Allies, thirtie thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. There were alſo appointed for Supplies (if any miſaduenture came to theſe) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fiftie thouſand foot, & foure thouſand horſe; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Vmbri* and *Sarſinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twentie thouſand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twentie thouſand: which latter Armies were directed, to inuade the *Boij*, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gaules* ſhould be thereby greatly diminiſhed. There were beſides theſe, to bee ready againſt all vncertaine chances of warre, thirtie thouſand foot, and fifteene hundred horſe, garriſond in *Rome* it ſelfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Ouer and aboue theſe great troupes; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was ſent vnto the Senate, there were numbred foureſcore thouſand foot, and fiue thouſand horſe; in that of the *Samnites*, ſeuentie thouſand foot, and of horſe ſeuen thouſand, in that of the [g] *Iapyges*, and *Meſſapyges*, fiftie thouſand foot, and ſixteene thouſand horſe; the *Lucans* ſent a liſt of thirtie thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the [h] *Marſi*, [i] *Marrucini*, [k] *Ferentani*, and the *Veſtini*, of twentie thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe. The *Romans* had alſo two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thouſand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horſe. So as of the *Romans* and *Campans* jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were regiſtred two hundred and fiftie thouſand foot; and of horſe, three and twentie thouſand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thouſand foot and about ſixe thouſand horſe. Caſting vp the whole forces of all the Prouinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to ſeuen hundred thouſand foot, and ſeuentie thouſand horſe. But the number is ſomewhat miſſe-caſt by *Polybius*; not with a purpoſe to enrich himſelfe by the dead paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horſe too many, he falls ſhort nine thouſand two hundred of the foot.

How great ſoeuer this Muſter was, it ſeemes to haue beene like vnto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewes* the twelfth inuaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himſelfe, and his ſubjects, hee tooke a Roll of all perſons able to beare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebia*, *Traſymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not conſume any ſuch proportion, as was anſwerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their ſlaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marualle is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of ſuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in generall, as good fighting men, as elſewhere might be found.

Notwithſtanding all theſe counter-preparations, the *Gaules* keepe on their way: and entring into *Tuſcane*, deſtroy, and put to fire and ſword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the

Roman

g *Iapyges* and *Meſſapyges* ſeeme to be one Nation; who are alſo called *Salentines*, *Peucetians*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Countrie is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermoſt head-land of *Calabria*.

h A people of the kingdome of *Naples*.

i *Ptolomy* cals them a people of *Italie*.

k A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, ſaith *Leander*.

Roman Armie, ſent into *Tuſcane*, hauing taken ſome other way than they did, and finding that it had miſſed of them, came againe faſt after them, to arreſt them in their journie. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backes, they turned head: and in the ſame euening diſcouered the *Roman* Armie, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant neceſſitie, that fight they muſt. Wherefore they helped themſelues with a ſtratageme: that ſhewed no great fineneſſe of wit, but ſuch, as well beſeemed thoſe that had none other occupation than warre; and ſtood them in good ſtead at the preſent. In the dead of the night, they cauſe their foot to march away, but not farre: leauing their horſe in guard; to whom they giue order, to come off at the firſt light of day, with ſuch a ſpeede, as might rather argue a running away, than a retrait, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their haſtie departure, as the *Gaules* deſired they ſhould, follow them in diſorder. The *Gaules* returne, charge them; and kill ſixe thouſand vpon the place; the reſt take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themſelues, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Arimmum*, comes to their ſuccour. Vpon the comming of the Conſull, the *Gaules* conſult, whether they ſhould giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbeare. In which diſpute, *Aneroeſtus*, one of their Kings, perſwades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries; where, after they had diſpoſed of the great ſpoiles and riches which they had gotten, they ſhould then renew the warre, being without carriage, peſter, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace; for ſeeing they that were Mercinaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the ſpoiles of their enemies; they thought it wiſedome, to hazzard neither it, nor themſelues, any further.

This indeede had beene a good reſolution, if they had taken it, before the enemie had beene in ſight. But as well in the warres of theſe latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the purſuing enemie, they finde within a few miles, either ſtreight, hedge, ditch, or place of diſaduantage, which they are inforced to paſſe in diſorder. In ſuch caſes, the Souldier knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which forſakes the field, perceiues, and feares ſome aduantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betraier of thoſe ſuccours that Reaſon offereth, when it hath once poſſeſt the heart of man, it caſteth thence both courage and vnderſtanding. They that make the retrait, are alwaies in feare to be abandoned; they that leade the way, feare to be ingaged: and ſo the hindmoſt treads on his heeles that is foremoſt, and conſequently, all disband, runne, and periſh, if thoſe that fauour the retrait, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miſerable ouerthrow, that the *French* receiued in *Naples*, in the yeere 1503. vpon a retrait made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth teſtifie no leſſe. For although a great troupe of *French* horſe, ſuſtained the purſuing enemie a long time, and gaue the foot leiſure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spaniſh* foot ouer-tooke, and defeated them vtterly. During the warres betweene the *Imperialls*, and the *French*; *Boiſi* and *Mont* were loſt at *Brignolles*, who in a brauerie would needes ſee the enemie, before they left the field. So was *Stroſi* ouerthrowne, by the *Marques of Marignan*, becauſe he could not be perſwaded, to diſlodge the night before the *Marques* his arriuall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the firſt, wiſely: when without reſpect of *point of honour*, he diſlodged from before *Landerſey*, by night; as many other, the moſt aduiſed Captaines, (not finding themſelues in caſe to giue battaile) haue done. *Ie ne trouue point* (ſaith the *Marſhall* MONLVC) *au fait des armes choſe ſi difficile, qu'vne retrait; I finde nothing in the arte of warre ſo difficult, as, to make a ſafe retrait.* A ſure Rule it is, that there is leſſe diſhonor to diſlodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof M^r. *de la Noüe* giues this judgement, of a daies retrait, made in *France*, preſently before the battaile of *Moncountour*. For (ſaith he) ſtaying vpon our reputation, in ſhew *not to diſlodge by night*; we loſt our reputation indeede, by diſlodging by day: whereby

whereby we were forced to fight vpon our diſaduantage, and to our ruine, And yet did that worthy Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Naſſau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retrait at *Moncountour* with ſo great reſolution, as hee ſaued the one halfe of the *Proteſtant* Armie, then broken and disbanded, of which my ſelfe was an eye-witneſſe; and was one of them that had cauſe to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gaules*, embracing the ſafe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turne their backs to the enemie, & their faces homeward. *Æmilius* followes them, as neere as he can, without ingaging himſelfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, *C. Atilius* the other Conſull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Piſa*; ſo as the *Gaules*, incloſed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally ſtrengthen their Reare, and Front. To ſuſtaine *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Geſſates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the reſt of the *Gaules* inhabiting vpon the Riuer of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* deſcribeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gaules* fell; and ſo did *Atilius* the Conſull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gaules*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*, with fortie thouſand of their Vaſſalls.

After this fatall ouerthrow, the *Gaules* loſt courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were inuaded the yeere following this ouerthrow, by the new Conſulls, *Fuluius*, and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to vſe their victorie: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeeres time, to the *Gaules*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gaules* had done to them. Theſe new Conſulls beat the *Boij*; but by reaſon of the great raines that fell, and the great peſtilence that raigned, they were compelled for that preſent to ſurceaſe. In the ſecond yeere, *Furius*, and *Flaminius*, inuade the *Milanois*; and preuaile very farre, being ſtrongly aſſiſted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Neuertheleſſe theſe Conſulls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to reſigne their Office: becauſe the *Augures*, or *Soothſayers*, had found, that ſome token or other of the Birds (in which, and all ſorts of their diuination, the *Romans* were extremely ſuperſtitious) had not only foreſhewed little good, when they were choſen, but had alſo nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, and being otherwiſe aduertiſed of the contents, was not haſtie to open them: but firſt gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquiſhed them, and ſpoiled their Countrie; then perʋſed the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, ſore againſt the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that hee ſided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propoũded the Decree, for diuiding the Countrie of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the firſt, or one of the firſt, that vnderſtanding the Majeſtie of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwiſe in the Senate, than by way of Delegacie, or grand Commiſſion; did not ſtand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, & taught them to know and vſe their power, ouer himſelfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their diſorders. For this, the Commons highly eſteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the ſurer ſide, and found imitatours, that roſe by the ſame arte; which in proceſſe of time, grew the only or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being depoſed; *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were choſen Conſulls, for the reſt of that yeere. The *Gaules* about this time deſired peace, and were like to haue obtained it: though the new Conſulls were againſt it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirtie thouſand of the *Geſſates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come ouer the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Inſubrians*: all other diſcourſe, than of preſent warre, was at an end. So the Conſulls haſted into their Prouince, where they beſieged *Acerræ*, a towne not farre from *Nouaro* (ſo farre had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Duchie of *Milan*. To diuert them

them from this siege, *Britomarus* sate downe before *Clastidium*, a Towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces: leauing the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend vpon the Consulls at *Acerræ*, and to looke to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* breake vp their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, & fixe hundred foot lightly armed; thought to deale well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consulls comming; and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselues after their journie, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauerie, lost his game at a cast. He had aduantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his owne personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slue and disarmed *Britomarus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke such courage, and his enemies were so dismaied, that without much trouble of fight, the *Romans* obtained a great victorie.

This was the third and last time, that euer any *Roman* Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victorie, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and diuers other *Roman* Captaines, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of warre than any of these three; though they neuer offered vp to IVPITER, *Opima spolia*; *The Armour of a Generall slaine by themselues*, *when they were Generalls*, nor perhaps affected so to doe.

After this victorie, *Acerræ* was yeelded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soone after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpines*, or *Gaules*, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had for so many yeeres vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the Citie it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time, their pleasant and fertile Territorie possest by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting, *Italie*, so many as would not subject their neckes to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselues in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Theeues. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twentie yeeres, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed vp the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it standing alwaies open, when they had any warre) saue once, in the raigne of *Numa*; nor in long time after, vntill the raigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long:

a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer beene,
was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended,
they might boldly vndertake, to extend their
Monarchie as farre, as their ambition
could reach.

***

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſecond Punick Warre.

§ I.

The warres of HANNIBAL *in Spaine. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians.* HANNIBAL *beſiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whileſt the Romans are buſied with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome and Carthage.*

HANNIBAL, the ſonne of *Amilcar*, was about ſixe and twentie yeeres old, when hee was choſen Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. Hee was elected by the Armie, as ſoone as *Aſdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the ſtate at *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleaſed. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (ſo called of *Amilcar*, whoſe ſurname was *Barcas*) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps haue beene leſſe enuied, by theſe domeſticall enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* houſe, had not alſo borne the whole ſway in gouernment, and beene the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good-will, as it was firſt purchaſed by the moſt worthy deſerts of *Amilcar*, in ſauing his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treaſures and great reuenewes; ſo was it retained by the ſame good artes, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partiſans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreproueable; nor to performe the like ſeruices vnto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themſelues, excepting the generall reprehenſion of Warre, and cautelous aduice of not prouoking the *Romans*. This they ſeaſoned otherwhiles with detraction; ſaying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppreſſe the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leſſe *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himſelfe. For it was long ſince apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, affoorded no ſecuritie to *Carthage*; were ſhee neuer ſo quiet, and officious; vnleſſe ſhe would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than vntill the *Romans* could find ſome good aduantage, to renew the Warre: it was rather deſired by the *Carthaginians*, that whileſt their owne ſtate was in good caſe, the warre ſhould beginne; than that in ſome vnhappie time of famine or peſtilence, or after ſome great loſſe of Armie or Fleet, they ſhould be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; & to giue away baſely their lands and treaſures, as they had lately done; or miſerably fight, vpon termes of diſaduantage.

This diſpoſition of his Countrimen, *Hannibal* well vnderſtood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuiſed of this buſineſſe) that in making warre with the *Romans*, it was no ſmall aduantage to get the ſtart of them. If once he could bring an Armie into *Italie*, without moleſtation; there was good hope, that he ſhould finde friends and aſſiſtance, euen of thoſe people, that helped to increaſe the *Roman* armies in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effe-

cted, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soeuer they would be, to heare that he had set the war on foot, would neuertheleſſe bee ſlow and timorous as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it ſhould happen; then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpoſe, but with ſuch particulars as muſt be diſcourſed of, in procuring allowance to his deſſigne. This might ſuffice to diſorder the whole Proiect. Wherfore, he reſolued to lay ſiege vnto *Saguntum*; which might ſeeme not greatly to concerne the *Romans*; and would highly pleaſe the *Carthaginians*, that had freſh in mind the indignitie of that *Spaniſh* Townes alliance with their falſe friends. So ſhould hee aſſaie both the patience of his enemies, and the diſpoſition of his owne Citizens.

Hauing thus concluded, he neuertheleſſe went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with thoſe that lay next in his way, approached vnto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (ſaith *Liuie*) to giue ſome colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre againſt *Saguntum*, but had been drawne thither by courſe of buſineſſe. Yet reaſon teacheth plainly, that without regard of ſuch formalities, it was needefull to finiſh the conqueſt of the reſt, before hee did any thing that ſhould prouoke the *Romans*. Firſt therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the * *Olcades*; and hauing beſieged *Althæa* (*Liuie* calleth it *Carteia*) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Maſter, not only therof, but of all the other townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he firſt vndertooke, being ſubdued, and the winter at hand; he reſted his Armie in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the ſpoiles he had gotten in his late conqueſt.

In the Spring following, he purſued the warre againſt the [a]*Vaccæi*: and without any great difficultie, wanne firſt *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, [b] *Arbucala*, by aſſault: though not without a long ſiege, and great difficultie. But in his returne, he was put to the heighth, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all ſuch of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to beare armes, being made deſperate by the ſpoile of their Countrie, with thoſe of *Salamanca*, and of the *Oleades*, that had eſcaped in the late ouer-throw, joyning themſelues with the *Toletans*; compounded an Armie of an hundred thouſand able men: and ſtayed *Hannibal* on the bankes of the Riuer *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisbourne* in *Portugale*. Theſe foure nations, hauing had experience of *Hannibals* inuincible courage, and that he neuer ſaw enemie, vpon whom he durſt not giue charge; were throughly reſolued, that his natural valour would at this time no leſſe neglect the cold aduice of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to doe, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to vſe it. But he that makes himſelfe a bodie of Cryſtall, that all men may looke through him, and diſcerne all the parts of his diſpoſition; makes himſelfe (withall) an Aſſe: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or driue him. Wiſe men, though they haue ſingle hearts in al that is iuſt and vertuous; yet they are like coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, on the ſudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtile *Carthaginian*, when he ſerued vnder *Aſdrubal*, was, of al the men of marke in the Armie, the moſt aduenturous. But that which may beſeeme a Captaine, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath ſometime ſucceeded well with ſuch great ones, as haue beene found more fortunate, than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diſſemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himſelfe from the Riuer ſide, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw ouer that great multitude, from their bankes of aduantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as *Hannibal* deſired that they ſhould; thruſt themſelues in furie and diſorder, into the ſwift ſtreame, with a purpoſe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie ſide. But when *Hannibal* ſaw

* A people (ſaith *Stephanus*) neere the Riuer of *Ebro*. But in the old deſcription of *Spaine*, in *Ortelius*, they are found neere *Tagus*; and by *Suidas*, not far from *New Carthage*.

[a] A people of *Caſtile* the old.

[b] *Arbucala*, or *Albricala*, an inland Citie of the *Vaccæi* in *Aragon*.

ſaw them in their way, and well-neare ouer; he turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thruſt his Horſe-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the Riuer. Theſe carrying a kind of *Lance de gay*, ſharpe at both ends, which they held in the middeſt of the ſtaffe; had ſuch an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the Riuer, vnder their ſtrokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or ſhift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they ſlew all thoſe, (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were alreadie entred into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the Riuer of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift vp their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines*, perceiuing the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, and bemoned themſelues, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeede; only becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honorable Citie, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moued the Senate: but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was alreadie beſieged. Hereupon ſome crie out, that Warre ſhould be proclaymed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spaine*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman-like* to worke; and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spaine*, to view the ſtate of their Confederates: which were indeede none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre againſt *Rome*, it was likely, that he would giue them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take armes againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe; yet would it bee in their power, to determine what they liſted themſelues, vpon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their grauitie, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerue to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Liuie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Hiſtorian of ſinceritie leſſe queſtionable, tels, that they found him at *Carthagena*; and had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embaſſage (as *Liuie* confeſſeth) and fall to diſputation about the couenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent vpon none other pretence, than preuention of warre.

Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*; a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, and hauing many quarrells with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelfe had hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoeuer it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt prouoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more ado, but ſate downe with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly been, of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadours, with any trembling reuerence, as of late yeres they had beene wont. Neuertheleſſe, hee was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions, not only becauſe the warre, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italie*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrarie deſire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould therby in ſhort ſpace become their own. Yet were they not haſtie to threaten, before they were readie to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readineſſe to be ſent into *Spaine*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeat of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King ouer a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled against them: either for that he found himselfe ouerstreightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions; or rather because he was of an vnthankefull disposition. The commotion of the *Gaules*, and afterward, the fame of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to haue defended and aided, in all perills, euen with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had receiued of their gift. But hee was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Iles of *Greece*: against the couenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further and seised vpon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had staied somewhat longer, he might haue sped better. For the busines with the *Gaules*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun: when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemie, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Æmilius*, was sent against him: who in seuen daies wan the strong Towne of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought such terror vpon the Countrie round about, that Embassadors were sent from al places, to yeeld themselues, without putting him to further paines. Only the Citie of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which it might haue done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too foolish. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in couert; presenting himselfe the next morning, with twenty ships before the Towne, and offering to force the Hauen. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consul; and was soone intercluded from the Town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had shipping readie for him, and embarqued himselfe: leauing all his estate vnto them, of whose liberalitie he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* sate downe, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discoraged, by reason of the braue sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall receiued a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many daies vnable to moue. Neuertheless he was not vnmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raise certaine moueable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great & large breach was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which vpon the first furie they had won; but they were pursued euen to their own trenches and camp. Neuertheless the *Carthaginian* Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so wearie the townesmen with continual trauaile, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also readie to be won. In this extremitie, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conueyed himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were so seuere, & without al compasse of honour, as *Alcon* durst not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold, siluer, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citie it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carrie out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselues, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better haue submitted themselues vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might haue enioyed their liues, & saued the honor of their wiues and daughters)

daughters) than to haue reſted at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, as ſoone after they did: by whom their wiues and daughters were defloured before their faces; and all put to ſword, that were aboue foureteene yeares of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and ſell their bloud at the deareſt rate, they ſhut themſelues vp like moſt wretched creatures in their owne houſes, and therein burnt themſelues with all that they had: ſo dying vnreuenged. The treaſures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the ſlaues, and other bootie, hee diuided among his Souldiers; reſeruing ſome things of choice, wherewith to preſent his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them vnto the Warre.

Theſe tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cauſe to be angry at their owne ſlowneſſe, in forbearing to ſend helpe vnto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking ſtill for ſuccour, in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking ſharpe reuenge. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours againe to *Carthage*: demanding onely, *Whether it were by generall conſent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that* HANNIBAL *had made warre vpon Saguntum*; which if they granted (as it ſeemed they would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto anſwere was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect: That this their ſecond Embaſſage, howſoeuer qualified with mild words, was indeede more inſolent then the former. For in that, they only required iuſtice againſt *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was vrged to pleade guiltie, or not guiltie. But (ſaid the *Carthaginian* ſpeaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in *Spaine*, in beſieging *Saguntum*, haue only followed his owne counſaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the queſtion which the *Romans* ought to ask vs. That which is indeed worthy examination or diſpute, is; *Whether it were lawfull, or vnlawfull, for* HANNIBAL *to doe as he hath done.* For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge vs, if wee haue done any thing contrary to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lutatius* the Conſul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no diſpute. As touching the laſt agreement, betweene you and *Aſdrubal*, wherein you will ſay, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to anſwere that particular. For whatſoeuer you found in the Treatie betweene vs and *Lutatius*, to your owne diſaduantage, you caſt it vpon your Conſuls preſumption; as promiſing thoſe things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it bee lawfull for the *Romans*, to diſauow the actions of their Conſuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and preciſe warrant; the ſame libertie may we alſo aſſume, and hold our ſelues no way bound in honour, to performe thoſe bargaines, which *Aſdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and conſent.

This was an impertinent anſwere, and little better then a meere cauill. For *Lutatius* the Conſull, in his Treatie of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expreſly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had beene therefore much better, to haue dealt plainely; and to haue alleaged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Iſle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelue hundred talents: which perjurie the ſtate of *Carthage*, being now growne able, would reuenge with open warre. As for the *Saguntines*; it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inſerted their names into the Treatie of peace with *Aſdrubal*: ſeeing that the Treatie with *Aſdrubal*, and all other buſineſſe betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better then *Roman* iniuries; as implying this commination, *Doe*

whatsoeuer we require, else will we make warre, without regard of our oath, which wee haue alreadie broken.

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alleage, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Liuie* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulnesse, as for that it was not thought conuenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the warre, now towards, had long beene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinarie force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moued the *Roman* Embassadours, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had been laide in the hollow therof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and Warre: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euen which of them you your selfe haue a fancy to offer vs. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and share it among you. Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolued to make warre, it was meerely friuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer been maintayned by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustie sword, and the emptie purse, doe alwaies plead performance of couenants. There haue beene few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise vnderstood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne aduantage: and commonly (seeing peace betweene ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best aduised haue rather begunne with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henrie* the second, of *France*, with the *Imperialls*, when he wrote to *Brisac*, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the warre brake out; *Don Iohn*, with the *Netherlands*; and *Philip*, the second, of *Spaine*, with the *English*, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries receiued from these enemies, had another priuate and hereditarie desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his iourney into *Spaine*, had solemnely bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischiefe, as soone as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, when his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no maruaile, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacie, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, bnt that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, haue receiued the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselues enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

HANNIBAL *takes order for the defence of Spaine and Africke. His iournie into Italie.*

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolued, not to put vp his sword, which hee had drawne against the *Saguntines*, vntill hee had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punick Warre*; second to none, that euer the Senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where hee licensed his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselues against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the gouernement of *Spaine* in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to send a great many troups of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equall the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spaine*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, hee transported into *Africk* thirteene thousand, eight hundred, and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the **Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, al yong men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of *Spaine*; which he appointed to be garrisond in *Carthage* it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their seuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies; whereof thirtie seuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans*, and other Nations strangers, he left with him aboue twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twentie Elephants.

* *Maiorca & Minorca.*

Hauing in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spaine* and *Africk*; he sent Discouerers before him, to view the passages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, & to the *Gaules*, to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into *Italie*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadors, & discouerers, being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past ouer the Riuer of *Iberus*, with an Armie consisting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of *Spaine*, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemie of his house, who sate still at *Carthage*) to gouerne *Spaine* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Armie of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arriued at the borders of *Spaine*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leaue: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the iournie seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he past the *Pyrenees*, and entred into *Gaules*. He found the *Gaules* that bordered vpon *Spaine*, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrie: but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, hee came to the banke of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the Riuer, a people called *Volcæ*. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gaules*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Viuaretz* and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselues and their goods, into the Countrie of *Daulphine*, thinking to defend the further banke against him: yet such as remained, being desirous to free their Countrie of so many ill guests,

were

were better pleased to haue their Countriemen beaten, which had abandoned them, than to haue their owne store of corne and cattaile wasted, by the long stay of so great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the Riuer; and lent him guides. When the vessells for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse; he sent *Hanno*, the sonne of *Bomilcar*, vp the Riuer: himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foorde below. The end of this labour was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gaules* vnawares vpon their owne side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the Riuer in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who maruailously feared the water. He was therefore driuen to make raffes of trees, and couer them with earth and turfe; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose, vpon which the beasts were towed ouer.

Hauing past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gaules Cisalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had reuolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alpes*, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; & from these he receiued guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding; hee found himselfe extremely incumbred by the *Savoians*: and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainely assailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other side. And whereas this iournie ouer the Mountaines cost him fifteene dayes trauaile, he was euery day, more or lesse, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall, extremely beaten with grieuous weather and snow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he beganne, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receiue them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, who by their proper forces had so often inuaded the *Roman* Territorie; gaue them great comfort, and encouragement to goe on: hauing nothing else of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans in vaine sollicited the Spaniards and Gaules to take their part. The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gaules against the Romans.

THe countries of *Spaine* and *Gaule*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus farre, had beene sollicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadours, who had denounced the warre at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, tooke *Spaine* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spaine*; from whom, in open assembly, they receiued by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answere. With what face (saith he) can yee *Romans* perswade vs to valew your Alliance, or to preferre it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, haue beene vtterly rooted out, and destroied by the *Carthaginians*; whom they

they might elſe haue held their aſſured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spaine* haue found them. Yee may therefore be gone, with this reſolution from vs, That for our parts (and ſo I thinke, I may anſwere for the reſt of our Countriemen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindneſſe at our hands: who are reſolued, neuer to make accompt of their protection, nor amitie. From the *Volciars*, the Embaſſadours tooke their way towards the *Gaules*; vſing their beſt arguments to perſwade them, not to ſuffer the *Carthaginians* to paſſe into *Italie*, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying themſelues, their ſtrength, and large Dominion. But the *Gaules* laught them to ſcorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them ſpeake. For ſhall we (ſaid one of their Princes) by reſiſting *Hannibals* paſſage into *Italie*, entertaine a war which is not meant to be made againſt vs? Shall we hold the warre among our ſelues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a ſpeedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the *Romans* deſerued ſo well of vs, and the *Carthaginians* ſo ill, that wee ſhould ſet fire on our owne houſes, to ſaue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the *Romans* haue already forced ſome Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and conſtrained others, as free as themſelues, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleaſing anſwere the Embaſſadours returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather ſome aſſurance from the people of *Maſſilia*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gaules* were determined to take part with their enemie. Of this inclination, the *Ciſalpine Gaules* gaue haſtie proofe. For when the newes was brought into *Italie*, that the *Carthaginians* had paſſed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone ſufficed to ſtirre vp the *Boij*, and *Inſubrians*, againſt the *Romans*. Theſe people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the *Carthaginian* ſuccour, which they ſuppoſed to be now at hand; they laid aſide all regard of thoſe hoſtages, which they had giuen to the *Romans*, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it ſeemes that they could not winne; for *Hannibal* ſhortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commiſſioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flie to *Modena*: where they beſieged them. The ſiege of *Modena* had continued ſome ſmall time; when the *Gaules*, hauing little skill in aſſaulting Cities, waxed wearie, and ſeemed deſirous to haue peace, and to come to ſome good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpoſe, to draw on ſome meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Hoſtages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wiſh. For the *Romans* ſent out Embaſſadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in theſe quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haſte to the reliefe of the beſieged. But the *Gaules*, hauing laid a ſtrong ambuſh in a wood ioyning to the way, fell vpon the Prætor ſo opportunely, as he was vtterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recouered, by faſt running, a little village, but defencible, vpon the Riuer of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was haſtily ſent, to relieue the beſieged, with one Legion, and fiue thouſand of the *Roman* aſſociates: which forces were taken out of the Conſuls Armie, and ſupplied by a new leuie.

As the *Gaules* were too raſh and haſtie: ſo were the *Romans* too ſlow, and indeede too ill-aduiſed, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perſwaded, that *Carthage*, which had almoſt ſeruilely endured ſo many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be ſo braue and couragious on the ſudden, as to attempt the conqueſt of *Italie* it ſelfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Conſuls, to make warre in *Spaine*, the other in *Africk*: reſting ſecure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred & threeſcore *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies,

lies, of fiue to an Oare; which preparation may seeme to threaten euen the Citie of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come neere. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consull, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Prouence*; and vsed such diligence, hauing the winde also fauourable, as in fiue dayes he recouered *Massilia*. There hee was aduertised, of *Hannibal* his hauing passed the Riuer of *Rhodanus*; whom hee thought to haue found busie yet awhile in *Spaine*. *Hannibal* had also newes of the Consuls arriuall: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry; as not meaning to haue to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discouer the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about fiue hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly bragge, hauing slaine only two hundred, and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when *Scipio* drew neere, to haue met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as hee then found assuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended voiage into *Spaine*. Neuertheless hee sent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Armie, to trie what might bee done against *Asdrubal* and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Pisa*; and so passing through *Tuscane* into *Lumbardie*, drew together the broken troupes of *Manlius* and *Atilius*, that lately had beene beaten by the *Gaules*: with which forces he made head against the enemie, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull journie.

§. IIII.

SCIPIO *the Roman Consul ouer-come by* HANNIBAL *at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Consuls beaten by* HANNIBAL, *in a great battaile at Trebia.*

FIue moneths *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious journie from *Carthagena*; what great muster he could make, when hee had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to haue beene only twenty thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to haue mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the bankes of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all saue those remembred by himselfe in the Inscription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaines; which mischiefes had deuoured, each, their seuerall shares.

Hauing newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countrie of *Piemont*; he sought to winne the friendship of the [a] *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Insubrians*, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three dayes. Their spoile serued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gaules*, without more adoe, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrie: which joyned, or was all in a readinesse to joyne, with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of *Scipio* the Consul his arriuall, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in those quarters; what

[a] These dwelt about *Turine*, a goodly City, now subiect vnto the Duke of *Savoy*: which from them tooke the name of *Augusta Taurinorum*.

was

was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſull was already gotten through the moſt defencible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had been heard of his approch: many ſate ſtill, for very feare, who elſe would faine haue concluded a League with theſe new-come friends; and ſome, for greater feare, offered their ſeruice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom neuertheleſſe they wiſhed well to ſpeede.

This wauering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pauia*; where each of them wondred at the others great expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange, that the Conſul, whom he had left behind him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himſelfe in the Plaines; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange aduenture of paſſing thoſe Mountaines, and the great ſpirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed, at *Hannibals* ſucceſſe, and ſudden arriuall. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte vnto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicilia*, giuing him to vnderſtand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had beene directed to make the warre in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that hee ſhould forbeare to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that hee ſhould returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all poſſible ſpeede, to ſaue *Italie* it ſelfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Armie at *Ariminum*, a Port Towne not farre from *Rauenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſte. In the meane while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo neere, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: vnto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a preſent example, that he ſhewed vpon certaine priſoners of the *Savoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into *Italie*. For theſe, hauing beene no leſſe miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withall ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to be deliuered from their miſeries by any kind of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, till the one of them were ſlaine, with condition being the Victor, to receiue his libertie, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftaines of the *Gaules* were wont to vſe in ſingle combats. Euery one of theſe vnhappie men wiſhed, that his owne lot might ſpeede; whereby it ſhould at leaſt be his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſoluedly: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and hauing none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. Thus were ſome few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all theſe poore creatures were willing, vpon whatſoeuer vneuen termes, to ridde themſelues out of ſlauerie. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them; wrought alſo vpon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but euen him alſo, who being ſlaine in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiuing what impreſſion this dumbe ſhew had wrought in them, beganne to admoniſh them of their owne condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their owne eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed farre more grieuous) to liue in a perpetuall ſlauerie: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelfe any hope of life by flight; ſince the Mountaines, the Riuers,

uers, the great distance from their owne Countries, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, must needes retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had euer been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrarie, he told them, that the *Romans*, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, and in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waies to saue themselues by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessitie, (to which nothing seemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constraine them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, *That there was no meane betweene Victorie and Death*, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captaine of *France*) *la comodite de la retracte aduance la fuite; The commoditie of a retrait, doth greatly aduance a flat running away.*

Scipio, on the other side, after that he had giuen order for the laying of a bridge ouer the Riuer of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to vse the best arguments and reasons hee could, to encourage the Armie he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had preuailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of *Brigants* and *Theeues*, than an Armie like to encounter the *Romans*; but so weather-beaten, and starued, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be giuen vpon them. Nay (said he) yee your selues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remaining, after so many trauailes and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *Roane*, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driuen backe to the very Trenches of their Campe, but *Hannibal* himselfe, fearing our approch, ranne head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut downe his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil.*

It was not long after this, ere the two Generalls met: each being farre aduanced before the grosse of his Armie, with his Horse; and the *Roman* hauing also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discouered the approch one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gaules*, to beginne the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betweene their troupes, to assist them: himselfe with his *Roman* men at armes, following softly in good order. The *Gaules* (whether desirous to trie the metall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the *Romans*) behaued themselues couragiously, and were as couragiously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them, shranke at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gaules* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they receiued; as presuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Consull vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardinesse deseruing his aide; and the hastie flight of those that should haue stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore hee aduentured himselfe so farre, that he receiued a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue, to a *Ligurian* slaue. Whilest the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consull; an vnexpected storme came driuing at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselues. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse, to giue vpon the *Romans* in flanke, and to com-

passe

paſſe them about, whileſt he with his men at armes ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in peeces the ſcattered foot, that ranne away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe, whoſe lookes were faſtened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion, the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and rowted: ſo that they all betooke them to their ſpeede, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his horſe thus beaten, and the reſt of his Armie thereby greatly diſcouraged; hee thought it a point of wiſdome, hauing loſt ſo many of his Fleet vpon the firſt puffe of winde, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremeſt of the tempeſt ouer-tooke him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, hee in a manner ſtole the retrait; and recouered the bridge ouer *Ticinus*, which hee had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the laſt that ſhould haue paſſed, and ſtaid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of warre, *Si certamen quando dubium videatur: tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which muſt be vnderſtood in this ſort; *If a Generall of an Armie, by ſome vnproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſſe; or find his Armie fearefull or wauering; it is more profitable to ſteale a ſafe retrait, than to abide the vncertaine euent of battaile*.

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could paſſe the *Riuer*; *Scipio* the whileſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoone as *Hannibal* preſented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their campe; the *Gaules*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Aneroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, and the *Geſſates*, were come to helpe them; if they had the hearts to helpe themſelues. Wherefore the ſame night they fell vpon the *Roman* campe; wounded and ſlue many; eſpecially of thoſe guards that kept watch at the gate; with whoſe heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their ſeruice. *Hannibal* receiued them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſt them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſeruice at the preſent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conſul ſtale a retrait, as hee had done before; but not with the like eaſe and ſecuritie. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelfe with all his Armie. That night the *Romans* had receiued a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedie of ſpoile, had not ſtaid to ranſack their campe; and thereby giuen time to all, ſaue ſome few in Reare, that were ſlaine or taken, to paſſe the Riuer of *Trebia*, and ſaue themſelues. *Scipio*, being both vnable to trauaile by reaſon of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Conſul; incampes himſelfe ſtrongly vpon the bankes of *Trebia*. Neceſſitie required that he ſhould ſo doe; yet this diminiſhed his reputation. For euery day, more & more of the *Gaules* fel to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whō came in the *Boij*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeeme their owne Hoſtages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whoſe helpe they conceiued better hope of recouering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Towne wherein the *Romans* had laid vp all their ſtore and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brunduſian*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little monie.

The newes of theſe diſaſters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, ra-

ther with a desire of hastie reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse receiued; seeing that, in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hasted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arriued, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him sent out of *Sicil*, awaited his comming. He therefore hasted hither; and from thence hee marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the bankes of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls deuised about that which remained to bee done: *Sempronius* receiuing from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal*; arriuall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what errour or misaduenture the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the reuolt and treason of the *Gaules*.

Sempronius, hauing receiued from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts; sought by all meanes to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recouered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victorie, which he had alreadie, in his imagination, certainely obtayned. He also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-neere expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrarie; obiecting the vnskilfulnesse of the new-come Souldiers: and withal gaue him good reason, to assure him that the *Gaules*, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of abandoning the partie of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting betweene the Riuers of *Trebia*, and *Po*, being alreadie reuolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour, which he might otherwise easily haue auoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gaules*; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gaules* inhabiting neere vnto *Trebia*, complayned of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as hee supposed that they might haue done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at libertie, he had vndertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to bee his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flie to the *Romans* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honor of *Rome*, to preserue the Confederates from suffering injurie: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gaules*. Therfore he sent out a thousand horse: which comming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heauy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chaced the rest euen into their owne campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* sallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster then they came. *Sempronius* was readie to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to bee fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victorie (for so the Consul would haue it called) made the *Romans* in generall desirous to try the maine chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrarie notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was aduertised by the *Gaules*, his spies, that were in the *Roman* Campe. Therefore he bethought himselfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: Hee found in the hollow of a water-course, ouer-growne with high reede, a fit

trench

trench to couer an ambuſh. Thereinto he caſt his brother *Mago*, with a thouſand choice horſe, and as many foot. The reſt of his Armie, after they had well warmed and well fed themſelues in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Conſul. Earely in the morning, he had ſent ouer *Trebia* ſome companies of *Numidian* light-horſe: to braue the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his faſt. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunitie to fight: and therefore not onely iſſued out of his campe, but foorded the Riuer of *Trebia*, in a moſt cold and miſerable day; his foot being wet almoſt to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of foode, did ſo enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foor, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines*: hauing of the one, ſixteene, of the other, twentie thouſand. The maſſe of theſe they ranged in a groſſe Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thouſand horſe: thruſting their light-armed, and Darters, in looſe troups in the head of the reſt, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot, were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horſe, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodneſſe. When therefore the *Roman* horſe, ranged on the flankes of their foor, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares preſt in the Reare, by *Mago* and his two thouſand, that roſe out of their place of ambuſh: then fell the *Romans*, by heapes, vnder the enemies ſwords; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in diſorder, as flying towards the Riuer, by the horſe-men that purſued them, there eſcaped no more of ſixe and thirtie thouſand, than ten thouſand of all ſorts, Horſe and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which euery one deſerued to bee recompenced with the loſſe that followed. The firſt was, that hee fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaine, being by farre inferiour in horſe, and withall thereby ſubiect to the *African* Elephants, which in incloſed or vn-euen grounds, and woodlands, would haue beene of no vſe. His ſecond errour was, that he made no diſcouerie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was groſſely ouer-reacht, and inſnared, by the ambuſh which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that hee drencht his foot-men with emptie ſtomachs, in the Riuer of *Trebia*, euen in a moſt cold and froſtie day, whereby in effect they loſt the vſe of their limbs. For as one ſaith well; *There is nothing more inconuenient and perilous, than to preſent an Armie tyred with trauaile, to an enemie freſh and fed; ſince where the ſtrength of bodie faileth, the generoſitie of minde is but as an vnprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; ſtealing away the ſame night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*; who either perceiued him not, becauſe of the ſhewres; or would not perceiue him, becauſe they were ouer-wearied. *Sempronius* eſcaped with extreme danger; flying through the Countrie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horſe. Hee was attended by more, than were requiſite in a ſecret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made reſiſtance, if the enemie had met with him. Neuertheleſſe he got away, and came to *Rome*, where hee did his office in chooſing new Conſuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a freſh ſupply againſt *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of HANNIBAL *from the Cisalpine Gaules into Hetruria.* FLAMINIVS *the Roman Consul slaine; and his Armie destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thrasymen.*

THe Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vnfit for seruice: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet: but vexed them with continuall alarmes; assayling diuers places; taking some; beating the *Gaules* their adherents; and winning the *Lygurians* to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, two Colonels, and fiue Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in streight places, loden with yrons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not onely well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation, That he therefore vndertooke the Warre in *Italie* to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these meanes he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of such perswasions. They stood in feare, lest he should make their Countrie the seate of the Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieued than reason willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduice, were readie soone after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to vse Perwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colors, to the end that he might not be described, nor known, to those that should vndertake to make him away. Faine hee would haue passed the *Apennines*, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarrie among the *Gaules*, till he had seene more Swallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolued to take his leaue of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre neerer to the gates of *Rome*. So away hee went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gaules*; more seruiceable friends abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the passage of the *Apennine* Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when hee was trauailing through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremitie of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that iournie. Neuertheless to auoide the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue beene erected vpon the ordinarie passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of *Tuscane*. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one, together with the vse of one of his eyes; by the moystnesse of the aire, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recouered the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged about *Arretium*: where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the *Roman* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Seruilius* had of late beene chosen Consuls for this yeere: *Seruilius*, a tractable man, and wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an

an hot-headed popular Orator; who hauing once beene robbed (as hee thought) of his Conſulſhip, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be ſerued ſo againe, vnleſſe he quickly finiſhed the warre. This jealous Conſul thought it not beſt for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, leſt his aduerſaries, by fayning ſome religious impediment, ſhould detaine him within the Citie, or find other buſineſſe for him at home, to diſappoint him of the honour, that hee hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed ſecretly out of the Towne; and meant to take poſſeſſion of his Office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The *Fathers* (ſo the Senators were called) highly diſpleaſed with this, reuoked him by Embaſſadors: but he neglected their injunction; and haſting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, tooke his way to *Arretium*, where he ſhortly found them.

The fierie diſpoſition of this Conſul, promiſed vnto *Hannibal* great aſſurance of victorie. Therefore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere *Seruilius* came with the reſt of the Armie. All the Countrie betweene *Feſulæ* and *Arretium* he put to fire and ſword, euen vnder the Conſuls noſe; which was enough to make him ſtirre, that would not haue ſitten ſtill, though *Hannibal* had beene quiet. It is true, that a great Captaine of *France* hath ſaid; *Pays gaſte veſte pas perdu*; *A waſted Countrie is not thereby loſt*. But by this waſte of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to be much impaired; and therefore aduanced towards the Enemie. Many aduiſed him (which had indeede beene beſt) to haue patience awhile, and ſtay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to heare: ſaying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whileſt the *Carthaginians* went, burning downe al *Italie* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he tooke horſe; and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enſignes ſtucke ſo faſt in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Enſigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or falſe, *Tullie* makes a jeaſt: ſaying, that the cowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardily pitched it into the earth. Neither was the anſwere of *Flaminius* (if it were true) diſagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it ſhould be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this jealouſie both hee, and the Senate that gaue him cauſe, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cortona*, as farre as to the Lake of *Thraſymene*, was on a light fire, which whileſt the Conſul thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he purſued *Hannibal* ſo vnaduiſedly, that he fell, with his whole Armie, into an ambuſh cunningly laid for him, betweene the Mountaines of *Cortona*, and the Lake. There was he charged vnawares, on all ſides, (ſaue only where that great Lake of *Peruſia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flie from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make reſiſtance. So was hee ſlaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thouſand dead carkaſſes of his Countrimen. About ſixe thouſand of his men, that had the Vantgard, tooke courage as for the moſt part happens, out of deſperation; and breaking through the enemies, that ſtood in their way, recouered the tops of the Mountaines. If theſe had returned, and giuen charge vpon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by neceſſitie, had wrought the effects of hardineſſe; was well aſſwaged, when they ceaſed to deſpaire, of ſauing their liues by flight. They ſtood ſtill, in a could ſweat, vpon the Hill-top; hearing vnder them a terrible noiſe, but not diſcouering how things went, becauſe of the great fogge that held all the morning. When it grew toward noone, the aire was cleared, and they might plainly diſcerne the lamentable ſlaughter of their fellowes. But they ſtaid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were deſcried, and attached by

the enemies horse. This they should haue thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For descryed they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a Village, which hee surrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendring their armes, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties. This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein hee taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a tricke of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be fain to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargaine; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and bee limited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present aduantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* bee as *Roman*, as themselues; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it looseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand *Italian* Prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his hands: of which all that were not *Romans*, hee set free without ransome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the *Romans* hee kept in straight prison, and in fetters; making them learne to eate hard meate. This was a good way, to breede in the people of *Italie*, if not a loue of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this warre had not concerned the generall safetie, but only the preseruing of her owne neck from the yoke of slauerie, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by succesſe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the *Carthaginian* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battaile of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand *Roman* horse, drew neere vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from *Ariminum*, by *Seruilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but comming too late, hee increased only the misaduenture. *Maharbal* was imployed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercie, the next day. *Seruilius* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the *Gaules*; against whom hee had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten backe to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discerne the fruits of popular iealousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yeerely change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their fore-goers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had bin taken vp but the yeere before, by this subtile *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himselfe to be caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be preuented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would he not, contrarie to all good aduice, haue beene so hasty to fight, before the arriuall of *Seruilius*. If *Sempronius* had beene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Gouernment of *France* ten yeeres, *Cæsar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the *Heluetians* and many of the *Germans*, vnder the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there beene euery yeere a new Lieutenant sent, they

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would hardly, if euer, haue beene ſubdued. For it is more than the beſt wit in the World can doe, to informe it ſelfe, within one yeeres compaſſe, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Riuers, and of all good helpes, whereby to proſecute a warre to the beſt effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three yeeres; whence, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of that their time, many of them haue returned as wiſe, as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they beganne but to know the firſt rudiments of Warre, and Gouernement, fitting the Countrie, they haue beene called home, and new Apprentices ſent in their places, to the great preiudice both of this and that Eſtate. But it hath euer beene the courſe of the World, rather to follow old errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their ſlothful ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likeneſſe of time, of occaſion, or of any other circumſtance, haue perſwaded the imitation.

§ VI.

How Q. FABIVS *the Roman Dictator, ſought to conſume the force of* HANNIBAL, *by lingring warre.* MINVTIVS, *the Maſter of the Horſe, honoured and aduanced by the People, for bold and ſucceſſefull attempting, aduentures raſhly vpon* HANNIBAL; *and is like to periſh with his Armie, but reſcued by* FABIVS.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed, at this their ill ſucceſſe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than euer did warre, ſince *Rome* it ſelfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and ſo little accuſtomed to receiue an ouerthrow; that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italie* was ſtrangely affected with his ſucceſſe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee only ſought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himſelfe like a courteous enemie. This *Carthaginian* deteſted the whole *Roman* name; againſt which he burned with deſire of reuenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thraſymene*, witneſſed his purpoſe, and his abilitie. Which to withſtand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long beene out of vſe, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Conſuls, and ſcarcely ſubject vnto comptroll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was ſeldome choſen, but vpon ſome extremitie, and for no longer time than ſixe moneths. He was to be named by one of the Conſuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were ſo, that the Conſul (if he ſtood vpon his prerogatiue) might name whom he pleaſed. At this time, the one Conſul being dead, and the other too farre off; the People tooke vpon them, as hauing ſupreme authoritie, to giue the Dignitie by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the beſt reputed man of warre in the Citie, *Nouum factum, nouum conſilium expetit; Contrarie winds, contrarie courſes.* *Q. Fabius* choſe *M. Minutius Rufus* Maſter of the horſe: which Officer was cuſtomarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The firſt act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of ſomewhat amiſſe in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene alſo good. But if it were true (as *Liuie* reports it) that the bookes of *Sybil* were conſulted, and gaue direction in this buſineſſe of deuotion; then muſt we beleeue, that thoſe books of *Sybil*, preſerued in *Rome*, were dictated by an euill ſpirit. For it was ordayned, that ſome Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*, ſhould be made anew, and amplified; as hauing not been rightly made before: alſo that great Plaies ſhould be vowed vnto *Iupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with other ſuch trumperie. This *Liu. l. 22.*

vehemencie of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly distempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sonnes returne aliue from *Thrasymene*, may serue to beare witnesse; though it bee more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the Citie were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuers were broken downe; and all care taken, for defence of *Rome* it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought, that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spaine*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Seruilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking vp all the ships about *Rome*, and *Ostia*, to pursue them: whilest he, with the Legions, attended vpon *Hannibal*. Foure Legions he had leuied in haste: and from *Ariminum* he receiued the Armie, which *Seruilius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what aduantage the *Numidian* horse had ouer the *Romans*, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard accesse. *Hannibal* in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrie, and vsed all manner of crueltie towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to beare armes. Passing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped vpon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and ouer-trauailed Companies; armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches for *Carthage*, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that hee had gotten. Hauing refreshed his Armie; fed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Prouince of the Kingdome of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ranne, he had not taken any one Citie: only he had assaied *Spoletum*, a Colonie of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gaue it ouer.

The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Armie found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the battaile of *Moncounter*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at S^t. *Iean d'Angeley*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detaine him, and giue the *Romans* leaue to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battaile, as soone as he saw him; and prouoked him with all manner of bravado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betweene Souldiers bred vp, euer since they were Boyes, in warre and in bloud, trayned and hardened in *Spaine*, made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no oftner seene the enemie, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so neere, as hee kept him from straggling too farre; and preserued the countrie from vtter spoile. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the Lyon a farre off, that in the end they might sit on his taile.

Now *Minutius* had a contrarie disposition, and was as fierie as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardise and feare. But all stirred not this well-aduised Commander. For wise men are no more moued with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion, and danger, than to pursue misfortune: It wasteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the inuading Armie that desires battaile: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the inuading, and

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the victorious. *Fabius* therefore ſuffered *Hannibal* to croſſe the *Apennines*, and to fall vpon the moſt rich and pleaſant Territorie of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perſwaded, to aduenture the *Roman* Armie in battaile: but being farre too weake in horſe, he alwaies kept the Hills and faſt grounds. When *Hannibal* ſaw he could by no means draw this warie Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on; and that the towns ſtood firme for the *Romans*, whoſe Legions were in ſight, though a-farre off; he reſolued to reſt his Armie, that was loaden with ſpoile, in ſome plentifull and aſſured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he muſt paſſe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the Hills of *Callicula*, and *Caſilinum*: for other way there was none, by which hee might iſſue out of that goodly Garden-countrie, which hee had already waſted, into places more aboundant of prouiſion for his wintering. It was by meere error of his guide, that he firſt entred within theſe ſtreights. For he would haue bin directed vnto *Caſinum*, whence he might both aſſay the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promiſes vnder hand, and hinder the *Romans* from comming neere it to preuent him. But his guide miſ-vnderſtood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Caſinum* to *Caſilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he ſhould not eaſily eſcape. Now beganne the wiſdome of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, & wonne the victorie, without blowes. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himſelfe, by a ſlight inuention, yet ſeruing the turne as well as a better. In driuing the country, hee had gotten about two thouſand Kine; whoſe hornes he dreſſed with drie faggots, and ſetting fire to them in the darke night, cauſed them to be driuen vp the hills. The ſpectacle was ſtrange, and therefore terrible; eſpecially to thoſe, that knew it to be the worke of a terrible enemie. What it ſhould meane, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when ſome of theſe fierie Monſters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore haſtily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no leſſe afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Armie, recouered ſure ground, without moleſtation: where he ſtayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light footmen, with ſome ſlaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmiſh: After this, *Hannibal* made ſemblance of taking his journie towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coaſted him in the wonted manner; keeping ſtill on high grounds, between him and the Citie, whileſt the *Carthaginian* waſted all the Plaines. The *Carthaginian* tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Towne in *Apulia*, forſaken by the Inhabitants; which he turned into Barnes and Store-houſes for winter, and incamped vnder the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time paſſed idlely, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about ſome buſineſſe of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with *Minutius*, the Maſter of the horſe.

Minutius was glad of this good occaſion to ſhew his owne ſufficiencie. Hee was fully perſwaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by ſubtiltie & ambuſh, which he thought himſelfe wiſe enough to preuent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that ſo earneſtly, as he was preferred by iudgement of the Souldiers, in worthineſſe to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this jollitie of conceit, hee determined to fight. Yet had hee beene peremptorily forbidden ſo to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whoſe command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victorie, which hee held vndoubtedly his owne; the loue of the Armie; and the friends that he had at home bearing Office in *Rome*, were enough to ſaue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer ſo hainouſly. *Hannibal* on the other ſide was no leſſe glad, that he ſhould play with a more aduenturous gameſter. Therefore hee drew neere: and to prouoke the *Romans*, ſent forth a third part of his Armie to waſte the

Countrie,

Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that hee now despised those whom hee had so often vanquished. There was a peece of high ground betweene the two camps; which because it would bee commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, wanne it from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to prouide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which hee knew to bee the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could giue the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his campe, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in haruest. This aduantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horse, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, hee sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* tooke heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceiued that it was meere weakenesse, which held him within his campe, & therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom neuertheless hee did not such hurt, as hee had receiued.

For this peece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, & more highly by the People at *Rome*, to whom he sent the newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recouered spirit, so farre forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his owne campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Euery man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that hee had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: sauing that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing hee had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. Hee said that hee knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him giue account of what he had done, if hee were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence; the other taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons euery one cryed out; especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italie* to bee wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he meanes by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* hee hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Seruilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and Hee, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeede forborne to spoile some grounds of *Fabius*, that so hee might bring him into enuie & suspition) & the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoile all others, without impeachment.

peachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and haue the sole Gouernement both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of *Rome*, which gaue him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthy. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him injurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessarie, than was the electing of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, euen the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the Propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that Dignitie, whose great power had freed the State at seuerall times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had beene Prætor, was glad of such an opportunitie, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher; afterwards became a shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabblings, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very baseneſſe. And now hee thought the time was come, for him to giue an hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot inuectiue, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, that it grieued them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Gouernement; that they sought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impouerish them by warre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would soone consume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise: and since they had found one, (this worthy Master of the horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrie, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so hee might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as he had begunne. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*: and hauing finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiuing well, that he should not bee able to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The newes of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, beganne to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to diuide their authoritie: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, successiuely, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equal to the Dictator; but that he should neuer be his superiour: He would therefore diuide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuertheless hee meant to doe his best; and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and an halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Liuie* seeme to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For where two seuerall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto the other, nor ioyned

ned in Commission, but haue each entire & absolute charge of his owne followers there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one campe shall not hold them both, without great inconuenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault with this disiunction; nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was vnwilling to command in chiefe successiuely (as the two Consuls vsed) with *Minutius*, by turnes. Hee saith that *Minutius* was very refractarie; and so proud of his aduancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupen referred it to his choice, either to diuide the forces betweene them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to bee true. For natures impatient of subjection, when once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authority, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the proofe and assurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no lesse carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the necessitie. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Countrie lying betweene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed fiue hundred horse, and fiue thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discouered. But lest by any misaduenture they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a peece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eies and thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduenture vpon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as hee got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) hee followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught; and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilest the *Romans* defended themselues, loosing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neere, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiuing a farre off, into what extremitie his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approue himselfe by hasting to doe good, than by suffering his enemie to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approch, *Hannibal* retyred: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himselfe to *Fabius*; by whose benefit hee confessed his life to haue beene saued. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whilest his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Seruilius the Consul had pursued in vaine a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came neuer within kenning. He ranne along all the coast of *Italie*; tooke hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed ouer into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoile the Countrie, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, hee returned home by *Sicil*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consul, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

§. VII.

§. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and vnworthie Consul. Great forces leuied against HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL *taketh the Romans prouisions in the Castle of Cannæ. The new Consuls set forth against* HANNIBAL.

WIth little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome*, heare the great commendations, that were giuen to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserued them from receiuing a great ouerthrow: but he had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparance thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrarie to all former custome; since it was neuer heard before, that any *Roman* Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance, as if it were honorable to doe iust nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were readie euery man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his own priuate losse, vpon the ill administration of the publique.

This affection of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Cõminaltie were then in such a moode, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the libertie of his place: in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stuck not to affirme, That *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italie*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to haue been ouerthrowne, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had al been joyned together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when he cõmanded ouer al as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul, the warre would neuer be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians*, as had long since been aduanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nõbilitie, and contemned the meaner sort, euer since themselues were freed from contempt of the more mightie; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well deseruing of them. By such perswasions, the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terẽtius*: to the great vexatiõ of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honor; and therfore opposed him with al their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fel out, or at least was alleaged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the *Fathers* desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. Al the *Fathers*, or *Senators*, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselues into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned successiuely, by the space of fiue daies, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualtie, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The aduantage of the *Fathers* herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would haue it, there needed no more, than to let slip fiue daies, & then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well asswaged. Vpon such change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publiquely declare themselues to seeke those Offices. But no deuice would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed ouer; and the malice of the *Fathers*, against the vertue (as it was beleiued) of this meane, but worthie man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had vrged the businesse to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinary marke had stood for the place before; it was now though meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiencie, and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who few yeares since had ouer-come the *Illyrians*, and chaced *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great businesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good seruice; He, and *M. Liuius* that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards iniuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto judgement: wherin *Liuius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this iniustice they shall put the *Romans* well in minde each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grieuous losse; the other brauely winning, in the most happie victorie, that euer befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would worke, and that hee would aske no more, than once to haue a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the prouidence and care of *Paulus*, trauailed more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, wherof his fellow vainely boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Seruilius* and *Atilius*; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might find the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemie, and the Enemie well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised it is vncertaine. Foure-score thousand foot, at the least, and sixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon *Hannibal*.

Hiero, the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieued the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their owne Mercinaries; so did he now send helpe to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other prouisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing them somewhat euenly ballanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and instructions were giuen to *Titus Octacilius* the Prætor, which was to goe into *Sicil*, that he should accordingly passe ouer into *Africk*, if he fonnd it expedient.

The

The great Leuies, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more ſerue to declare their puiſſance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of ſuch as were not eaſily drawne into the field, and fitted for ſeruice. For beſides theſe Armies of the Conſuls, and that which went into *Sicil*; twentie fiue thouſand, with *L. Poſthumius Albinus* another of the Prætors, went againſt the *Gaules*, to reclaime that Prouince, which the paſſage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their preſent ſtrength, might well embolden them to do as they did. They ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*; requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing been their ſubiect, and rebel, was fled into his Kingdom. They alſo ſent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was alreadie paſt. What anſwere they receiued, it is not knowne: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not ſent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth beganne to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* monie; by the ſhifts that they were driuen ſoone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little ſoeuer) would haue beene welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cauil about forfeiture for *non paiment* of the whole.

Whilſt the Citie was buſied in theſe cares, the old Conſuls lay as neere vnto *Hannibal*, as poſſibly as they could, without incurring the neceſſitie of a battaile. Many skirmiſhes they had with him; wherein their ſucceſſe for the moſt part, was rather good than great. Yet one miſchance not only blemiſhed the honour of their other ſeruices, but was indeed the occaſion, to draw on the miſerie following. *Hannibal*, for the moſt part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his ſtore for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neere him lodged about *Cannuſium*; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aſide for all neceſſaries, to the loſſe of good opportunities, they beſtowed much of their prouiſions in the Caſtle of *Canna*: for the town was razed the yeere before. This place *Hannibal* wanne; and thereby not only furniſhed himſelfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vnleſſe they would be troubled with farre carriage. Beſides this, and more to his aduantage, he enabled himſelfe to abide in that open Countrie, fit for the ſeruice of his horſe: longer then the *Romans*, hauing ſo many mouthes to feed, could wel endure to tarrie; without offering battaile; which he moſt deſired. Of this miſhap when *Seruilius* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderſtand, how this Peece, taken by *Hannibal*, would ſerue him to command no ſmall part of the Country adjacent; it then ſeemed needfull, euen vnto the *Fathers* themſelues, to aduenture a battaile with the *Carthaginian*, rather than ſuffer him thus to take roote in the ground of *Italie*. Neuertheleſſe, anſwere was returned vnto *Seruilius*, that hee ſhould haue patience yet awhile: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a power ſufficient to doe as need required.

When all things were readie in the Citie, and the ſeaſon of the yere commodious to take the field; the two Conſuls, with their armie, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great ſolemnitie: eſpecially, whenſoeuer they went forth to warre againſt any noble or redoubted Enemie. For Sacrifices, and ſolemne Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the reſt of their gods, for good ſucceſſe and victorie: which being performed; the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, not only ſuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for loue, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, & diſmiſſed with friendly leaue-taking, and good wiſhes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobility, waited vpon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthie of this honor, or likely to do his countrie remarkable ſeruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no leſſe in greatnes, than the other was in dignitie. At the parting; *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to haue exhorted the Conſul *Paulus*, with many graue words, to ſhew his magnanimitie, not

onely in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious follie of his fellow-Consul. The answere of *Paulus* was, That hee meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his countrie: but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would thinke it lesse rashnesse to aduenture vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

§. VIII.

Dissension betweene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that HANNIBAL *was vpon point of flying out of Italie, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of Cannæ.*

THese new Generals, arriuing at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atilius* one of the last yeares Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakenes: *Seruilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Æmilius* thought necessarie, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. Hee willed them to consider, not only now, their victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but euen their own great numbers: which were no lesse than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrie stood; how the state and safety thereof rested vpon their hands; vsing some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectual part of his Oration was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victorie by plaine force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill he was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkenesse whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what aduantages they had against the Enemie; and how destitute the Enemie was of those helps, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; hee exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and euery way sufficient, as *Æmilius* was knowne to bee, they should easily preuaile against the *Carthaginians*: that came farre short of them in all things else, saue craft; which would not alwaies thriue. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire that they should haue heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a conuenient season. But they, hauing preconceiued a victorie, thought all delaies to be impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselues of their best helpe; which was, good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselues affected with the Vulgar desire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein since *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the aduantage was theirs, why did he make them forbeare to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*; who was no lesse popular in the Campe, than he had been in the Citie. Expectation is alwaies tedious; and neuer more, than when the Euent is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Armie, to be freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therfore *Terentius*, who hastned their desire to effect, was likely to winne more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* thinke themselues to haue the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconuenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Dissension*

of

of their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemie must shortly dislodge, and remoue hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, hauing eaten vp his last yeares prouisions, returne into *Campania* to gather a second Harueſt? This would (said *Varro*) sauour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth sauour no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their wordes: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably euery day. *Æmilius* lodged sixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vneuen. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take paines to come; hee doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leaue running till they were out of *Italie*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuertheleſſe he sate downe close by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden gueſt gaue him but a rude welcome and intertainement. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light Armature, fel vpon the *Roman* Vantcourrers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the *Romans* had among their *Veliters*, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsomly withdraw the Army out of that leuel ground, incamped vpon the Riuer *Aufidus*; sending a third part of his forces ouer the water, to lie vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselues. Hee neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground serued wholly for the aduantage of his enemie; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equal termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remoue toward *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of neceſsaries: whereof an Armie forraging the country, was not likely to carrie about with it sufficient quantitie, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed ouer with silence, That *Liuie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the miserie into which *Hannibal* had been driuen; and of base courses that he deuised to take, if the *Romans* could haue retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Liuie*) but ten daies prouision of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruly Rabble, gathered out of seuerall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were readie to forsake him, and runne ouer to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue stolne away into *Gaule* with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length for lacke of all other counsaile, he resolued to get him as farre as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficultie in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieued with the more early harueſt. But whilest he was about to put this deuice in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they euen forced him vnto that, which hee most defired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open *Champaine* ground: wherein hee was victorious: It was not vncommendable in *Liuie*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing onely by report. For thus hee saith; HANNIBAL *de fugâ in Galliam* [*dicitur*] *agitâsse*; HANNIBAL [*is said*] *to haue bethought himselfe of flying into Gaule*: where he makes it no more then a matter of heare-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the processe it selfe, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, comming out of *Gaule*, through the Marishes and Bogs of *Hetruria*, could finde victuailes enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Summer forgoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeare; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harueſt, since

he had long beene Maſter of the open field; and beſides, had gotten, by ſurpriſe, no ſmall part of the *Romans* prouiſions? Suteable hereunto is all the reſt. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and cattaile; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italie*: and had ſo well increaſed his ſtock, ſince he came into that Countrie, that hee had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman-like*; and loaden his followers with ſpoile: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemie; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not eaſie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Hiſtorians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That hee alwaies kept his Armie free from ſedition, though it were compoſed of ſundrie Nations; no leſſe different in Manners, Religion, and almoſt in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he ſo doe, hauing not only pronounced, That which of his men ſoeuer fought brauely with an Enemie, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but ſolemnely proteſted and ſworne, (beſides other rewards) to make as many of them, as ſhould deſerue and ſeeke it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaule*, was a ſenleſſe deuice. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Armie, tooke ſo little pleaſure in the Countrie and People, that he made all haſte to get him out of it. And what ſhould he now doe there with his horſe? or how could hee bee truſted, either there or elſewhere? yea, how could he deſire to liue; hauing betrayed all his Army; and relinquiſhed his miſerable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therfore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a maner al his directions from *Liuie*. But of this and the like it is enough to ſay, That all Hiſtorians loue to extoll their owne countrimen; and where a loſſe cannot be diſſembled, nor the honour of the victorie taken from the Enemie, and giuen vnto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on ſome ſtrange miſgouernment of their own forces: as if they might eaſily haue wonne all, but loſt all through ſuch folly, as no Enemie can hope to find in them another time.

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lie emcamped on the Riuer *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perſwaded, that it concerned him in honor, to make good his word vnto the people of *Rome*: and ſince he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the conſent of *Paulus*, now at length to vſe his owne authority; and, without any more diſputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the firſt breake of day he beganne to paſſe the Riuer, without ſtaying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and ſought, as in former times, to haue diſſwaded him, from putting the eſtate of his Countrie to a needleſſe hazard. Againſt whoſe wordes and ſubſtantiall arguments, *Terentius* could alleage none other, than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had preſented them battaile at their Trenches: ſhould they endure this Brauado? He had ſent his *Numidians* ouer the Riuer but euen the day before, who fel vpon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the leſſer Campe; and draue them ſhamefully to runne within their defences, which alſo they made offer to aſſaile: muſt this alſo be ſuffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the ſpirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of ſuch courage, as promiſed aſſured victorie. When *Æmilius* perceiued, that he could not hinder the obſtinate reſolution of his Companion; he tooke all care, that what he ſaw muſt be done, might be done well. Ten thouſand *Roman* foot he cauſed to be left behind, in the greater campe, oppoſite vnto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might bee compelled, to leaue behind him ſome anſwerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity he was leſſe able to ſpare from the battaile, than were the *Romans*) or that theſe ten thouſand, falling vpon the *Carthaginian* Campe, when the fight beganne, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might therby (as commonly doe ſuch accidents) terrifie and diſtract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done; the two Conſuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the leſſer Cump,

whence

whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground on the East part of the Riuer, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, passed likewise ouer, somewhat higher vp the streame, which ranne from the South; leauing in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bade them looke about them, and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyne battaile with the *Romans* vpon such a leuell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to preuaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thanke the gods, that haue brought them hither; and then Vs, that haue trained them along, and drawne them into necessitie of playing for their liues, where they are sure to loose them. As for these *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first: but now yee may euen encourage your selues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom ye haue as often beaten as seene. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as, to driue them before you out of *Gaule*; and to winne the open Countrie, and fields of *Italie*; both of which yee haue obtained: now are yee to fight for the Townes themselues, and all the riches within them; which this victorie shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall bee Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom hee had sent to view the countenance of the Enemie. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to haue with these *Romans*? Worke enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them neuer so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that hee fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the souldiers, who thought their Generall would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* aboue many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no lesse troubled with thinking vpon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jest, and shew himselfe merry vnto the Souldiers: this his answere was more manly, than was the relation of his discoueren. But if *Hannibal* himselfe had beene sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*; he could not haue returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine *Gam*, before the battaile of *Agincourt*, made vnto our King *Henrie* the fift: saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to bee killed; enow to bee taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Euen such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke vpon such passions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and vndertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which hee had long before conceiued the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; He marshalled his Armie in such conuenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where euery one might doe best seruice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, hee sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name *Enfans perdues*; but when we vsed our owne termes, *the forlorne hope*. The grosse of his Armie following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoiles which they had

had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more aduantage, than those wherewith they had formerly serued; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these hee ranged his *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their owne Countrie manner; their shields alike; but the *Gaules* vsing long broad swordes, that were forcible in a downe-right stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gaules*, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fiercenesse: the *Spaniards*, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitie, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gaules* were strong of body, and furious in giuing charge; but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them haue inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager, but more warie; neither ashamed to giue ground, when they were ouer-prest; nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, serued mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly vnto them both. For they saw themselues well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was growne terrible in *Spaine*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaule*, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not bee feared, that any great calamitie should fall vpon them, whilest the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrinke, or forbeare to imploy the vtmost of their hardines, as knowing that the Enemie could not presse farre vpon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great aduantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so liuely, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gaules* and *Spaniards* to aduance; leauing void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall backe, when they should bee ouer-hardly prest. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent; Hee made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the emptie space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thinne, as seruing only to guide it orderly backe, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthned & thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to haue beene so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in brasse, as I haue seene of this Battaile, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Reare, to second the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, when they were driuen to retrait; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood betweene the last rancks of his long battalions, & in the head of his Reare, doubtles well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the Riuer *Ausidus*, were the *Gaules* and *Spanish* horse, vnder the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was *Hanno* (*Liuie* saith *Mabarbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Reare. The whole summe of *Hannibals* Armie in the field this day, was tenne thousand horse, and fourtie thousand foot; his enemies hauing two to one against him in foot; and Hee, fiue to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Armie was marshalled in the vsuall forme: but somwhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had beene found conuenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former warre. It was indeede no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and short*, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Reare, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-allie themselues. Thus much

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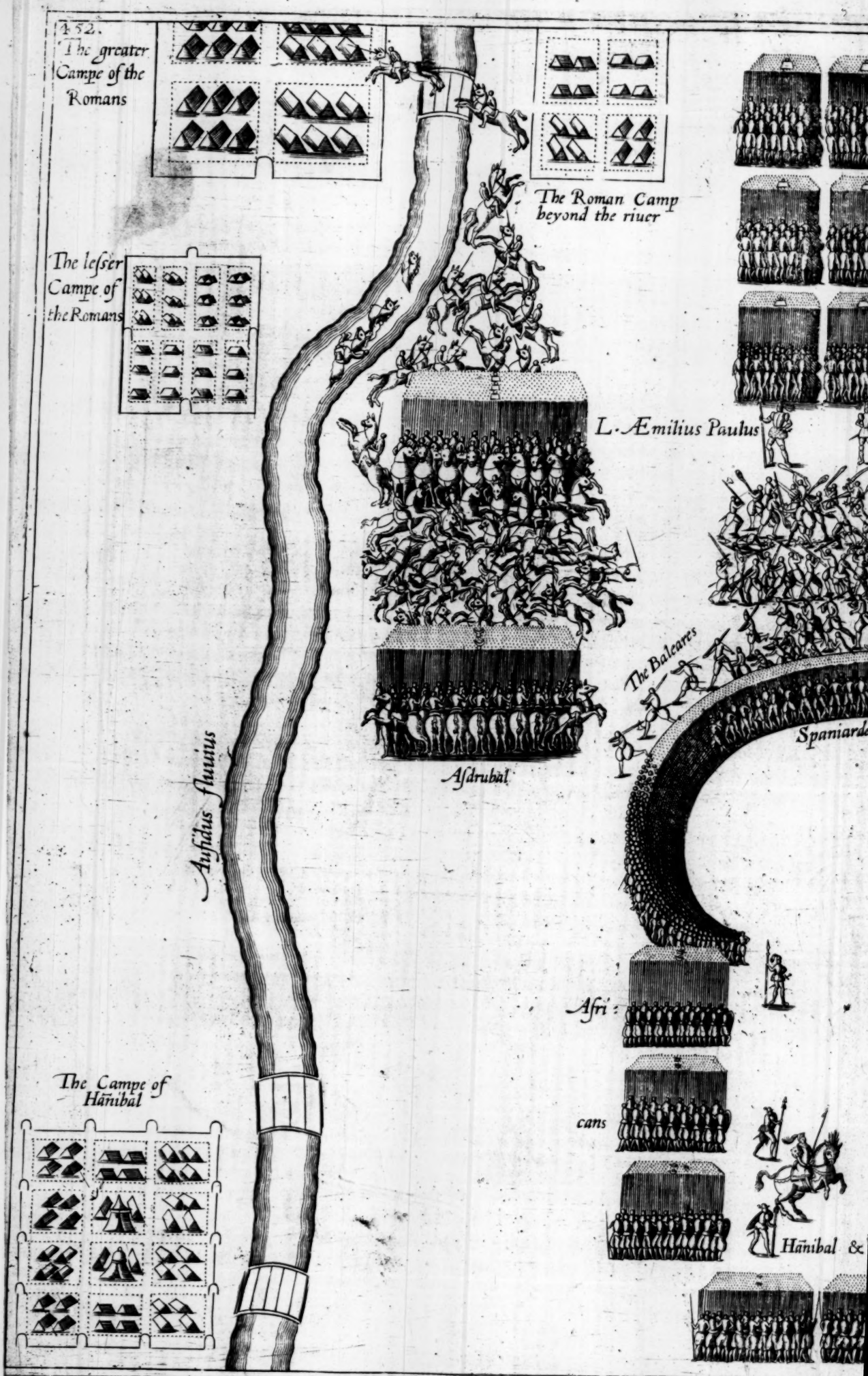
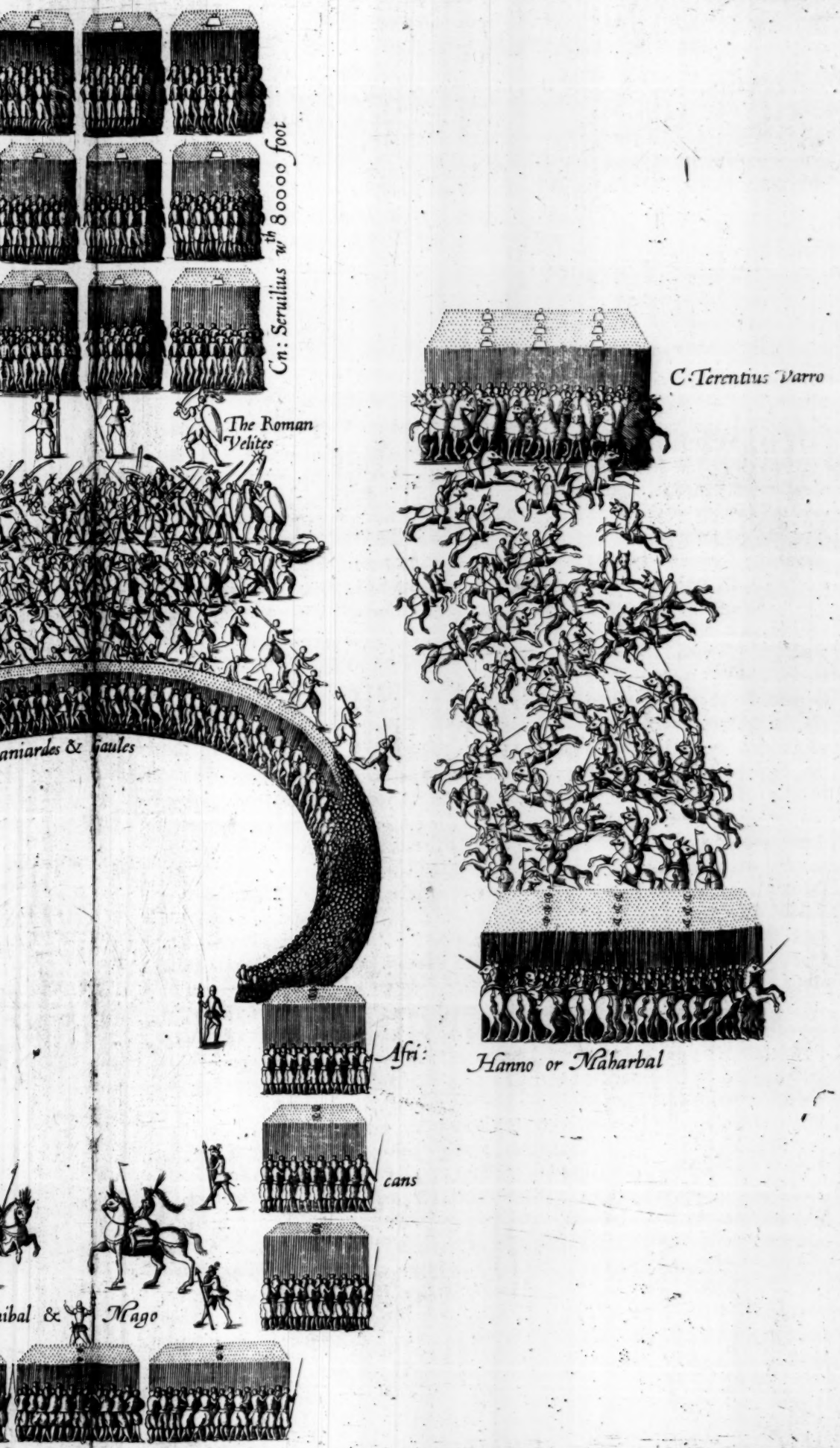

452.
The greater Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
The lesser Campe of the Romans
L. Æmilius Paulus
The Balearres
Spaniard
Asdrubal
Aufidus fluuius
Afri
cans
The Campe of Hannibal
Hannibal &


Cn: Servilius w^th 80000 foot
The Roman Velites
C. Terentius Varro
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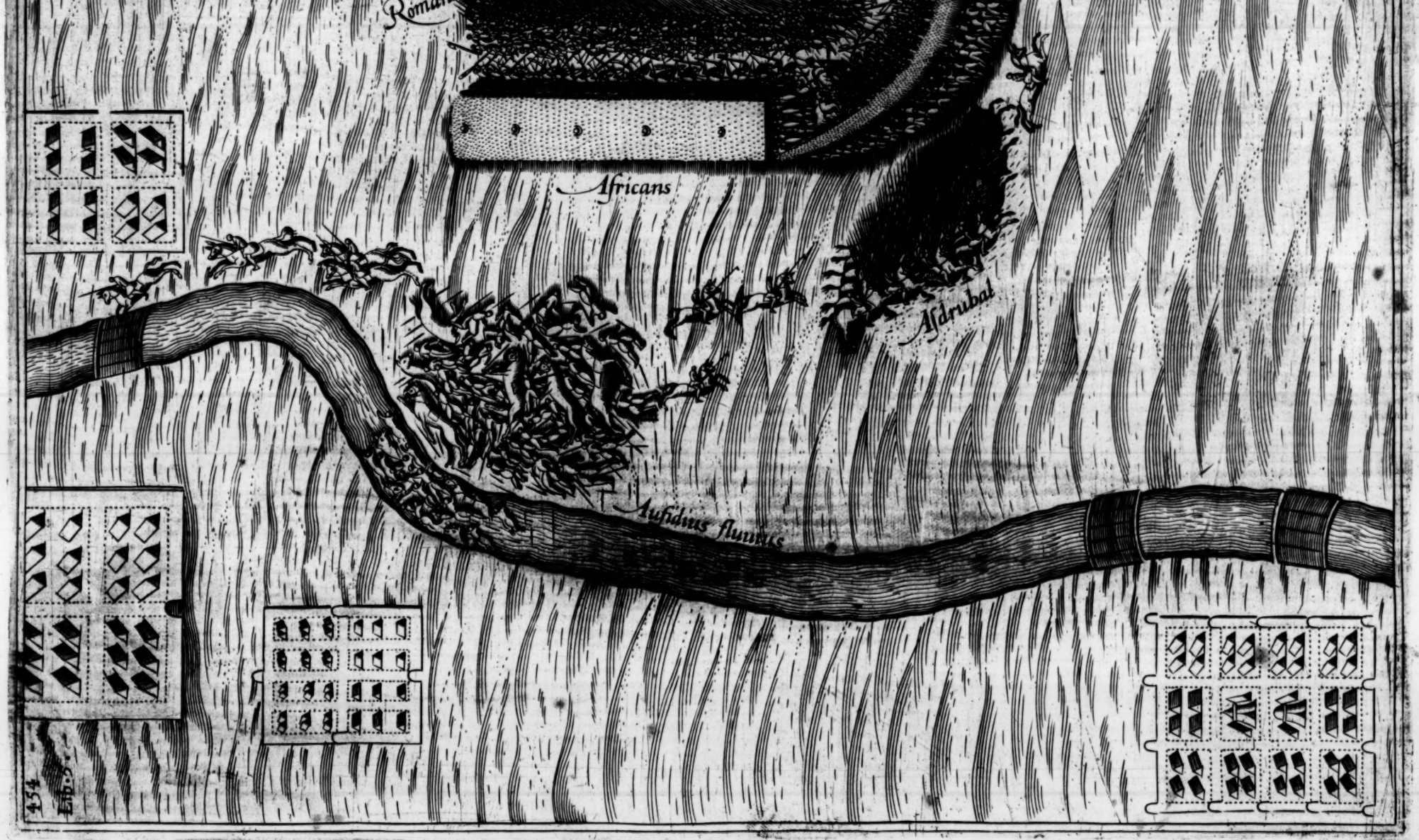
it seemes, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their aduantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for *Æmilius*; it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the Riuer, were the *Roman* horse-men, vnder the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other Associates: *Cn. Seruilius* the former yeeres Consul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* hauing their faces North ward; the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and slingers of the *Baleares*: *Asdrubal* brake vpon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of seruice on horse-backe, vsed in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giuing on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as hauing the Riuer on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherfore they not only vsed their Lances and Swordes; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from vnder them, fell many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they beganne to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were ouer-borne, and driuen by plaine force to a staggering recoile. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to bee resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell: so strongly, for the while, did the *Gaules* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midst; by whose aide, these Opposites were forced to disband, and flie backe to their first place. This they did in great haste and feare: and were with no lesse haste, and follie pursued. Vpon the *Africans*, that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was void roome enough; and forasmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the safe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to reenforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight, of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*; it hapned, as was necessarie, that they who had stood in the limbe or vtter compasse of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concaue surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe-circle; which they should not haue needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thinne & broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men rowted, and seeming vnable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot bin cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolued. But whilest the Legions, following their supposed victorie, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themselues deepely within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side aduanced so farre, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without remouing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as couered the *Africans*; who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themselues, as men *Plut. in vit. Hannib.*

men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gaules*. Neither is it credible, that they would haue beene so mad, as to runne head-long, with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot bee supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselues. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the Riuer side, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuertheless hee cheared vp his men as well as hee could, both with comfortable wordes, and with the example of his owne stout behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul receiued a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakenesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Consul had giuen order so to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horses, to helpe their foot in distres. When *Hannibal* (for he was neere at hand) perceiued this, and vnderstood that the Consul had willed his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would haue deliuered them vnto me, bound hand and foot:* meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of the Associates, in the left wing, was maruailously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating vp and downe about that great sandy Plaine, raised a foule dust; which a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomarily, draue into the eyes & mouthes of the *Romans*. These, vsing their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were euen ready to joyne; fiue hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behinde their backes, (as was the manner of those which yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselues. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. *Varro* had not leasure to examine them; but caused them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Armie, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty aduentures did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yeelded. Vnder their Iackets they had short swords and ponyards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slaine, and therewithall flew vpon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischiefe, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight & resistance, was giuen by the same hand which gaue the first. *Asdrubal*, hauing in short space broken the *Roman* troupes of horse, and cut in peeces all, saue the Companie of *Æmilius* that rushed into the grosse of his foot, and a very few besides, that recouered some narrow passage, betweene the Riuer and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the *Numidians*: with whom hee joyned, and gaue

vpon


Romani
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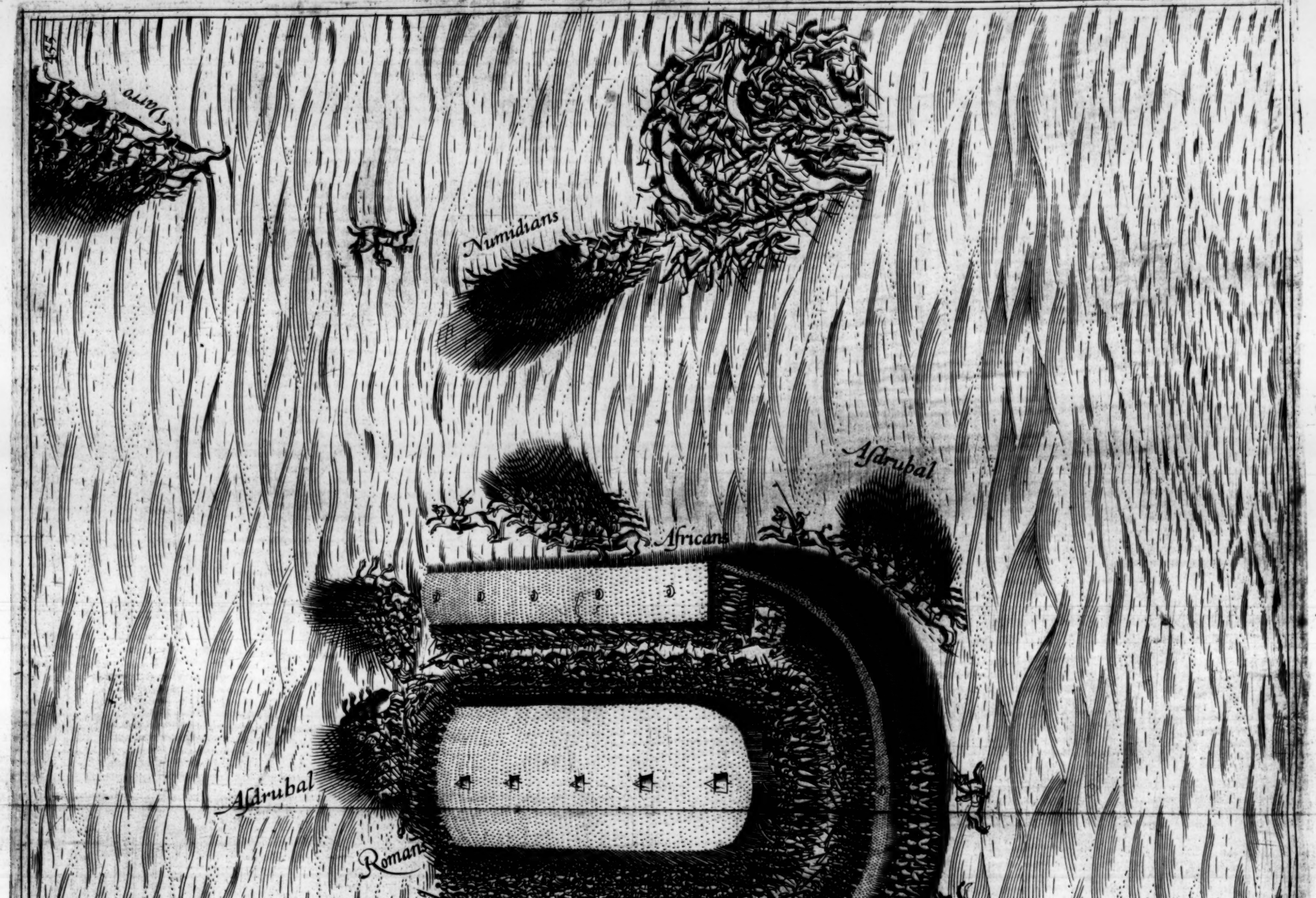
Numidians
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vpon *Terentius*. This fearefull cloude, as it ſhewed at the firſt appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other ſide: ſo did it prognoſticate a diſmall ſtorme vnto thoſe, vpon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied themſelues much in doing little, and ſeeing more worke toward, than they could hope to ſuſtaine; thought it the beſt way, to auoide the danger by preſent flight. The Conſul was no leſſe wiſe than they, in apprehending the greatneſſe of his owne perill; nor more deſperate, in ſtriuing to worke impoſſibilities: it being impoſſible, when ſo many ſhranke from him, to ſuſtaine the impreſſion alone, which he could not haue endured with their aſſiſtance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to incounter him. But of this; or of ought elſe, excepting haſty flight, his preſent leiſure would not ſerue him to conſider. Cloſe at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light *Numidians*: appointed by *Aſdrubal* vnto the purſuit, as fitteſt for that ſeruice. *Aſdrubal* himſelfe, with the *Gaules* and *Spaniſh* horſe, compaſſing about, fell vpon the backes of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly diſtreſſed, and in a manner ſurrounded on all parts elſe. He brake them eaſily; who before made ill reſiſtance, being incloſed, & laid at on euery ſide, not knowing which way to turne. Here beganne a pittifull ſlaughter: the vanquiſhed multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whileſt euery one ſought to auoide thoſe enemies, whom hee ſaw neereſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got vp to horſe, and ſaued themſelues: which though it is hardly vnderſtood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleeue it, than ſuppoſe that *Liuie* ſo reporteth, to grace therby his Hiſtorie with this following tale. CN. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS, *galloping along by a place, where he ſaw the Conſul ſitting all bloudied vpon a ſtone, entreated him to riſe and ſaue himſelfe; offering him his aſſiſtance and horſe. But* PAVLVS *refuſed it; willing* LENTVLVS *to ſhift for himſelfe, and not to looſe time: ſaying, That it was not his purpoſe to be brought againe into iudgement by the People, either as an accuſer of his Colleague, or as guiltie himſelfe of that dayes loſſe. Further hee willed* LENTVLVS *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* FABIVS: *willing them to fortifie Rome, as faſt and well as they could; and telling* FABIVS, *that Hee liued and died mindfull of his wholeſome counſaile.* These words (peraduenture) or ſome to like purpoſe, the Conſul vttered to *Lentulus*, either when againſt his will hee was drawne to that Battaile, or when hee beheld the firſt defeat of his Horſe; at what time he put himſelfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he ſaid a good while before this; when he thought the Conſul and his troupe, in little better caſe than if they had beene bound. The whole Groſſe of the *Romans*, was incloſed indeede as within a ſacke; whereof the *African* Battalions made the ſides; the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottome; and *Aſdrubal* with his horſe, cloſed vp the mouth: in which part, they firſt of all were ſhuffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the reſt followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not ſit his horſe, whileſt the battaile yet laſted, and whileſt the ſpaces were ſomewhat open, by which hee might haue withdrawne himſelfe; was now (had hee neuer ſo well beene mounted) vnable to flie, hauing in his way ſo cloſe a throng of his owne miſerable followers, and ſo many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It ſufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaile hee fought no leſſe valiantly, than hee had warily before, both abſtained himſelfe, and diſſwaded his fellow-Conſul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was vtterly loſt, it had laine in his power to ſaue his owne life, vnto the good of his Countrie, neuer more needing it; I ſhould thinke, that he either too much diſeſteemed himſelfe; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his vnthankefull Citizens. But if ſuch a reſolution were praiſe-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *Engliſh* vertue of the Lord *Iohn Talbot*, *Vicount Liſle*, ſonne to that famous *Earle* of *Shrewesburie*, who died in the Battaile of *Chaſtillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grieuouſly,

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if not mortally,wounded,and accomptable for the ouerthrow receiued: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, vnhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune,when he refused to forsake his father;who foreseeing the losse of the battaile, and not meaning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age,exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone,and leaue him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the *Roman* foot, saue two or three thousand, who(as *Liuie* saith) escaped into the lesser campe; whence, the same night, about sixe hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselues away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troups, partly dispersed, into *Cannusium*: the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both lesse and greater, were yeelded vnto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand,whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of *Hannibal*,did as they were appointed;but ere they could effect their desire,which they had well-neere done, the battaile was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming ouer the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeelded, hauing lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is,that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a great number of these did flie; and thereby escaped,whilest their fellowes,making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the Enemie busied. For about *two Legions* they were(perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that hauing serued at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped,it is vncertaine:but very few they were that saued themselues in the first charge,by getting behinde the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recouered *Venusia*,with threescore and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended,it is no maruaile: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neerest way thither, had beene through the midst of *Hannibals* Armie,if the passage had beene open. Therefore it must needes be, that when once he got out of sight,he turned vp some by-way;so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but tooke other waies,and were scattered ouer the fields;two thousand, or therabouts, were gathered vp by the *Numidians*, & made prisoners: the rest were slaine,all saue three hundred; who dispersed themselues in flight,as chance led them,and got into sundry Townes. There died in this great Battaile of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul; two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers,fourscore Senators,or such as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall marke,as hauing beene *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Consuls*: among whom was *Cn. Seruilius* the last yeeres Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, *Liuie* makes no greater than three thousand foot,and three hundred horse: too few to haue defended,for the space of one halfe houre,both the *Roman* camps; which yet the same *Liuie* saith,to haue beene ouercowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better,to giue credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be,that these three thousand were only such as the Enemie spared, when the furie of Execution was past: but to these must be added about fiue thousand more,who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either slaine or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some foure thousand *Gaules*, fifteene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse

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not ſenſible, in the joy of ſo great a victorie; which if he had purſued, as *Maharbal* aduiſed him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the Warre had preſently beene at an end. But he beleeued not ſo farre in his owne proſperitie; and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to vſe a victorie*.

§ IX.

Of things following the battaile at Cannæ.

NOt without good cauſe doth *Polybius* reprehend thoſe two Hiſtorians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleaſure of them, vnto whoſe honour they conſecrated their trauailes, than the truth of things, & information of poſteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman Quirites* and *Fathers conſcript*. No man of ſound judgement will condemne this libertie of cenſure, which *Polybius* hath vſed. For, to recompence his junioritie, (ſuch as it was) he produceth ſubſtantiall arguments, to iuſtifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanitie of thoſe former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines it is to be ſuſpected, that he would not haue taken, had hee beene borne in either of theſe two Cities, but haue ſpared ſome part of his diligence, and beene contented, to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deſerued, of his owne Countrie. The like diſeaſe it is to be feared, that wee ſhall hereafter finde in others; and ſhall haue cauſe to wiſh, that either they were ſomewhat leſſe *Roman*, or elſe, that ſome Works of their oppoſite Writers were extant, that ſo we might at leaſt heare both ſides ſpeake: being henceforth deſtitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But ſince this cannot be, we muſt be ſometimes bold, to obſerue the coherence of things; and beleeue ſo much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reaſon, or (at leaſt) faire probability. This attentiue circumſpection is needfull euen at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnancie, or forgetfulneſſe, which we find in the beſt Narration, of things following the Battaile of *Cannæ*. For it is ſaid, that foure thouſand foot and horſe gathered together about the Conſul *Terentius* at *Venuſia*; that others, to the number of ten thouſand, got into *Cannuſium*, chooſing for their Captaines, yong *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Conſul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his companie vnto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannuſium*, wrote vnto the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thouſand men about him; that theſe letters of the Conſul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had bene taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the firſt bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadours from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or, without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a pretie while before he wrote thoſe letters, which ouer-tooke (in a maner) at *Rome* the firſt newes of the ouerthrow. Among ſuch incoherences, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath not ſome particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no ſmall argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* campe, and truſſed vp the ſpoiles, forthwith he diſlodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forſake the *Roman partie*, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt Towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Coſſa*, where he laid vp his baggage: and leauing his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He haſted into *Campania*. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities

of *Italie*, was inclinable vnto him; not only in regard of their grieuous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselues, who could not hinder him from spoyling the Countrie, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a louing respect vnto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at *Cannæ*, He had louingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had sought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared hee to winne their loue with gifts; pretending, to admire their valour; but seeking indeede, by all waies and meanes, to make them his, whilest all other motiues were concurrent. At this time also hee beganne to deale kindly (though against his nature) with his *Roman* prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being prouoked by iniuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrie; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should beare soueraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gaue them leaue to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their ransome: and together with these, he sent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horse, to feele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersitie, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these artes preuailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italie*, all or most of them, saue the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their losses past, but entertained a deceiuable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not onely the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not vntill the former generation vtterly subdued, beganne to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all other in *Italie* most bound vnto the state of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as streightly conjoyned, as were any saue the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of *Italie*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the Citie of *Capua*, answerable vnto the Countrie, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, brauerie is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselues like Iayes by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the maiestie of *Rome*, and could not endure to heare of Innouation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so preuailed within *Capua*, that all was gouerned by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calauius* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering al popular desires: whereof, the coniunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offred their Citie to the *Carthaginian*, shortly after the battaile of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iournie into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the nerues of the *Roman* Armie, or some other feare of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the Multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the *Romans*, by gentle vsage, and free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduice of the Senate; which mainely impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld vp their town to *Hannibal*, & to meet him on the way, with some of their nobility, that should assure him of all faithfull meaning; were driuen to sit still, in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discouered themselues,

ſelues, to draw vpon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate; on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their owne cowardize. The People holding ſo tender a regard of libertie, that euen the lawfull Gouernement of Magiſtrates grieued them, with an imaginarie oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to feare leſt the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by helpe of the *Romans*, bring them vnder a more ſtreight ſubiection, than euer they had endured. This feare, being readie to breake into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made vſe of, to ſerue his owne ambition. He diſcourſed vnto the Senate, as they ſate in Councell, about theſe motions troubling the Citie: and ſaid, That he himſelfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and giuen his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forſaking the *Roman partie* was not now the greateſt: for that the People were violently bent euen to murder all the Senate, and afterward to joyne themſelues with *Hannibal*; who ſhould countenance the fact, and ſaue them harmeleſſe. This he ſpake, as a man well known to be beloued himſelfe by the People, and priuie vnto their deſignes. Hauing throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promiſed neuertheleſſe to deliuer them all, and to ſet things in quiet, if they would freely put themſelues into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leaue; Hee called the People to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knewe they would be glad to heare, he told them, that theſe wicked Gouernours were ſurpriſed by his policie, and all faſt, readie to abide what ſentence they would lay vpon them. Only thus much he aduiſed them, as a thing which neceſſitie required, That they ſhould chooſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearſing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, hee asked what their judgement was of thoſe. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Chooſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the Multitude, vnprouided for ſuch an election, was ſilent; vntill at laſt, ſome one or other aduentured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were vtterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome knowne fault, baſeneſſe, and inſufficiencie; or elſe euen becauſe they were vnknowne, and therefore helde vnworthie. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whileſt more were to be choſen; (the fitteſt men to be ſubſtituted, hauing beene named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and eaſily preuailed with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſſe) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were gouerned by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelues indebted, for ſauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this, by all obſequiouſneſſe, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawleſſe Wil, who elſe were likely to caſt them downe: All the Citie being thus of one minde; onely feare of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaile at *Cannæ*, this impediment was remoued: and few there were, that would open their mouthes to ſpeake againſt the Rebellion. Yet foraſmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then ſerue the *Romans* in the Iſle of *Sicil*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe preuailed ſo farre, that Embaſſadors were ſent vnto *Terentius* the Conſul; to ſee his preſent caſe, and what it could miniſter of Hope or Feare. Theſe, whereſoeuer they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weake in ſpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſeruice of their State; and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented vnto them the greatneſſe of the *Roman* misfortune: ſaying, that all was loſt; and that the *Campans* muſt now,

not helpe the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselues, but, make warre in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campans* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto hee is said to haue added a fooliſh Inuectiue, against *Hannibal* & his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carkases, and to feede vpon mans flesh; with such other stuffe, as onely bewraied his owne feare. As for the *Campans* themselues, He put them in minde of their present strength: they hauing thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all prouisions, in aboundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder then they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in aduenturing to seeke their owne libertie. Hauing reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made Alliance, vpon these conditions; That the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizen of theirs should be subiect vnto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soeuer, whether in Warre or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliuer vnto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as they themselues would choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius* an honourable Citizen opposed himselfe earnestly: vsing, in vaine, many perswasions, to the wilfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors to *Hannibal*: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entring the Towne: at which time he gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it and to cut it in pieces, that, by such a notable piece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refused: alleaging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hasted himselfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further vpon *Naples*; which he thought to haue taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well prouided, to lay siege vnto it. At *Capua* hee was entertained with great solemnitie and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainements; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italie*, and *Rome* it selfe, should bee driuen to acknowledge *Capua* as chiefe, and receiue Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romans* their enemies; Hee prayed them, that they would not thinke him a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State: and vse him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserued. This was granted: and *Magius* deliuered vnto *Hannibal*; who vnwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first comming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if he kept him aliue, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campans*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the sonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would haue murdered *Hannibal*, whilest hee was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authoritie kept him from making any such attempt. All the Towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the *Romans*, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

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The ſame courſe of fortune, with thoſe of *Capua*, ranne ſome other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Caſiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adioyning, that ſtood out for the *Romans*. Againſt theſe *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakely manned, as they were indeede, though ſtoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in caſe, to put Garriſons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leaue all places, except a few of the moſt ſuſpected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it ſelfe was in extreme feare of *Hannibals* comming, at the firſt report of the ouerthrow at *Cannæ*: and the griefe of that loſſe was ſo generall, and immoderate, that it much diſturbed the prouiſion againſt apparent danger. It was hard to iudge, whether the loſſe alreadie receiued, or the feare of deſtruction preſently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to ſtint the noiſe and lamentable bewailings, whereof the ſtreets were full. Courriers were ſent forth, to bring aſſured tidings how all went: whereof when letters from the Conſul *Varro* had throughly informed them, they were ſo amazed, that they ranne into barbarous ſuperſtition; and taking direction (as was ſaid) from their fatall bookes, buried aliue two men and women *Gaules* and *Greekes*, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gaue them ſuch inſtructions; we may iuſtly thinke, that *Sibyl* herſelfe was inſtructed by the Deuill. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of feare cauſed them to harken to wicked Sooth-ſayers; whoſe deteſtable counſailes they afterwards, for their owne honour, (as aſhamed of ſuch Authors) imputed to the bookes of *Sibyl*. An Embaſſadour was ſent to *Delphi*, to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and ſupplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtaine an ende of theſe calamities. This is enough to diſcouer the greatneſſe of their feare; though not ſeruing to giue remedie. At the ſame time came letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor *Octacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to paſſe ouer into *Africk*. In theſe were contained newes, of one *Carthaginian* fleet, that waſted the Kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Iles *Ægateis*, which was in readineſſe to ſet vpon *Lilybæum*, and the reſt of the *Roman* Prouince, if the Prætor ſtirred aſide to the reſcue of *Hieron*.

In the middeſt of theſe extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Conſul, that he might name a Dictator, to take ſoueraigne charge of the Weale publique, with abſolute power, as neceſſitie required. It muſt needes ſeeme ſtrange, that all ſorts of people went forth to meet the Conſul, & bid him welcome home, giuing him thankes *for that he had not deſpaired of the Weale publique*. But this was done (as may ſeeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtleſſe) prouided wiſely, for vpholding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people: what elſe would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednеſſe, among thoſe that were ſubiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occaſion (though indeed he gaue it not) of beſtowing vpon him their welcome, and thankes; they noyſed abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimitie and Confidence: that might ſeeme grounded on their remayning ſtrength. This therefore was wiſely done: But whereas *Liuie* would haue vs thinke, that it was done generouſly, and out of great ſpirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeue him not. It was done fearefully, and to couer their griefe: had they dared to ſhew their indignation, they would haue ſtruck off his head; as in few yeres after, *Cn. Fuluius* had his life brought into queſtion, and was baniſhed by them, being leſſe blame-worthy, for a ſmaller offence. *M. Iunius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Maſter of the horſe. Theſe fell preſently to muſtering of Souldiers, of whom they raiſed *foure* new Legions, and a thouſand horſe: though with much difficultie; as being faine to take vp ſome, that were very Boies. Theſe foure Legions, are elſewhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuied by this Dictator; and *Liu. l. 26.* *Liu. l. 22.*

Liu. l. 23. *two* Legions only set downe, that had beene enrolled in the beginning of the yeere for custodie of the Citie. Wherfore it may be, that these two Legions being drawne into the field; foure new ones of *Prætextati*, or Stripplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to bee reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them eight thousand sturdie slaues, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This not sufficing; The Dictator proclaimed, that whosoeuer ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith bee discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the Warre. To arme these Companies, they were faine to take downe, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had beene there set vp: among which, were sixe thousand Armours of the *Gaules*, that had beene carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this Warre. To such mockerie had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were faine to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was readie to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

About the same time it was, that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canne*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the Citie, but commanded, whilest he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territorie. To the messengers of the captiues, audience was giuen by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poore kins-folke, but the great neede, wherein the Citie then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their sute; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthned by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former warre) not to bee too tender of such as had yeelded to the Enemie; much was alleaged against these who now craued ransome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might haue saued themselues, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls: they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to auoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as wee find recorded. Neyther must wee regard it, that the slaues which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, deuised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings as if they had beene seuere; when as indeed they were suteable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggerly. Hereof it is no little proofe, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaues, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than euery one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But if wee should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for slaues might haue been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuate men did only lend these slaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbeare the price of them* (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the warre should be ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of paiment; it is likely that the *Romans* would haue beene his chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for ready monie, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, vpon the same reason, but contrarie pretence, was vsed toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great Battaile. These were charged for hauing fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if euer) that which they call *raggione del Stato* may serue for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miserable Exigent, is faine to helpeit selfe, by doing iniuries to

Liu. l. 24.

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priuate men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerued at *Cannæ*, to be tranſported into *Sicil*; and there to ſerue, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twentie yeeres in the warres, or elſe were fiftie yeeres of age; but vntill this warre ſhould be ended, how long ſoeuer it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thriftie cenſure, was afterwards laid vpon others, for their misbehauiour: but neuer vpon any man of qualitie, ſaue only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) vpon *Cæcilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-braind fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of ſo great a loſſe, were deuiſing, after the battaile, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one Towne within it. The inequalitie of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſtfull to the Commonaltie: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the People*; neuertheleſſe it was quietly digeſted, the excuſe being no leſſe apparent than the fault. *Liu. l. 23.*

M. Iunius the Dictator, hauing diſpatched all needfull buſineſſe within the Citie, tooke the field with fiue and twentie thouſand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot finde: nor more of him, than this, That he ſpent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be preſumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be aſcribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weake eſtate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Oſtia* with a fleet, ready to ſet ſaile for *Sicil*, hauing one Legion aboord his ſhips, & fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces he was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme hee could in *Africk*. But hearing of the ouerthrow at *Cannæ*, hee ſent theſe of his new Leuie to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched haſtily with his Legion toward *Cannuſium*: deliuering the fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magiſtrates, & chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them; who were like to be forced by the Multitude (affected, as were the reſt of the *Campans*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to auoid this otherwiſe, than by ſeeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacie. Wherefore he made great iournies thitherward; and arriued euen time enough to preuent the Enemie. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: aſſaying by faire words, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was ſtrong, and not infected with any the leaſt touch of diſloialtie: it had alſo a ſure Hauen; whereby it ſtood in the leſſe feare, of ſuſtayning much inconuenience, by ſpoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrie. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable conſideration, That *Hannibal* was Maſter of the field: which if he laid waſte, all the poore people were vtterly vndone. So thought the Multitude: and ſuch talke vſed ſome, that had little feare of their owne priuate want or pouertie, but a great deſire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of theſe, one *L. Bantius* was chiefe; a ſtout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of eſpeciall marke, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done good ſeruice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Cannæ*, and after much gentle vſage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly diſmiſſed with liberall gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greateſt thankes he could vnto ſo courteous an Enemie. *Marcellus* perceiuing this, wrought vpon the ſame eaſie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, ſeemed to wonder, why one that had ſo well deſerued of the *Roman* ſtate, had not repaired vnto him the Prætor, who deſired nothing more than ſuch acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and louing entertainement, being himſelfe alſo a man highly reputed for his perſonall valour, he made this *Bantius* ſo far in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, againſt the *Romans*, whereof he had not preſently aduertiſement. At the comming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* remoued from about *Nola*; and aſſaied, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garriſon; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie anſwere, to his diſcontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*: which he tooke by compoſition; and ſo returned back

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againe to *Nola*. Hee was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durſt not ſtirre in his quarrell, being ouerawed by the *Roman* Garriſon; yet if they ſaw *Marcellus* hardly beſtead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies aſſailing him without, like enough it ſeemed, that they would not bee wanting vnto the accompliſhment of their owne deſires. Hee therefore brought his Armie cloſe to the Towne, and skirmiſhed often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but only to make ſhew of a meaning to force the Towne; which hee ſought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there paſſed meſſages betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could bee trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne ſhould preſently riſe; and ſeizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemie. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertiſed: and fearing, leſt the Conſpirators would ſhortly aduenture, euen to finde him buſied within the Citie, whileſt the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſcale the walls; he thought it the ſureſt way, to cut off the enemies hope, and ſend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three ſeuerall gates looking towards the Enemie: He gaue a ſtreight command, that all the Citizens ſhould keepe their houſes. Thus hee lay cloſe a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; againſt whom he had cuſtomarily iſſued forth before more early, euery day, to skirmiſh. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that ſurely all was diſcouered, and *Marcellus* now buſied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bade his men bring ladders, and make ready for the aſſault; which was done in all haſte. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walls, and thought nothing leſſe, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: ſuddenly the middle gate was opened, wherat *Marcellus*, with the beſt and oldeſt of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noiſe, to make his vnexpected ſallie the more terrible. Whileſt the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were ſome of them flying before *Marcellus*, the reſt making head againſt him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like ſort iſſued they of the new-leuied Companies, vpon the enemies backes. The ſudden terrour was more availeable vnto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was ſo great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the braueſt Acts performed in all that warre; foraſmuch as hereby it was firſt proued, that *Hannibal* might be ouer-come. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a ſtrict accompt of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning aboue threeſcore and ten of high Treaſon, whoſe heads he ſtruck off; and ſo leauing the Towne in quiet obedience vnto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Sueſſula*. *Hannibal* in the meane ſeaſon was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, he thought it no wiſdome to looſe time in perſwaſions, but laid ſiege vnto it, and beganne on all ſides to cloſe it vp. This terrified the People, who knew themſelues vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finiſhed, and they quite ſurrounded; they ſtole out by night, and left him the Towne emptie: which he ſacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about *Caſiline*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being vnwilling, that an Enemie ſo neere ſhould diſquiet him at *Capua*; where hee meant to Winter. It ſeemes, or rather indeede it is plaine, that the late victorie of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the ſpirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durſt with a ſmall part of his Armie ſeeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* ſtrength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, vpon ſo ſlight an occaſion as the death of ſome two thouſand of his men, at the moſt, and thoſe not ſlaine in plaine battaile, but by a ſudden eruption; witneſſeth chiefly, in what great feare they ſtood of *Hannibal*, and how Creſt-fallen they were: that hauing three yeeres ſince demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be deliuered vnto their pleaſure, by his owne Citizens; could now pleaſe themſelues, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmiſh not farre

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from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not reſiſtleſſe. At *Caſilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the towne, and held it. Fiue hundred of the *Praneſtines* there were, and aboue foure hundred of *Peruſia*, with ſome of the *Latines*. All theſe had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaile of *Cannæ*, being ſent by their ſeuerall States to the campe: whither whileſt they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and ſent them backe ſorrowfull; for they loued well their Lords the *Romans*, vnder whoſe gouernement they liued happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Caſiline*, where they met and ſtaied. Neither had they ſtaied there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the *Campans* into rebellion. The people of *Caſiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore ſought how to rid their hands of thoſe *Praneſtines* and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for another, at laſt they ſlew all the Townesmen in a night, and fortified the Weſterne part of the Towne (for it was diuided by the Riuer *Vulturnus*) againſt the Enemie. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that theſe of *Caſiline* were as the reſt of the *Campans*, all Traitors; they themſelues might haue been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their conſtancie in defence of the place witneſſeth, vpon what honeſt reaſons they ſurpriſed it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountred with greater forces: but theſe few found him more worke than he expected. Diuers aſſaults hee gaue, but was ſtill repelled with loſſe: and many ſallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemie mined; and they countermined: oppoſing ſo much induſtrie to his force, that he was driuen to cloſe them vp, and ſeeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Maſter of the horſe, lay with the *Roman* Armie higher vp the Riuer: who faine would haue relieued *Caſiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about ſome matters of Religion, had giuen him expreſſe charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Sueſſula* could not come: his way being ſtopped by the ouer-flowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* alſo beſeeching him not to leaue them, who were in danger of the *Campans*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water ſtaied his iournie, ſuch entreaties were needleſſe. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* ſo long, as till extreme famine had conſumed the Garriſon in *Caſiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was loſt, becauſe the *Romans* durſt not aduenture to raiſe the ſiege. Barrells of corne were ſent by night, floting downe the Riuer; and when ſome of theſe, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, ſtuck among the Willowes on the banke, whereby this manner of reliefe was diſcouered and preuented; *Gracchus* caſt a great quantitie of Nuts into the ſtreame, which faintly ſuſtained the poore beſieged men. At length, when all foode was ſpent, and whatſoeuer grew greene vnder the walls was gathered for ſallets; the *Carthaginians* ploughed vp the ground: whereon the beſieged preſently ſowed Rape-ſeede. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, admired their patience; and ſaid, That he meant not to ſtay at *Caſiline*, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto hee had refuſed to hearken vnto any Compoſition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by puniſhing their obſtinacie; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ranſome, which when they had paid, hee quietly diſmiſſed them according to his promiſe. Seuen hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Caſiline*, as a Garriſon for defence of the *Campans*; vnto whom he reſtored it. To the *Praneſtine* Souldiers great thankes were giuen, and louing rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their preſent condition pleaſed them ſo well, that they choſe rather to continue, as they were, in *Praneſte*: which is no weake proofe, of the good eſtate wherin the Cities flouriſhed, that were ſubject to the *Roman* Gouernement. This ſiege of *Caſiline* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and conſumed much of his time, that might otherwiſe haue beene better ſpent. For Winter ouer-tooke

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him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when hee was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Armie, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage to be sent to HANNIBAL *in Italie. How by the malice of* HANNO, *and sloth or parsimonie of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of* FABIVS *and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Cannæ*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull message of Victorie. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generalls his brother had fought; what Consuls he had chaced, wounded, or slaine; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captaine, because he neuer durst aduenture to come to battaile; that, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them aboue two hundred thousand, and taken aboue fiftie thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italie*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had beene entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the warre, He said it was euen at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselues, and repaire their broken forces. Hee willed them to consider, that the warre was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrie; that so many Battailes had much diminished his brothers Armie; that the Souldiers, who had so well deserued, ought to be considered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of monie, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must bee sent from *Carthage*: which the victorie would requite with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman Knights* that were slaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels, or (as others would rather haue it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamitie, forasmuch as none but the * principall of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

Whoso considers the former *Punick Warre*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull aduertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the Errand of *Mago* found extraordinarie welcome. In the vehemencie of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator aduerse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should bee yeelded vp vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to giue thankes vnto the gods, for this their good successe. Hereunto though it bee not likely that *Hanno*

* Thus *Liuie* reports it: and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poore, the brauerie of priuate men was not altogether so great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise *Ius Annuli*, *The wearing of the Ring*, was the generall priuiledge of the *Roman Equites*.

Hanno made the ſame formall anſwere, which *Liuie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conſcripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne ſhamefull ouerthrow receiued at the Ilands *Ægateis*: yet the ſumme of his ſpeech appeares to haue beene no leſſe malicious, than it is ſet downe, foraſmuch as *Hannibal* himſelfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed againſt the wickedneſſe of this *Hanno*; ſaying, that his hatred againſt the *Barchines*, had oppreſſed their Familie, when otherwiſe it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made ſuch a jeſt of theſe victories, as is reported; ſaying, It ill beſeemed him, who had vanquiſhed the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had beene beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forſooth with ſpoile, to make requeſt for meat and monie. To theſe cauills, if anſwere were needfull, it might be ſaid, That other bootie than of horſes and ſlaues; little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the beſt of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few [a] ſiluer ſtuds in the bridles and trappings of their horſes. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of mony and prouiſions, going to ſupply all wants of a great Armie in ſome other Prouince, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards ſaid to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Aſdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spaine*, in his journie towards *Italie*) then might ſuch an objection more juſtly haue beene made vnto his demand of a ſupply. But the moſt likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein hee beſt might hope to preuaile, contained a perſwaſion to vſe their fortune with moderation; and now to ſeeke peace, whileſt they had ſo much the better in warre. [a] *Liu. l. 22.*

What would haue beene the iſſue of this counſaile, if it had beene followed, it were not eaſie to ſay. For though it bee likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignitie, in freeing *Italie* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely, that the faith, ſo often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue beene kept entire, when any opinion of good aduantage had called for reuenge of ſo many ſhamefull ouerthrowes; ſince after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no ſubmiſſiue behauiour could preſerue *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill ſuch time, as *Rome* was at leiſure from all other warres. This counſaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might ſeeme temperate, was indeede very peſtilent; and ſerued only to hinder the performance of a noble reſolution. For it was concluded by a maine conſent of the Senate, that fortie thouſand *Numidians*, fortie Elephants, and great abundance of ſiluer, ſhould bee ſent ouer to *Hannibal*: and that, beſides theſe, twentie thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, ſhould be leuied in *Spaine*; not only to ſupply, as neede ſhould require, the Armies in that Prouince, but to be tranſported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully ſent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Hiſtorians would not haue found cauſe, to taxe the rechleſſe improuidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreſhing his Armie among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would haue finiſhed the buſineſſe, with leſſe dangerous aduenture; and the pleaſures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campans*, would haue beene commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to bee imploied in the following warre. But either the too much careleſneſſe of thoſe, that were loth to make haſte in laying out their monie, before extreme neceſſitie required it; or the craftie malice of *Hanno*, and his fellowes, working vpon the priuate humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commoditie, than ſenſe of the publike neede; vtterly peruerted, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the order that had beene ſo well ſet downe. The [b] Elephants were ſent: and ſome monie peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But thoſe great forces of threeſcore thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, came not into *Italie*, till much was loſt of that which already had beene gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Armie, was firſt conſumed by time, and ſundry accidents of warre. Only [b] *Liu. l. 26.*

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some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spaine*; and the journie of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled therevnto, till many yeeres were past, and the *Romans* had recouered their strength.

Heere wee may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both by the Tributes receiued from their subiects, and by their wealthy Trade of merchandize. For it is not long, since the warre of the Mercinaries; and the perfidious tyrannie of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impouerished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much monie, as was to bee disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse at *Ægateis*. Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the seruice in *Italie*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of mony in these chargeable vndertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, hauing three or foure yeeres together beene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasurie, had the wealthy merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterran Sea*, euen from *Tyrus* their Mother-City in the bottome of the streights vnto the great Ocean, aboue the *Romans*: who liued on the fruits of their ground; and receiued their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discouered plainely whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty Citie would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Armie did set forth, to performe what soeuer should bee enjoyned them, with condition that their Citie might not bee destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the Bodie of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne must needes be demolished, and remoued into some other place, that should be twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) this Trade of merchandize, by which ye now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of husbandrie; an wholsome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conuersation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glosing words, plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the hastie growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoeuer it were, added still this conclusion, *Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroied*; Hee may seeme, not only to haue had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the Citie, but much more vnto these times, & the great height whervnto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not beene in case to dare so terrible a warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: hauing euery one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had beene requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade couetous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spaine*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Armie into *Italie*; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisedome, to commit

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all the ſtrength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, againſt the Enemies; or (which perhaps were worſe) to the Gouernment of an ambitions man, and his brethren; who hauing once (if they could ſo doe) finiſhed the warre, might eaſily make * *Hannibal* a King, and ſubdue *Carthage*, with the forces that he had giuen them to the conqueſt of *Rome*.

By ſuch malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne ſlackneſſe, incredulitie, dulneſſe, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perſwaded rather to make ſmall diſburſements in *Spaine*, than to ſet vp all their reſt at once in *Italie*. Yet was it indeed impoſſible, to hold a Countrie of ſo large extent, and ſo open a coaſt as that of *Spaine*, free from all incurſion of the Enemie: eſpecially the affection of the Naturalls being (as in a new Conqueſt) ill eſtabliſhed. A better way therfore it had been to make a running warre, by which the *Romans* might haue beene found occupied, euen with the ordinarie *Carthaginian* Garriſons, or ſome little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to deferre the proſecution of their maine intendment againſt *Rome* it ſelfe, vntill ſuch time as euery little thorne were pulled out of the ſides of ſo great a Prouince, then muſt *Emporiæ* haue bin beſieged & forced: which by reaſon of alliance with the *Maſſilians*, gaue vnto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleaſed, a readie and ſecure Harbour. But the Towne of *Emporiæ* was too ſtrong to be wonne in haſte: it had long defended it ſelfe againſt the *Barbarians*; hauing not aboue foure hundred paces of wall to the maine Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spaniſh* Towne of the ſame name, lying without it, that was three miles in compaſſe, very ſtrong likewiſe, and friend vnto the *Græcians*, though not ouer-much truſted. Wherefore to force this Towne of *Emporiæ*, that was, beſides the proper ſtrength, like to be ſo well aſſiſted by the *Maſſilians*, *Romans*, and ſome *Spaniards*; would haue been a worke of little leſſe difficultie, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Cannæ*: yea it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the ſeat of the warre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neere vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficultie of this attempt being ſuch as cauſed it altogether to be forborne; great follie it was, to bee much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vtterly out of *Spaine*: whom they might more eaſily haue diuerted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making ſtrong warre vpon their Citie. For euen ſo the *Romans* afterwardes remoued *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by ſending an Armie to *Carthage*; & by taking the like courſe, they now endeuoured to change the ſeat of the warre, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spaine*. But the priuate affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwiſe, than as it is acceſſary to their owne purpoſes, did make them eaſily winke at opportunities, and hope, that ſomewhat would fall out well of it ſelfe, though they ſet not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him ſo, were wel enough contented to harken vnto his diſcourſes, as long as they were plauſible, and tended to keepe the purſe full. In the meane while they ſuffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble houſe of *Amilcar*, to wearie themſelues in trauaile for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakely aſſiſted; as if the induſtrie of theſe *Barchines* had been ſomewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were farre leſſe honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in gouernement of their ſubiect Prouinces, but in adminiſtration of their owne Eſtate; few of them preferring the reſpect of the Weale publike aboue their priuate intereſt. But as they thriued little in the end, by their parſimonie vſed toward their own Mercinaries, when the former *Roman* warre was finiſhed: ſo the concluſion of this warre preſent, will make them complaine, with feeling ſighes, of their negligence in ſupplying *Hannibal*, after the victorie at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would giue all their Treaſures, to redeeme the opportunitie, that now they let paſſe, as if it were coſt enough to ſend a few handfulls into *Spaine*.

* Of ſuch ambition *Hanno* directly accuſed *Hannibal*, ſaying that he made warre that ſo hee might liue compaſſed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himſelfe a King. *Liu. lib.* 31.

That both the *Spaniſh* buſineſſe, and the ſtate of *Africk* it ſelfe, depended whol-

ly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in *Italie*; the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Liuie*, the tender loue of his owne Country, which made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* and others: yet must we not, for his sake, beleeue those lies, which the vnpartiall iudgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the vntruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former warre, That hauing cleane spent their strength, and being euen broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselues vnto the *Romans*. Contrarie hereunto we finde in *the life of* AMILCAR, set downe by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not beene any warre. These wordes, being referred to the braue resolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their General infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouerliberall. For in the treatie of peace betweene *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes, and forsake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwise he would not talke of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bade him choose, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the Armes, which his Countrie had put into his hands to vse against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrarie to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his will, and not to stand with him vpon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with vntruth; saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaued themselues as men that had no sense thereof; and were as farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betweene *Fabius* (as also perhaps betweene other old Writers of the *Roman* storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mightie Citie of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Liuie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, ioyning very foolishly his owne shamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands, * *Ægateis*, with the great seruices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet [a] elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappie conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stampe, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Liuie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations: which are such as follow.

Pol. lib. 1.

* *Ægateis Insulas, Erycemq; ante oculos proponite, &c. Liu. lib. 21.*

a *Liu. lib. 23.*

§. XI.

§ XI.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spaine, before ASDRVBAL *the ſonne of* AMILCAR *followed thence his brother* HANNIBAL *into Italie.*

IT hath beene ſhewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul, returning from *Gaule* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his diſcent from the *Alpes*, ſent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Armie, into *Spaine*. Two *Roman* Legions, with foureteene thouſand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horſe, had beene alotted vnto this Conſul, therewith to make warre in *Spaine* againſt *Hannibal*: who ſince he was marching into *Italie* with the ſtrength of his Armie, *P. Scipio* beleeued, that a good part of theſe his owne forces might well be ſpared from the *Spaniſh* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carrie ſome of the number backe with him, ſending on his brother with the reſt, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himſelfe remayned in *Italie* all the time of his Conſulſhip: which being expired, He was ſent Proconſul into *Spaine* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thouſand men, and a fleet of thirtie Gallies.

The Acts of theſe two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and, as they are reported, ſomwhat maruailous. For they continually preuailed in *Spaine*, againſt the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquiſhed in ſo many battailes, & with-drew from their Alliance ſo many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we haue cauſe to wonder, how the Enemie could ſo often finde meanes to repaire his forces, and returne ſtrong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Countrie from the tyrannie of *Carthage*, might eaſily winne vnto their Confederacie, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durſt aduenture to breake it: ſo the ancient reputation of the firſt Conquerours might ſerue to arme the Naturalls againſt theſe Inuaders; and to reclaime thoſe, that had reuolted vnto the *Romans*, were it onely by the memorie of ſuch ill ſucceſſe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* treaſure: which eaſily raiſed ſouldiers, among thoſe valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirſtie Nations. Neither was it of ſmall importance, that ſo many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinſmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warres; or ſeruing the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peraduenture, if we durſt be bold to ſay it; the victories of the *Scipio's* were neither ſo many, nor ſo great, as they are ſet out by *Liuie*. This we may be bold to ſay, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Liuie* in his perſon, maketh an obiection vnto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Liuie* for him, doth anſwer, That *if* ASDRVBAL *were vanquiſhed, as* SCIPIO *would ſay, by him in Spaine: ſtrange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the ſame vanquiſhed man ſhould inuade Italie.* And it is indeede an incredible narration, That *Aſdrubal* being cloſed in on all ſides, and not knowing how to eſcape out of a battaile, ſaue only by the ſteepe deſcent of Rocks, ouer a great Riuer that lay at his backe, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troups, ouer *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and ſo toward *Italie*; vpon which he fell with more than threeſcore thouſand armed Souldiers. Neither doe I ſee, how it hangs wel together, That he choſe a piece of ground very defenſible, but moſt incommodious for his retrait, if he ſhould happen to be vanquiſhed; and yet, that he ſent al his monie and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemie: Or how it could be true, that theſe his Elephants, being ſo ſent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for ſo are they ſaid to haue done in the laſt battaile betweene him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his camp. Wherfore we can no more than be ſorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this warre, and *Spaniſh*, (if there were any) being vtterly loſt, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleaſed the *Romans* to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wiſdome to giue too much credit. In this regard, I will ſummarily runne ouer the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; not greatly inſiſting on particulars, whereof there is no great certaintie.

Liu. lib. 28.

Cn.Cornelius landed at *Emporiæ*, an Hauen-towne, not farre within the *Pyrenees*, retaining ſtill the ſame name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his clemencie he allured many Nations to become ſubiect vnto *Rome*, as the ſtorie beginnes of him, I could eaſily beleeue, if I vnderſtood by what occaſion they had need to vſe his clemencie, or he to giue ſuch famous example thereof, being a meere ſtranger, and hauing no iuriſdiction in the Countrie. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man verie courteous, and one that could well inſinuate himſelfe into the loue of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexteritie in practice had the better ſucceſſe, for that hee ſeemed to haue none other errand, than ſetting them at libertie. This pretext auailed with ſome: others were to be hired with monie: and ſome hee compelled to yeeld by force or feare; eſpecially, when he had wonne a battaile againſt *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with theſe people, likely it is that he remembred to inſert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnleſſe in long times paſt, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Maieſtatem Pop. Rom. comiter conſeruent*, which is, as *Tullie* interprets it, *That they ſhould gently* (or *kindely*) *vphold the Maieſtie of the People of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troubleſome: yet implied it indeed an obſcure couenant of ſubiection. And in this reſpect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ*; *of the Roman iuriſdiction*; though hereafter they will ſay, they had no ſuch meaning. That part of the Countrie wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly ſubdued by *Hannibal* in his paſſage toward *Italie*; and therefore the more eaſily ſhaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found, at his comming among them, ſuch an apprehenſion of the *Roman* greatneſſe, as made him ſuſpect, that any light occaſion would make them ſtart from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Gouernor ouer them, as ouer the reſt of the Prouince betweene *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him alſo their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principalitie of their Countrie vnto *Hanno* and his Heires,) He made him not only Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leauing them to be gouerned by *Hanno* at his diſcretion. Theſe therefore had good cauſe to reioyce at the comming of *Scipio*: with whom, others alſo (no doubt) found reaſons to ioyne; it being the cuſtome of al conquered Nations, in hatred of their preſent Lords, to throw themſelues indiſcreetly into the protection of others, that many times proue worſe than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, wearie by turnes of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more ſenſible ſtill of the preſent euil which they felt, than regardfull of the greater miſchiefe, whereinto they ranne by ſeeking to auoide it. This bad affection of his Prouince, would not ſuffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, *Hannibal* had left vnto him: beſides which it is like, that ſome forces he was able to raiſe out of his Prouince. Therefore he aduentured a battaile with *Scipio*; wherein he was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victorie, *Scipio* beſieged *Stiſſum*, a Towne hard by, and wanne it. But *Aſdrubal* hauing paſſed *Iberus*, and comming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, fel vpon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre about *Tarracon*, whom he found careleſſe, as after a victorie, rouing abroad in the Countrie; and with great ſlaughrer draue them aboord their ſhips. This done, he ranne vp into the Counrrie, where he with-drew the *Illergetes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had giuen hoſtages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane ſeaſon was gone to viſit and aide his fleet: where hauing ſet things in order, he returned backe, and made toward *Aſdrubal*; who durſt not abide his comming, but with-drew himſelfe againe ouer *Iberus*. So the *Illergetes* were compelled by force, hauing loſt *Athanagia* their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increaſe the number of their hoſtages. The *Auſetani* likewiſe, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were beſieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirtie daies;

Orat. pro Con. Balbo.

Liu. lib. 21.

Pol. lib. 3.

dayes; hoping in vaine, that the ſharpe Winter, and great abundance of ſnow that fell, would haue made the *Romans* to diſlodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obſtinacie, they were amerced twentie Talents of ſiluer. During the ſiege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their diſtreſſed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leauing twelue thouſand of their Companie dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how theſe *Lacetani*, that are ſaid to be the firſt which embraced the friendſhip of *Scipio*, ſhould without any cauſe remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the ſudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As alſo it is ſtrange, that all the Sea-coaſt Nothward of *Iberus*, hauing lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ*; *ſubiect vnto Rome*, ſhould in continuance of the Storie, after a few lines, hold warre againſt *Scipio*, without any aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleeue, that *Aſdrubal*, as it were by a charme, ſtirred vp the *Illergetes*, making them lay aſide all care of their Hoſtages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whileſt himſelfe had not the daring to ſtand againſt *Scipio*, but ranne away, and laued himſelfe beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or ſome *Carthaginian* Writer, would haue told it thus: That *Scipio* aduenturing too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by *Aſdrubal* back to his ſhips, whence he durſt not ſtirre, vntill Winter came on: at what time this *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Prouince, leauing ſome few Garriſons to defend thoſe places, that after *Scipio* wanne, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for, through a deep ſnow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Illergetes*, and the reſt, we may reaſonably thinke, that they ſought their owne benefit: helping themſelues one while by the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwiſe, vpon ſenſe of iniuries receiued, or apprehenſion of more grieuous tyrannie, vnder which they feared to be brought by theſe new Maſters, harkning againe vnto the comfortable promiſes of thoſe, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Countrey Lawes, and not vnder Gouernours ſent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may teſtifie: euen from henceforth vnto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; till when they were neuer throughly conquered. *Liu. lib. 21.*

The yeere following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victorie againſt the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor; moſt of their men being on ſhore. All their ſhips, that ranne not too far on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Maſter of the whole coaſt; landing at pleaſure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victorie, aboue one hundred and twentie Nations, or pettie Eſtates, in *Spaine*, are ſaid to haue ſubmitted themſelues vnto the *Romans*, and giuen Hoſtages: whereby *Aſdrubal* was compelled to flie into the vtmoſt corners of the land, and hide himſelfe in *Luſitania*. Yet it followes; that the *Illergetes* did againe rebell; that *Aſdrubal* hereupon came ouer *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though hauing eaſily vanquiſhed the *Illergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but ſtirred vp againſt him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his ſubiects and had giuen him Hoſtages. Theſe tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquiſhed him in two battailes; wherein they ſlue fifteen thouſand of his men, and tooke foure thouſand Priſoners. Then arriued *P. Scipio*, with the ſupply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren ioyntly adminiſtred the buſineſſe in *Spaine*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian warre*; the two *Scipio's* did, *haud cunctanter*; *without feare or doubt*, paſſe ouer *Iberus*, & beſiege *Saguntum*. Little cauſe of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had alreadie ſubdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the ſame *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*. *Boſtar*, the Gouernour of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelfe to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the fauour and hearty good will of the Countrie, was by freely reſtoring vnto them their Hoſtages; as reſting, without any pledge, aſſured of their faith. But the craftie *Spaniard*, being truſted with this meſſage and reſtitution of the Hoſtages, carried them all

all to the *Roman* Generalls: perſwading them, as hee had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberalitie their owne. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much loue: if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward and ere this we finde, that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am wearie of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can beleeue ſo few. But ſince wee finde no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelues with theſe.

The yeere following was like vnto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten againe. The two *Scipio's* diuide their forces: *Cn.* makes warre by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreatie, hath gotten foure thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe, out of *Africk*: He repaires his fleet; and prouides euery way to make reſiſtance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Maſters of his ſhips, reuolt vnto the *Romans*: becauſe they had beene chidden the laſt yeere for their negligence, which had betraied the Nauie. The reuolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spaine*. Theſe doe much miſchiefe, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is faine to make a iourney to them. His ſudden comming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, ſo valiantly aſſaile him, that they driue him, for very feare, to incampe himſelfe ſtrongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to giue them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein he had laide vp all his prouiſions; and ſhortly make themſelues Maſters of the Countrie round about. This good ſucceſſe breeds negligence; for which they dearely pay. *Aſdrubal* comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beats them, kills the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*; that *Aſdrubal* ſhould leade his Armie forthwith into *Italie*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe, if they had beene informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakely ſupplyed him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we finde it reported: and that vpon the very rumour of this his iournie, almoſt all *Spaine* was readie to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore ſends word preſently to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or, if they will needes haue it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a Succeſſour, and well attended with a ſtrong Armie, which to imploy they ſhould finde worke more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generalls. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moued with this excuſe: *Aſdrubal* muſt needes be gone; and *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſeruice both by Land & Sea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spaine*. Wherfore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to doe, than to furniſh himſelfe with ſtore of monie, that hee might haue wherewithall to winne the friendſhip of the *Gaules*; through whoſe Countries hee muſt paſſe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of this care. But ſince it can bee no better, he laies great Impoſitions vpon al the *Spaniards* his ſubiects: & hauing gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing theſe newes, are carefull how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Ibera* (ſo called of the Riuers name running by it) the richeſt towne in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*: who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieue it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather bee vanquiſhed at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into *Italie*. Great numbers are ſlaine: and few ſhould haue eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were throughly ioyned. Their campe the *Romans* take, and ſpoile: whereby (queſtionleſſe) they are marualouſly enriched; all the monie that could bee raked together in *Spaine*, being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This dayes euent ioynes all *Spaine* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Countrie ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo farre from all thought of trauailing into *Italie*, that it leaues him ſmall hope of keeping himſelfe ſafe in *Spaine*. Of theſe exployts aduertiſement is ſent to

Rome:

Rome: and *Letters* to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither monie, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to ſuſtaine their Armie and Fleet; That all is wanting; ſo as vnleſſe they may bee ſupplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarrie any longer in the Prouince. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an euill ſeaſon; the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſſe at *Canna*, to helpe it ſelfe at home. Yet reliefe is ſent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that loue and care, which the priuate Citizens of *Rome* bare vnto the Common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſewhere, into the Relation of things whereof the truth is leſſe queſtionable. At the comming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio's* purſue *Aſdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elſe can we thinke; that remember the laſt newes of him, and how fearefully he miſtruſted his owne ſafetie? They finde him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the ſonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Armie of threeſcore thouſand men, beſieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, & others, probably conjecture to haue ſtood, where *Carinnena* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Illergetes* their neereſt Neighbours, for hauing reuolted vnto the *Romans*. The Towne is greatly diſtreſſed; but moſt of all, for want of victuailes. The *Romans* therefore breake through betweene the Enemies camps, with terrible ſlaughter of all that reſiſt them: and hauing victuailed the place, encourage the townſmen to defend their walls as ſtoutly, as they ſhould anon behold them fighting manfully with the beſiegers, in their behalfe. So they iſſue forth, about ſixteen thouſand againſt threeſcore thouſand: and killing more of the enemies, than themſelues were in number, driue all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, euery one, out of his quarter; and tooke that day, beſides priſoners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Enſignes. The *Carthaginian* Armie, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall vpon *Incibili*, that ſtood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning monie by warre, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had monie to pay them: ſince *Aſdrubal* was lately driuen to poll the Countrie, wanting monie of his owne; and being beaten in this journie, had loſt his wealthy carriages, when his campe was taken after the battaile by *Ibera*. Howſoeuer it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their cuſtome) are beaten againe at *Incibili*: where there were of them aboue thirteene thouſand ſlaine, & aboue three thouſand taken; beſides two and forty Enſignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spaine* fell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or ſome other Hiſtorian, to whom *Liuie* gaue credit, conquer all *Spaine* twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof theſe good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware. *Liu. l. 23.* *Liu. l. 23.* *Liu. l. 23.*

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding this large acceſſe of Dominion, winter on their owne ſide of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* riſe againſt *Aſdrubal*; and are ouerthrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe theſe his friends, is forced to make great haſte ouer the Riuer. At *Caſtrum altum*, a place in the mid-way betweene new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of *the great Amilcar*, *P. Scipio* incampeth: and ſtores the place with victuailes, being ſtrong and defencible; as intending to make it his ſeat for a while. But the Countrie round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horſe haue charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling alſo vpon ſome ſtragglers, or ſuch as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they haue cut off two thouſand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto ſome place more aſſured. So *Pub.* withdrawes himſelfe vnto *Mons Victoriæ*: that riſing ſomewhat Eaſtward from *Incibili*, ouer-lookes the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* purſue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires vnto him; and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, with a full Armie, arriues to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with ſome light-armed, going cloſely to view the places therabouts,

is discouered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himselfe to an high peece of ground; where they besiege him, vntill his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great citie of *Spaine*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the Riuer *Bætis*. Neuertheless the *Carthaginians* passe ouer *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to winne it by famine. Wee may justly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Armie lying so close by them, and to seeke aduentures further off, in that very place, wherein they had beene so grieuously beaten the yeere before. But thither they goe: and thither followes them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battailes kills aboue twelue thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with sixe and thirtie Ensignes. This victorie (doubtlesse) is remarkeable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than fiue thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remoue to *Munda*; where the *Romans* are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victorie; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* beene wounded. Thirtie nine Elephants are killed; and twelue thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seuen and fiftie Ensignes. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* againe: but kills not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these ouerthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed euen by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troupes of *Asdrubal*: who hauing also hired some of the *Gaules*, aduentures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten againe, and looseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are euen ashamed, to leaue *Saguntum* enthralled vnto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may wee thinke it strange, that they had not recouered it long before, since wee may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrie once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were faine (as appears) to goe their way without it: so as they neede not to blush, for hauing so long forborne to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they winne *Saguntum*: and restore the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Countrie of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherin we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would haue disturbed them, if they had beene able.

Liu. l. 24.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* haue gotten in *Spaine*, other print or token of all their braue exploits, wee can perceiue none, than this recouerie of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* journie; which was indeede of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at *Emporiæ*, an Hauen-towne, built and peopled by a Colonie of the *Phocæans*, kinne to the *Massilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They haue easily wonne to their party, lost, recouered, and lost againe, some pettie bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnsettled passions; and now finally they haue wonne a Towne, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleeue, that when they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since

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in this Action we finde no particulars remembred, as when the ſame place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in ſome notable fight. In like ſort alſo muſt we thinke, that all thoſe battailes lately remembred, after euery one of which *Aſdrubal* ſate down before ſome place, that had rebelled, or ſeemed ready to rebell, were proſperous vnto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the cuſtome of Armies vanquiſhed, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themſelues within their owne places of ſtrength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriuall of new ſupplies. And ſurely, if the *Romans* had beene abſolute Maſters of the field, when they wanne *Saguntum*, they would not haue conſumed a whole yeere following, in practiſing only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little leſſe than two yeeres buſineſſe. Of theſe *Celtiberians* we heare before, That they haue yeelded vp themſelues vnto the *Romans*; for ſecuritie of their faith, giuen Hoſtages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre againſt the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is ſtrange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expreſſe condition of a great ſumme, hired to ſerue in the *Roman* Campe. How this may hold together I cannot perceiue; vnleſſe perhaps in thoſe dayes it were the *Roman* cuſtome, or rather the cuſtome of ſome bad Author whom *Liuie* followes, to call euery Meſſenger, or ſtraggler, that entred their campe, an Hoſtage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, ſend an Armie of thirtie thouſand to helpe the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fitteſt men are choſen, and carried into *Italie*, there to deale with their Countrimen that follow *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of theſe three hundred returne back into *Spaine*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him ſuch newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellowes at home are the leſſe vnwilling to follow *Aſdrubal*, when he ſhall next haue a deſire to leade them into *Italie*. Hereof wee finde more than probability, when theſe Mercinarie *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, preſuming on this acceſſe of ſtrength, diuide their forces, and ſeeke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies. *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Amilcar*, is neereſt at hand; euen among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being deſtroied; *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, hearing the newes, will make vſe of their diſtance, which is fiue daies march, and, by running into the furtheſt parts of the Countrie, ſaue themſelues from being ouer-taken. *Publius* therefore muſt make the more haſtie, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Armie; leauing the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer journie to make, comes ſomewhat the ſooner to his liues end. *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, are not ſtudying how to runne away: they finde no ſuch neceſſitie. They joyne their forces together; meet with *P. Scipio*; and lay at him ſo hardly, that he is driuen to keepe himſelfe cloſe within his Trenches: wherin he thinkes himſelfe not well aſſured. Eſpecially he is vexed by *Maſanſſa*, Prince of the *Maſſæſyli*, *Numidians* bordering vpon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chiefe honor of this ſeruice is aſcribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous caſe *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a *Spaniſh* Prince, is comming with ſeuen thouſand and fiue hundred of the *Sueſſetani*, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be ſtreight ſhut vp, and beſieged, He iſſues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way; leauing *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a ſmall companie, to defend the campe. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the firſt encounter. The fight continues ſo long, that the *Numidian* horſe appeare (whom he thought to haue bin ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the *Romans* on all ſides: neither are the *Carthaginians* farre behinde; but come ſo faſt vpon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio*, vncertaine

taine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede moſt requireth, is ſtruck through with a lance, and ſlaine: very few of his Armie eſcaping the ſame deſtinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twentie dayes after. At his meeting with *Aſdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercinaries all forſake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countrie. If *Anitorgis*, where *Aſdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it; a *Celtiberian* Towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may juſtly beleeue, that they were wonne by *Aſdrubal*, and eaſily perſwaded to take as much monie for not fighting, as they ſhould haue had for hazarding their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to ſtay them; and no leſſe vnable, without their helpe, either to reſiſt the Enemie, or to joyne with his Brother, makes a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plaine flight, that hee keepes his men together. *Aſdrubal* preſſeth hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, haſten to diſpatch his brother after him. *Scipio* ſteales from them all, by night; but is ouer-taken the next day by their horſe, and arreſted, in an open place of hard ſtonie ground, where growes not ſo much as a ſhrub, vnfit for defence of his Legions againſt ſuch enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes, of eaſie aſcent on euery ſide; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-ſaddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliſado. Theſe weake defences the *Carthaginians* ſoone teare in ſunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leaue very few of them aliue; that ſauing themſelues, I know not how, within ſome woods adjoyning, eſcape vnto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before ſaid. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they ſay, out of which no man eſcapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery ſide, in ſo bare a ground as affoorded not a ſhrub to couer them, could breake out, and ſhrowd themſelues within woods adjoyning, I ſhould much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North ſide of *Iberus*, fearefull (as may be ſuppoſed) of his owne life; ſince his Generall, with two parts of the *Romane* Armie, had little hope to remaine long ſafe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong *Roman* Gentleman of a notable ſpirit: who hauing gathered together the ſcattered Souldiers, & drawne ſome Companies out of their Garriſons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to chooſe a Generall by moſt voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteinus* the Lieutenant; as well they may. For *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Geſco*, comming vpon them; this *L. Martius* ſo encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when hee led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately ſlaine) and admoniſheth them of their preſent neceſſitie, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victorie perhaps he might haue gotten, but that he wiſely ſounds the retrait; reſeruing the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occaſion. The *Carthaginians* are at firſt amazed, and wonder whence this new boldneſſe growes, in enemies lately vanquiſhed, and now againe little better than taken: but when they ſee, that the *Roman* dares not follow his aduantage, they returne to their former ſecuritie; and vtterly deſpiſing him, ſet neither *Corps du gard*, nor Sentinell, but reſt ſecure, as if no enemie were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his ſouldiers with liuely wordes; and tells them, That there is no aduenture more ſafe, than that which is furtheſt from ſuſpition of being vnder-taken. They are ſoone perſwaded to follow him, in any deſperate peece of ſeruice. So he leades them forth by night, and ſteales vpon the campe of *Aſdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies faſt a-ſleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without reſiſtance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; ſo that all afrighted, the *Carthaginians* runne head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All paſſages out of their campe *Martius* hath prepoſſeſſed, ſo that there is no way to eſcape, ſaue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and runne away toward the campe of *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*, that lay ſixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley betweene

tweene their two campes he hath beſtowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horſe; ſo that into this Ambuſh they fall euery one, and are cut in peeces. But leſt perchance any ſhould haue eſcaped, and giue the alarme before his comming; *Martius* haſtens to be there as ſoone as they. By which diligent ſpeede, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficultie he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehenſion of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the *Roman* ſhields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He driues head-long into flight, all that can ſaue themſelues from the fury of the ſword. Thirtie ſeuen thouſand of the enemies periſh in this nights worke; beſides a thouſand eight hundred and thirty, that are taken priſoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antias* addes, that the campe of *Mago* was alſo taken, and ſeuen thouſand ſlaine: and that in another battaile with *Aſdrubal*, there were ſlaine tenne thouſand more; beſides foure thouſand three hundred and thirtie, taken priſoners. Such is the power of ſome Hiſtorians. *Liuie* therefore hath elſewhere well obſerued, That there is none ſo intemperate, as *Valerius Antias*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whileſt *Martius* was making an Oration to his ſouldiers, a flame of fire ſhone about his head, *Liuie* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with ſo ſmall forces, and in ſuch diſtreſſe, He could clearely get off from the Enemies, and giue them any parting blow, though it were farre leſſe than that which is here ſet downe.

Of theſe occurrents *L. Martius* ſent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good ſeruice, what ſoeuer it was, but ſetting it out in ſuch wiſe, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spaine*: which the better to intimate vnto them, He ſtiled himſelfe Propretor. The *Fathers* were no leſſe moued with the tidings, than the caſe required: and therefore tooke ſuch carefull order, for ſupplying their forces in *Spaine*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies, leuied to ſerue in that Prouince, could be ſent away; yet would they not ſtay a tide for defence of the Citie it ſelfe, but ſhipped them in all haſte for *Spaine*. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had aſſumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his preſumption in vſurping it: foreſeeing well, that it was a matter of ill conſequence, to haue the ſouldiers abroad make choice, among themſelues, of thoſe that ſhould command Armies and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was diſpatched away, with all conuenient haſte, into *Spaine*: carrying with him about ſixe thouſand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horſe, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about theſe times, the affaires of *Rome* beganne to proſper in *Italie*, and affoorded meanes of ſending abroad ſuch a ſtrong ſupply: otherwiſe, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue ſerued, either to keepe footing in *Spaine*, or to ſtop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Armie, which was vnder *Martius* & *Fonteius*; he found ſurer tokens of the ouerthrowes receiued, than of thoſe miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The *Roman* partie was forſaken by moſt of the *Spaniſh* friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not eaſily bee deuiſed. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards *Aſdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Auſetani*, neere enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no iſſue, but only through a ſtreight, whereon the *Roman* ſeized at his firſt comming. What ſhould haue tempted any man of vnderſtanding to incampe in ſuch a place, I doe not finde: and as little reaſon can I find in that which followed. For it is ſaid, That *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of all *Spaine*, and quit the Prouince to the *Romans*, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence diſmiſſed; That he ſpent many daies, in entertayning parlee with *Claudius* about this buſineſſe, That night by night hee conueied his foot-men

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(a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking aduantage of a mistie day, Hee stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leauing his campe emptie. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spaine*; wee shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargaine for so great a Countrie, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the foot-men could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke mistie day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to haue beene of farre lesse value. Howsoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in *Spaine*, or to recouer the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their Election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) yong *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignitie, were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloued memorie of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it reviued in one of the same Familie. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the sonne of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spaine*.

This is that *P. Scipio*, who afterward transferred the warre into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrie. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continencie, Bountie, and other Vertues that purchase loue; of which qualities what great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, sauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanitie; How he vsed to walke alone in the *Capitoll*, as one that had some secret conference with *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which must haue beene one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuersed with his Mother, entring her chamber often, and vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answeres; I hold them no better than meere fables, deuised by Historians, who sought thereby to adde vnto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble Citie might seeme, not only to haue surpassed otheir Nations in vertue of the generalitie, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of vnquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spaine*, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, not one of them hauing the heart, to aduenture himselfe in such a desperate seruice; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twentie yeeres of age, getting vp on an high place where hee might be seene of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Captaines, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spaine* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard euen now, was ready to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the too partiall *Roman* Historians, I doe not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spaine*; and with him was joyned *M. Iunius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot,

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and a thouſand horſe, in thirtie *Quinquereme Gallies.* With theſe they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt. At the fame of *Scipios* arriuall, it is ſaid, that Embaſſages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with ſuch a majeſtie, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and ſo much the greater was their feare, by how much the leſſe they could giue any reaſon of it. If wee muſt beleeue this, then muſt wee needs beleeue, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cauſe there was, to be terrified with the fame of ſo yong a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as ſome thinke, all the next yeere) hee did nothing: but ſpent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards.* His firſt enterpriſe was againſt new *Carthage:* vpon which he came vnexpected, with fiue and twentie thouſand foot, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſe; his Sea-forces coaſting him, and moderating their courſe in ſuch wiſe, that they arriued there together with him. Hee aſſailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wanne it by aſſault the firſt day. The *Carthaginians* loſt it, by their too much confidence vpon the ſtrength of it: which cauſed them to man it more ſlenderly, than was requiſite. Yet it might haue been well enough defended, if ſome Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had not diſcouered vnto *Scipio*, a ſecret paſſage vnto the walls; whereof the Townſmen themſelues were either ignorant, or thought (at leaſt) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, reſembled the old and great *Carthage* in ſituation, ſtanding vpon a demi-Iland, betweene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Weſterne ſide of the walls, and ſomewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had ſounded; and finding in ſome part thereof a ſhelfe, whereon at low water men might paſſe knee-deepe, or (at moſt) wading vp to the Nauill, *Scipio* thruſt thereinto ſome Companies of his men; who recouered the top of the wals without reſiſtance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it ſelfe by the naturall ſtrength. Theſe falling ſuddenly vpon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; eaſily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the *Roman* Armie. What bootie was found within the Towne, *Liuie* himſelfe cannot certainely affirme; but is faine to ſay, That ſome *Roman* Hiſtorians told lies without meaſure, in way of amplification. By that ſmall proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treaſurie, we may eaſily perceiue, how great a vanitie it was to ſay, That all the wealth of *Africke* and *Spaine*, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were beſtowed all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages: (or at leaſt of the adioyning Prouinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with ſingular courteſie; reſtoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in ſuch gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to ſo great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two pettie Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neereſt Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North ſide of *Iberus*, forſooke the *Carthaginian* partie; and joyned with the *Romans.* The ſpeech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vant himſelfe, as commonly fugitiues vſe, of the pleaſure which he did vnto the *Romans*, in reuolting from their Enemies; but rather excuſed this his changing ſide, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and inuited by the honorable dealing of *Scipio.* This temperate eſtimation of his new profeſſed friendſhip, was indeede no vnſure token, that it ſhould be long-laſting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we haue heard before) forſaken the *Carthaginian* partie, and ſtoutly held themſelues as friends to *Cn. Scipio*; then could nothing haue beene deuiſed more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excuſing, as new, his taking part with the ſame, when he ſhould haue rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Moſt likely therefore it is, that howſoeuer the two elder *Scipios* had gotten ſome few places among theſe their Neighbours, and held them by ſtrength; yet were the *Romans* neuer Maſters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recouering their Hoſtages from the *Carthaginians*, and

by his great munificence in sending them home, wanne vnto himselfe the assured loue and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generalls, when they heard of this losse, were very sorrie: yet neuertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, hauing stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should bee bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting foorth towards *Italie*; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, sate downe before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amisse, if the passage ouer the Lake had beene vndiscouered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generalitie of the businesse, betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should bee staied from going into *Italy*, than that halfe of *Spaine* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilest the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, vnder *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: euen to fight in triall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, comming vpon *Asdrubal*; his Vantcourrers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they draue them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, euen by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the *Roman* Armie was, and how dejected the Enemie. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a Riuer, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of accesse on the foreside; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly incamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within his Trenches, than for that he durst aduenture his Armie to the hazard of a battell, for which this was no equall ground. But such aduantage of place could not saue him from the *Romans*. They climed vp the Hill to him; they recouered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approch; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flie. Out of such a battell, wherein he lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troups, to haue marched towards the *Pyrenees*, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight beganne. Neuertheles, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, are reported after this, to haue consulted with him about this warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe he needs must, were it but to carrie all the *Spaniards* as farre as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue been true, it shall appeare at his comming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affaires, haue too long detained vs.

§. XII.

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The great troubles that HANNIBAL *raiſed in all quarters, to the Cittie of Rome. POSTHVMIVS the Roman Generall, with his whole Armie, is ſlaine by the Gaules. PHILIP King of Macedon, enters into a League with* HANNIBAL, *againſt the Romans. The Romans ioyning with the Ætolians, make warre vpon* PHILIP *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their buſineſſe againſt the Carthaginians.*

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where hee and his new Confederates reioyced (as may bee thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from *Carthage* of ſuch mightie aide, as was decreed to be ſent thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to carrie the *Romans* corne into his own barnes, and to driue away their Cattell to *Geryon*: his victories affoording him little other profit, then ſuſtenance for his Armie; by making him Maſter of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue forc'd ſome walled Townes, in like ſort as he did *Geryon*, and the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: but had he ſpent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Armie muſt haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill corne were ripe, would haue grieuouſly puniſhed him for ſuch imploiment of the Summer. This may haue beene the reaſon, why hee forbore to aduenture vpon *Rome* after his victorie at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certaintie) to carrie the Citie at his firſt comming; want of victuals would haue compelled him to quit the enterpriſe. Yea, many of the people that opened ſo haſtily their gates vnto him, vpon the freſh bruit of his glorious ſucceſſe, would haue taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battell: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of neceſſaries to continue a ſiege before it, repelled (as might ſeeme) from the walls of *Rome*, hee had preſented himſelfe vnto them with a leſſened reputation, ſomewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnleſſe they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauell was paſt, when ſo many States of *Italie* were become his: the yeere following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receiue a notable pleaſure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay ſiege vnto that proud Citie, which ſo long had held them in ſubjection. Thus the Winter was paſſed ouer joyfully, ſauing that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to ſecond the welcom report of thoſe mightie forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promiſed ſupply there arriued no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere theſe came, I finde not: onely we find, that after this he had aboue thirtie of them; whereas all, ſaue one, that hee brought ouer the *Alpes*, had been loſt in his iourney through the mariſhes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuſe of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what miſchiefes the perſwaſion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwiſe, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a ſafer, though a farther way about, to paſſe along through *Spaine* and *Gaule*, as hee himſelfe had done; and increaſe the Armie by hiring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the maine ſtrength of their Citie, to the hazard of the Seas: eſpecially wanting a commodious Hauen, to receiue the fleete that ſhould carrie ſuch a number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with all needfull prouiſions. With theſe allegations *Hannibal* muſt reſt content; and ſeeke, as well as he can, to ſatisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere ſerued, Hee tooke the field: and hauing finiſhed what reſted to be done at *Caſilinum*, ſought to make himſelf Maſter of ſome good Hauen-towne thereabout; that might ſerue to entertaine the *Carthaginian* fleet; or take from his

Enemies at home all excuſe, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the ſame purpoſe, and to doe what elſe was needfull, He ſent *Himilco* vnto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to aſſay al quarters of *Italie*, yea, the Iles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*; ſince the ſiege of *Rome* muſt needes bee deferred vnto another yeere. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who ſlue aboue two thouſand of his men; with the loſſe of fewer, than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* ſped farre better. By helpe of the *Brutians*, his good friends, hee wanne *Petellia* or *Petilia* by force; after it had held out ſome moneths. Hee wanne likewiſe *Conſentia*; and *Croton*, that was forſaken by the Inhabitants. Alſo the Citie of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yeelded vnto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Towne of *Rhegium*, ouer-againſt *Sicil*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthie to be recorded, as a notable teſtimonie of the good gouernement, vnder which the *Roman* ſubjects liued. As for the *Sammites*, *Campans*, and others, whoſe earneſtneſſe in rebellion may ſeeme to proue the contrarie; we are to conſider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soueraignetie, and were now tranſported with ambition: which Reaſon can hardly moderate, or Benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did ſend to *Rome* for helpe: where their Meſſengers receiued anſwere from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieue their Aſſociates that were ſo farre diſtant. The *Petilian* Meſſengers (Embaſſadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely ſent from Cities of the *Roman* ſubjection, that had a priuate juriſdiction within themſelues) fell downe to the ground, and humbly beſought the *Fathers*, not to giue them away: promiſing to doe and ſuffer whatſoeuer was poſſible, in defence of their Towne, againſt the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to conſultation againe: and hauing throughly conſidered all their forces remaining, plainely confeſſed, that it was not in their power to giue any reliefe. Wherefore theſe Embaſſadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide hereafter for their owne ſafetie, as hauing alreadie diſcharged their faith to the vtmoſt. All this notwithſtanding, the *Petilians* (as was ſaid) held out ſome moneths: and hauing ſtriuen in vaine to defend themſelues, when there was no apparant poſſibilitie, gaue to the *Carthaginians* a bloudie victorie ouer them; being vanquiſhed as much by famine, as by any violence of the Aſſailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeede in ſuch ill caſe, that *Hannibal*, with a little helpe from *Carthage*, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their loſſe at *Cannæ*; they had ſhewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithſtanding the great warre that lay vpon them ſo neere at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better then at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Pretor they had ſent, with an Armie of fiue and twentie thouſand, into *Gaule*; to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had ſent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was paſt, willing him, if hee deſired forbearance, to deliuer hoſtages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had ſent, to require, that he ſhould deliuer vp vnto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their Subject and Rebell, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little ſuteable to their former glorious conceits. *Poſthumius* with all his Armie was cut in peeces by the *Gaules*, in ſuch ſort, that ſcarce ten men eſcaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very ſtrange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gaules*, *Litana*; through which he was to paſſe. Againſt his comming, the Enemies had ſawed the Trees ſo farre, that a little force would ſerue to caſt them downe. When therefore *Poſthumius*, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous paſſage, the *Gaules*, that lay about the Wood, beganne to caſt downe the Trees: which falling one againſt another, bore all downe ſo faſt, that the *Romans* were ouer-whelmed, Men and Horſes; in ſuch wiſe, that no more eſcaped, than is ſaid before.

How

How this tedious worke, of ſawing ſo many Trees, could take deſired effect, and neither bee perceiued, nor made fruſtrate, either by ſome winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the *Romans* entred, or by ſome other of thoſe many accidents, whereto the deuice was ſubject; I doe not well conceiue. Yet ſome ſuch thing may haue beene done; and what failed in the ſtratagem, ſupplied with the Enemies ſword. It is not perhaps worthie to be omitted, as a monument of the ſauage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Countrie now ſo ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of *Poſthumius* his skull, being cleanſed, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and conſecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy veſſell, for the vſe of the Prieſt in their ſolemnities. Of this great ouerthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*; the amazement was no leſſe than the calamitie. But ſorrow could giue no remedie to the miſchiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a ſecond time demanded; this we finde, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus Illyrian* Kings, as alſo with *Gentius*, who raigned within a few yeeres following, the *Romans* dealt vpon euen tearmes; entreating their aſſiſtance againſt *Philip* and *Perſeus*; not commanding their dutie, as Vaſſalls. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For hauing aſſured his affaires in *Greece*, and enjoying leiſure to looke into the doings abroad, Hee ſent Embaſſadours to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, vpon theſe conditions; That the King in perſon ſhould come into *Italie*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, aſſiſt the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* warre, vntill it were finiſhed; That *Rome*, and all *Italie*, together with all the ſpoile therein to bee gotten, ſhould bee left entire vnto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie ſhould paſſe into *Greece*, and there aſſiſt *Philip*, vntill hee had ſubdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leauing ſemblably vnto him the full poſſeſſion of that Countrie, and the Iles adjoyning. But ſuch prediſpoſition of Kingdomes and Prouinces, is lightly comptrolled by the diuine Prouidence, which therein ſhewes *It* ſelfe not (as *Herodotus* falſly termes it, and like an *Atheiſt*) enuious or malicious, but very juſt and majeſticall; in vp-holding that vnſpeakable greatneſſe of Soueraignetie, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The firſt Embaſſadours that *Philip* ſent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their iournie towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, aduentured vpon a bold lie, ſaying, That they were ſent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great neceſſitie. Theſe newes were ſo welcome, that the ioy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquirie. So they were louingly feaſted; and friendly diſmiſſed, with guides that ſhould leade them the way, and ſhew them how to auoide the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus inſtructed concerning their iournie, fell wilfully into the Campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better faſhion; and concluded the buſineſſe, about which they came, vpon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnluckily to bee deſcried by the *Roman* fleete; which, miſtruſting them to bee of the *Carthaginian* partie, gaue them chace. They did their beſt to haue eſcaped: but being ouer-taken, they ſuffered the *Romans* to come aboord; and truſting to the lie that once had ſerued them, ſaid it againe, That hauing been ſent from King *Philip*, to make a League with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reaſon of the *Carthaginians* lying betweene, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had ſignified the good affection of the King their Maſter. The tale was now leſſe credible than before: and (which marred all) *Giſco*, *Boſtar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were ſent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being preſently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquiſition ſerued to finde all out: ſo that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole buſineſſe confeſſed. The Embaſſadours and their followers were ſent

close prisoners to *Rome*: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaues. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speede; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with some losse of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heauie weight this *Macedonian* warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their shoulders were ouer-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and suteable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beaten vpon them from *Spaine*. They judged it more easie, with small forces to detaine *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italie*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, ioining with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegeance not onely of the *Latines*, and other their most faithfull Subiects, but euen of the *Roman* Colonies that held all priuiledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twentie *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles alreadie therein begunne. *Philip* was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards *Italie*, setting vpon *Apollonia*; and thence falling vpon *Oricum*; which he wanne, and so returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirots* craued helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Townesmen in good order; but not to keepe out the *Romans*: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspition. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand men, vnder *Næuius Crispus*, an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his camp, & raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, comming with his fleete from *Oricum*, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer; so that hee was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwaies enemie to the Crowne of *Macedon*: and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath elsewhere beene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had beene his owne. So a league was made betweene them: and afterward solemnely published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrie should bee subdued, and left vpon the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be giuen to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Prouision, to hold no longer, than whileſt he abstained from doing iniurie to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeede the only point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalfe, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this League was place reserued for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the first of which raigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to bee spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse

readineſſe which they diſcloſe to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the *Roman* Generals muſt make much; as the late *French* King, *Henrie* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Nauarre*, was ſaid to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard wherevnto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infeſt the Kingdome of *Macedon*; waſted the Countrie about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and ouer-running the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held ſuſpected, came downe into *Theſſalie*, whence hee made ſhew as if he would inuade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to ſtirre vp all the *Greekes* adjoyning, againſt the *Ætolians*; whom they generally deteſted as a neſt of Robbers, troubleſome to all the Countrie. To which purpoſe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, He left *Perſeus*, his ſonne & heire, with foure thouſand men, vpon their borders: with the reſt of his Armie, before greater buſineſſe ſhould ouer-take and entangle him. He made a long journie into *Thrace*, againſt a people called the *Medes*; that were wont to fall vpon *Macedon*, whenſoeuer the King was abſent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againſt the *Acarnanians*; in hope to ſubdue thoſe their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere hee ſhould bee able to returne. Hereto it much auailed, that the *Romans* had alreadie taken *Oeniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conueniently ſituated to let in an Armie; and conſigned them vnto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the ſtout reſolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we ſay) euery Mothers ſonne of them, in defence of their Countrie; together with the great haſte of the *Macedonian* (who laied aſide all other buſineſſe) to ſuccour theſe his friends; cauſed the *Ætolians* to forſake their enterpriſe. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell vpon *Anticyræ*, which they tooke: the *Romans* aſſailing it by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne, and the *Romans* the ſpoile.

For theſe good ſeruices *M. Valerius* was choſen Conſul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* ſent in his ſtead, to keepe the warre on foot in *Greece*. But beſides the *Roman* helpe, *Attalus* out of *Aſia* came ouer to aſſiſt the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moued, by his owne jealouſie of *Philips* greatneſſe: though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity, of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being joyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome Neighbours deſired peace of him, and vſed their beſt meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the concluſion thereof, was come: their Embaſſadours, in ſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed vnto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer: and might therefore well teſtifie, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being beſieged in their owne Townes, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thruſt a Garriſon of their owne, and ſome *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut ouer the ſtreight from *Naupactus*, waſted the Countrie in a terrible brauerie: wherein *Philip* requited them; comming vpon them in haſte from the *Nemæan* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſſe than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*; ſent a Nauie into *Greece*, to aſſiſt the *Macedonian* partie. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and vpon greater reaſon; as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſſe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weake by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred ſhips; yet the Veſſels

were

were such, as could not hold out against the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoued him, to vse the helpe of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from fastning vpon any part of *Greece*; than afterwards it could serue to driue them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Countrie. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad Neighbours to the *Achaians* his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Towne, Hee was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garrison; which draue him back with some losse. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conuersion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detriment, in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had giuen testimonie of his personall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slaine vnder him. He had also soone after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thousand; with some twentie thousand head of Cattaile, which they had brought together into a place of safetie, as they thought, when their Countrie was inuaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily vnder a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Creast. This was gathered vp by an *Ætolian*; who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horne was well known, and the tale beleeued. All *Macedon* therefore was in an vprore: and not onely the Borderers, readie to fall vpon the Countrie, but some Captaines of *Philip*, easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselues a fortune in that change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home; leauing not three thousand men, to assist his friends the *Achæans*. He also tooke order, to haue Beacons erected; that might giue him notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom hee meant shortly to returne. The affaires of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-fauouredly: especially in the Ile of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betraied to *Attalus*, and the *Romans*, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arriue to helpe it; where also the strong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue beene lost, if hee had not come the sooner. He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the Citie of *Opus*. This Citie, lying ouer against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had wonne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had vsed. Now because the *Roman* souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselues: it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*; without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whileſt he was busie, in drawing as much monie as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philips* arriuall, made him leaue all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-side, where he got aboord his ships; finding the *Romans* gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this misaduenture; or tidings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his inuasion vpon the Kingdome of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* returne home, without staying to take leaue of his friends. So *Philip* recouered *Opus*; wonne *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus*, and many small townes in those parts; performing likewise some Actions, of more brauerie than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the meane season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had beene busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philips* arriuall, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Ægypt*, went about to choose two new Kings; and to conforme themselues to their old manner of Gouernement. But their estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnfortunate, than had beene their attempts of recouering a large Dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant rose vp among them: vnto whom succeeded this *Machanidas*; and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* side, for feare of the *Achæans*; that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely

tremely the name both of *Tyrant*, and of *Lacedæmonian*. But of theſe wee ſhall ſpeake more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and ſeeing his preſence had brought the contentment of aſſurance to that Countrie; ſpake braue words to the Aſſembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where finde them; ſuch haſte they made, for feare of being ouer-taken. But flight, He ſaid, was not alwaies proſperous: He ſhould one day light vpon them; as ere this hee ſundrie times had done, and ſtill to their loſſe. The *Achaians* were glad to heare theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee reſtored vnto their Nation ſome Townes, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, He rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had beene taken by the *Romans*, and ſold for ſlaues, He ſought out, ranſomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their owne Citie. Further, paſſing ouer the *Corinthian Gulfe*, Hee fell vpon the *Ætolians*: whom he draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their ſtrongeſt holds; and waſted their Countrie. This done, Hee tooke leaue of the *Achæans*: and returning home by Sea, viſited the people that were his ſubjects, or dependants: and animated them ſo well, that they reſted feareleſſe of any threatning danger. Then had he leiſure to make warre vpon the *Dardanians*, ill Neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom neuertheleſſe he was not ſo farre occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himſelfe Maſter of the Sea; the *Romans* (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ranne along the coaſt of *Greece*, faſt by them where they lay.

This good ſucceſſe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*; and emboldened him to make ſtrong warre vpon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*; either ſome diſpleaſure, conceiued againſt their Confederates; or ſome feare of danger at home, when *Aſdrubal* was ready to fall vpon *Italie*; cauſed them to giue ouer the care of things in *Grèece*, and leaue their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therfore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to ſue for peace vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it beſt pleaſed him. The agreement was no ſooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirtie fiue Gallies, came ouer in great haſte (though ſomewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, hee turned aſide to *Dyrrachium*, and *Apollonia*; making a great noiſe, as if with theſe his owne forces he would work wonders. But it was not long, ere *Philip* came to viſit him; and found him tame enough. The King preſented him battaile: but he refuſed it: and ſuffering the *Macedonians* to waſte the Country round about, before his eies, kept himſelf cloſe within the walls of *Apollonia*; making ſome Ouertures of peace: which cauſed *Philip* to returne home quietly. The *Romans* had not ſo great cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in euill part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithſtanding the Royall offer that he made them, to ſerue their turne in *Italie*, and aſſiſt them in getting their hearts deſire, before he would expect any requitall: they had not ſent any fleet, as in reaſon they ought, and as (conſidering his want of ſufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to ſecure the tranſportation of his Armie, or to free his coaſt from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Pyracies. Only once they came to his helpe, which was, at his laſt journie into *Achaia*. But they were gone againe before his arriuall: hauing done nothing, and pretending feare of being taken by the *Romans*, euen at ſuch time as *Philip*, with his owne Nauie, durſt boldly paſſe by Sea, and found none that durſt oppoſe him. This rechleſſe dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore ſeeme to haue beene one of *Hanno* his tricks; whereof *Hannibal* ſo bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly; to heare, that ſo great a King made offer to ſerue in perſon vnder

Hannibal,

Hannibal, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the World at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as Enuie could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* vnto a safe and thriftie course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* warres so mightie a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to saue charges: and feede the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it serue to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home; that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea scarce to the labour of giuing him thankes. Now if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* euery day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italie*, should within a while bee at the deuotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the Citie should bee free, so as the troublesome *Greekes* might addresse their complaints vnto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Iudges betweene them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africk*, should wait vpon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hatefull in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsaile of *Hanno* and his fellowes, were such as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne disposition without his aduice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in that little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee begunne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would haue reached, had he not vainely giuen credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselues alreadie: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him; with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to haue succoured them in their necessitie, He might giue ouer the warre, and, without reprehension, leaue them to themselues. For hee had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and hee vnable to manage it. The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retaine three or foure Townes of *Illyria*, which they had recouered in this warre, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the couenants, that somewhat might seeme to haue been gotten. On the other side, the *Atintanes* were appointed to returne vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Countrie about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue peace, as they would seeme to haue done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the People of *Ilium*, as an honorable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themselues before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were

were alſo inſerted by the *Romans*; that were neuer ſlow in offering their friendſhip to ſmall and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*: they ſtood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the ſetting downe of their name in this Treatie, ſerued the *Romans* to good purpoſe: foraſmuch as they were a buſie people; and miniſtred occaſion to renew the Warre, when meanes did better ſerue to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recouer their ſtrength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in releeuing the publike neceſſities of their Common-weale.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing ſo many Enterpriſes at once, they followed all by the halues: and waſted more men and monie to no purpoſe, than would haue ſerued (if good order had beene taken) to finiſh the whole warre, in farre ſhorter ſpace; and make themſelues Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This errour had beene the leſſe harmefull, if their care of *Italie* had beene ſuch as it ought. But they ſuffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himſelfe with expectation of their promiſed ſupplies: which being ſtill deferred from yeere to yeere, cauſed as great opportunities to be loſt, as a conquerour could haue deſired. The death of *Poſthumius*, and deſtruction of his whole Armie in *Gaule*; the begunne rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuſe*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Ile of *Sicil*; as alſo that Warre, of which we laſt ſpake, threatned from *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that ſo neerely after their terrible ouerthrow at *Canne*, among ſo many reuolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would vtterly haue ſunke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the firſt yeere, yet at leaſt the ſecond, ſent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuerſitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, miniſtred matter vnto *Hanno*, or ſuch as *Hanno* was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italie*: yet could not that proportion hold, when ſo many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their ſeuerall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuſe, if any one of the many occaſions offered had been throughly proſequuted: though it ſtood with beſt reaſon, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the proſperitie of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warre, ſhould haue beene ſtrengthened; whatſoeuer had become of the reſt. But the ſlender troupes, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the warre in *Spaine*; the lingring aide which they ſent, to vp-hold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was alreadie wel-neere beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongſt all theſe their attempts) their haſtie catching at *Sicil*: little deſerued to be thought good reaſons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the reſt had reference. Rather euery one of theſe Actions, conſidered apart by it ſelfe, was no otherwiſe to be allowed as diſcreetly vndertaken, or ſubſtantially followed; than by making ſuppoſition, That the care of *Italie*, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things elſe. Yet if theſe allegations would not ſerue to content *Hannibal*; then muſt he patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatneſſe, and durſt not truſt him with ſo much power, as ſhould enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatſoeuer he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himſelfe to Neceſſitie; to feede his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cuma*, and other places: being loth to ſpend his Armie in an hard ſiege, that was to bee reſerued for a worke of more importance. Many offers hee made

vpon

vpon *Nola*; but alwaies with bad ſucceſſe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battaile with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* ſide, ſince the Heads, that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thouſand men *Hannibal* in that fight loſt: which was no great maruaile; his forces being then diuided, and imploied in ſundrie parts of *Italie* at once. *Naples* was, euen in thoſe daies, a ſtrong Citie; and required a yeeres worke to haue taken it by force. Wherefore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies fruſtrate. Vpon the Towne of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chiefe Magiſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemne ſacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their generall good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly, from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertaine; but priuily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Conſul.

Gracchus was a very good man of warre; and happily choſen Conſul in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould haue beene *Poſthumius Albinus*, that was lately ſlaine by the *Gaules*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen; as being judged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman Augures* either found ſome religious impediment, that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they fained ſo to haue done. becauſe this was the firſt time, that euer two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his roome. But *Fabius* was detained in the Citie, about matters of Religion, or Superſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the Enemie in field; yet intentiue to all occaſions, that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or *Slaues*, that lately had beene armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe, and the reſt of his men, Hee continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Armie skilfull in the exerciſes of warre; than to keepe it from quarrels, that might ariſe by vpbraiding one another with their baſe condition.

Whileſt the Conſul was thus buſied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word, of all that had paſſed betweene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his men, and make them confident againſt the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelfe into *Cumæ*: whence he iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chiefe Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with fourteene thouſand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deuiſing how to ſurpriſe others, than fearing himſelfe to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore, ſuffering none to goe forth of *Cumæ*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, iſſued out of the Towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreſhed with meat and ſleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſeruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander; looſing not aboue an hundred of his owne men. Their campe hee tooke: but tarried not long to rifle it, for feare of *Hannibal*; who lay not farre off. By this his prouidence, He eſcaped a greater loſſe, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was enformed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde thoſe yong ſouldiers, and ſlaues, buſied in making ſpoile, and loading themſelues with the bootie. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, & partly at the vrgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſſe,

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the *Carthaginians* and their fellowes ſpent, about this Towne. They raiſed a wooden Tower againſt it: which they brought cloſe vnto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the wall, raiſed againſt this an higher Tower: whence they made reſiſtance; and found meanes at length, to conſume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire; the *Romans*, ſallying out of the Towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their trenches, with the ſlaughter of about fourteene hundred. The Conſul wiſely ſounded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſſe to requite their ſeruice. Neither would He, in the pride of this good ſucceſſe, aduenture forth againſt the Enemie; who preſented him battell the day following, neere vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, ſeeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the ſiege; and returned to his old Campe at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſul had taken the field; ſome ſmall Townes were recouered by the *Romans*, and the people ſeuerely puniſhed for their reuolt.

The *Carthaginian* Armie was too ſmall, to fill with Garriſons all places that had yeelded; and withall to abide (as it muſt doe) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelfe, was driuen in the meane time to alter his courſe of warre: and, in ſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a general inuaſion vpon the whole Country, to paſſe from place to place; and wait vpon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemie, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grieuouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the the abſence of *Hannibal*: as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and receiued there the loſſe before mentioned, was gone to Winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soueraigntie. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould bee protected, by ſuch as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they ouerburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old the more eaſie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentiue, as neceſſitie conſtrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and ioyned with him *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yeere before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iuſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelfe Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand vpon nice points of formalitie, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but cauſed himſelfe to be choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the Citie ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made; ſerued to put the *Campans* in feare, that *Capua* it ſelfe ſhould bee beſieged. To preuent this, *Hannibal* at their earneſt entreatie came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, harkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, hauing with his preſence comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden vpon *Puteoli*, a Sea-towne of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three daies in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The Garriſon in *Puteoli* was ſixe thouſand ſtrong: and did their dutie ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſſe, could onely ſhew his anger vpon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſſe as before) aſſaied *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whileſt he was in his progreſſe thither; *Hanno* made a iournie againſt *Beneuentum*: and *T. Gracchus* the laſt yeeres Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell. *Hanno* had with him about ſeuenteene thouſand Foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the moſt part: beſides twelue hundred Horſe; verie few of

which were *Italians*, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moores*. Hee held the *Roman* worke foure houres; ere it could bee perceiued, to which side the victorie would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed slaues, had receiued from their Generall a peremptorie denunciation; That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their libertie, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the slaine Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the seruice, by imployment of so many hands, in a worke so little concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne errour, wisely corrected it: proclayming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should haue libertie immediatly after the battell, if they wanne the day. This encouragement made them run headlong vpon the Enemie; whom their desperate furie had soone ouerthrowne, if the *Roman* Horse could haue made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what hee could, and pressed so hard vpon the *Roman* battell, that foure thousand of the slaues, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battell, vnto those that should not valiantly behaue themselues) retired vnto a ground of strength: yet was he glad at length to saue himselfe by flight, when the Grosse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedie the losse. Leauing the field, hee was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were Horse; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The *Roman* Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of libertie, which hee had promised: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the warres, they should neither eate nor drink otherwise than standing, vnlesse sickneesse forced them to breake his Order. So the victorious Armie returned to *Beneuentum*: where the newly enfranchised souldiers were feasted in publike by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, & all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the custome of slaues manumised) with Caps, or white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthie of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of *Libertie*; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the first Battell, worthie of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the comming of *Hannibal* into *Italie*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hama*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industrie, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feede their Townes and Armies; without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in *Italie*, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as liuing vpon the same Trade, and subiect to the same inconueniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it selfe. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* armies, that lay in those Prouinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, euery one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Commonwealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrie, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the *poll*, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatnes of the war within the bowels of *Italie*, that could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subiection of *Rome*; the threats

of

of the *Macedonian*, readie to land in the Easterne parts of *Italie*, if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother ouer the *Alpes*, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; and the pouertie of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers; were driuen almost euen to extreme want of counsell. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spaine*; they resolued vpon the onely course, without which the Citie could not haue subsisted.

They called the people to Assembly: wherein *Q. Fuluius* the Pretor laide open the publique wants; and plainely said, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of monie for victuall, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needefull to the Souldiers: but that such as had stuffe, or were artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours, vntill the Warre were ended. Hereunto hee so effectually exhorted all men, especially the *Publicans* or *Customers*, and those which in former times had liued vpon their dealing in the common Reuennues, that the charge was vnder-taken by priuate men; and the Armie in *Spaine* as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had beene full. Shortly after this, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus* the *Roman* Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentiue to the correction of those, that had mis-behaued themselues in this present warre. They beganne with *L. Cæcilius Metellus*: who, after the battell at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italie*, had beene no better than lost. After him they tooke in hand those, that hauing brought to *Rome* the message of their fellowes made prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselues thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; euen whosoeuer had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had vsed to bee) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added therevnto, by this Decree of the Senate following: *That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should bee transported into Sicill, there to serue vntill the end of the Warre, vnder the same hard conditions, that were imposed vpon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Cannæ.* The Office of the Censors was; to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vnhonest or vnseemely behauiour fell not within compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the *Roman* Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publike Horses of seruice, vnto such as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their misbehauiour. Generally, they had the ouer-sight of mens liues and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publike Workes; as mending of High-waies, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man encroched vpon the streetes, High-waies, or other places that ought to bee common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publike Reuennues, to farme: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding vnto this Office, as maintaining themselues by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserue the dignitie of the Senate: the

commonaltie being obnoxious vnto the Cenſors; which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impouerished by warre, and hauing ſmall ſtore of Lands to let, or of Cuſtomes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themſelues much with perusing the Temples, or other decaied Places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requiſite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to ſet any thing in hand, becauſe they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generoſitie of the *Romans*. They that had beene accuſtomed, in more happie times, to vndertake ſuch peeces of worke, offered now themſelues as willingly to the Cenſors, as if there had beene no ſuch want: promiſing liberally their coſt and trauell; without expectation of any paiment, before the end of the warre. In like ſort, the Maſters of thoſe ſlaues, that lately had beene enfranchiſed by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbeare the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better-caſe to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre foorth as euery one was able, the common neceſſitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treaſurie; and there the Quæſtor kept a booke, of all that was laied out for the ſuſtenance of theſe Widdowes and Orphans: whileſt the whole ſtocke was vſed by the Citie. This good example of thoſe which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: ſo that (the poorer ſort excepted) they refuſed to take pay; and called thoſe *Mercinaries*, that did accept it, when their countrie was in ſo great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any iniuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe ſo much commoditie, as might bee laied in ballance againſt theſe miſeries, whereinto their Eſtate was now reduced. Neuertheleſſe, if wee conſider things aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome* to deale with thoſe Enemies, whom ſhee forth-with vnder-tooke, than abate or ſlacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto ſhee attained, ere the youngeſt of thoſe men was dead, whoſe names wee haue alreadie mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* mettall grew more hard and ſolide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Roote and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Cittie of *Athens*; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to aſhes, and taken from euery particular Citizen all hope of other felicitie, than that which reſted in the common happineſſe of the vniuerſalitie. Certaine it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath iudiciouſly obſerued) That a State, whoſe dimenſion or ſtemme is ſmall, may aptly ſerue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to paſſe, where all regard of domeſticall proſperitie is laid aſide; and euery mans care addreſſed to the benefit of his countrie. Hereof I might ſay, that our Age hath ſeene a great example, in the vnited Prouinces in the *Netherlands*; whoſe preſent riches and ſtrength grew chiefly from that ill aſſurance, which each of their Townes, or almoſt of their Families, perceiued it ſelfe to hold, whileſt the Generalitie was oppreſſed by the Duke of *Alua*; were it ſo, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme induſtrie, and ſtraining themſelues to fill their publike Treaſurie, they are all growne wealthie, ſtrong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their ſeruices by Land. Wherefore if wee valew at ſuch a rate as wee ought, the patient Reſolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magiſtrates, with many other Vertues, and, aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in *Rome* in theſe dangerous times: we may truly ſay, That the Cittie was neuer in greater likelihood to proſper. Neither can it be deemed otherwiſe, than that if the ſame affections of the people had laſted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, ſhould in all reaſon haue been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of *Aſia* had not

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infected them with ſenſualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to thoſe pleaſures, wherein they thought their well-being to conſiſt; if all the Citizens, and Subiects of *Rome* could haue beleeued their owne intereſt to be as great, in thoſe wars which theſe latter Emperours made for their defence, as in theſe which were managed by the Conſuls: the Empire, founded vpon ſo great vertue, could not haue beene throwne downe by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they neuer ſo many. But vnto all Dominions God hath ſet their periods: Who, though hee hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of thoſe waies, by which Kingdomes riſe and fall; yet hath left him ſubiect vnto the affections, which draw on theſe fatall changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIIII.

The Romans win ſome Townes back from HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL *winnes Tarentum. The ſiege of Capua. Two victories of* HANNIBAL. *The iournie of* HANNIBAL *to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.*

AS the People of *Rome* ſtrained themſelues to the vtmoſt, for maintaining the warre: ſo their Generals abroad omitted no part of induſtrie, in ſeeking to recouer what had beene loſt. The Towne of *Caſiline Fabius* beſieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and likely to haue beene relieued by thoſe of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the aſſiſtance of his Colleague. Neuertheleſſe the place held out ſo obſtinately, that *Fabius* was purpoſed to giue it ouer: ſaying, that the enterpriſe was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrarie opinion. He ſaid, That many ſuch things, as were not at firſt to haue been vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to bee proſequuted vnto the beſt effect. So the ſiege held on: and the Towne was preſſed ſo hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craued parlee; offering to giue it vp, ſo as all might haue leaue to depart in ſafetie, whither they pleaſed. Whileſt they were thus treating of conditions: or whileſt they were iſſuing foorth, according to the compoſition alreadie made; (for it is diuerſly reported) *Marcellus*, ſeizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to ſword that came in their way. Fiftie of thoſe that were firſt gotten out, ranne to *Fabius* the Conſul: who ſaued them, and ſent them to *Capua* in ſafety; all the reſt were either ſlaine, or made priſoners. If *Fabius* deſerued commendations, by holding his word good vnto theſe fiftie; I know not how the ſlaughter of the reſt, or impriſonment afterward of ſuch, as ſcaped the heat of execution, could bee excuſed by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himſelfe, after the *Roman* faſhion, with ſome æquiuocation, but he ſhall pay for it hereafter. In like ſort was *Mount Marſam* in *Gaſcoigne* taken by the Marſhall *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whileſt he entertained parlee about compoſition; the beſieged ranne all from their ſeuerall guards, vpon haſtie deſire of being acquainted with the conditions propoſed. The Marſhall therefore diſcouering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*; and put all ſaue the Gouernour vnto the ſword. Herein that Gouernour of *Mount Marſam* committed two groſſe errours; the one, in that hee gaue no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themſelues in their places; the other, in that hee was content to parlee, without pledges for aſſurance giuen and receiued. Some ſuch ouer-ſight, the Gouernour of *Caſiline* ſeemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable. When this Worke was ended, many ſmall Townes of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the

Lucans and *Apulians*, were recouered: wherein were taken, or slaine, about fiue and twentie thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrie grieuously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sicke at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the meane while was about *Tarentum*; waiting to heare from those, that had promised to giue vp the Towne. But *M.Valerius*, the *Roman* Propretor, had thrust so many men into it, that the Traitors durst not stirre. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was faine to depart; hauing wearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Countrie; but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he chose for his wintring place; and beganne to victuall it, when Summer was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne: in which regard if he beganne his Winter more timely, than otherwise neede required, He did not like the *Romans*; whom necessitie enforced, to make their Summer last as long, as they were able to trauell vp and downe the Countrie.

About this time beganne great troubles in *Sicil*; whither *Marcellus* the Consull was sent, to take such order for the Prouince, as neede should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at *Rome*, were *Q.Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publike seruice, to imploy often-times their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meete him: eleuen of the twelue Lictors, which carried each an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consull, suffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse-backe; which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feete. The father chearefully did so; saying, *It was my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest vnderstand thy selfe to bee Consul.* *Cassius Altinius* a wealthie Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battell at *Canna*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Towne, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back vnto him, if he might bee therefore well rewarded. The Consull purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Altinius* a patterne to all Traitors; vsing him, as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done those, that offered their vnfaithful seruice against the *Falisci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q.Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the *Romans*, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee should be sent to the Towne of *Cales*, and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, tooke it not sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seeme rather seuere, than couetous, He sent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his campe: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitiue, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt aliue; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wanne by *Scalado*, in a stormie and rainie night. Fiue thousand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the Towne; and of the *Arpines* themselues, there were about three thousand. These were thrust formost by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; when it was vnderstood, that the *Romans* had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the souldiers held the townsmen

suspected;

ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſedome, to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the *Romans*: proteſting, that they had beene betraied by their Princes; and were become ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wills. In proceſſe of this diſcourſe, the *Arpine* Pretor went vnto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiuing his faith for ſecurity of the Towne, preſently made head againſt the Garriſon. This notwithſtanding; like it is, that *Hannibals* men continued to make good reſiſtance. For when almoſt a thouſand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leaue their companions, and ſerue on the *Roman* ſide; it was yet couenanted, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and ſo *Arpi* became *Roman* againe; with little other loſſe, than of him that had betraied it. About the ſame time, *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cneius Fuluius*, another of the Pretors, an hundred and twelue Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſeruice; vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods reſtored vnto them, when their Citie ſhould bee recouered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of ſmall importance: but conſidering the generall hatred of the *Campans* toward *Rome*, it ſerued to diſcouer the inclination of the *Italians* in thoſe times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe mighty ſuccours, that had beene promiſed from *Carthage*. The *Conſentines* alſo, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, that had yeelded themſelues to *Hannibal*; returned againe to their old allegeance. Others would haue followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican* had made himſelf a Captaine, and gotten reputation by ſome pettie exploits in forraging the country, was ſlaine by *Hanno*, with a great multitude of thoſe that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it ſeemed that it would ſtand him in good ſtead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to ſend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his deſire to paſſe: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligence; He contented himſelfe, with taking in ſome poore Townes of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum* found meanes to accompliſh their purpoſe, and his wiſh. One *Phileas*, that was of their conſpiracie, who lay at *Rome* as Embaſſador, practiſing with the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, & ſuch as had the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his companie were the next day ſo cloſely purſued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*; where they ſuffered death, as Traitors. By reaſon of this crueltie, or ſeueritie, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more generally and earneſtly than before. As for the Conſpirators, they followed their buſineſſe the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention ſhould happen to be diſcouered. Wherefore they ſent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the ſame compoſition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chiefe among them, vſed much to goe forth of the Towne on hunting by night; as if they durſt not take their pleaſure by day, for feare of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or neuer they miſſed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not ſeeme to haue been abroad vpon other occaſion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three daies journie to *Tarentum*, if hee ſhould haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This cauſed his long abode in one place the leſſe to be ſuſpected: as alſo to make his Enemies the more ſecure, He cauſed it to be giuen out, that he was ſick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were growne careleſſe of ſuch his neighbourhood, and the Conſpirators had ſet their buſineſſe in order; He tooke with him ten thouſand the moſt expedite of his horſe and foot; and long before breake of day, made all ſpeede thitherward. Foureſcore light horſe of the *Numidians* ranne a great way before him, beating all the waies, and killing any that they met, for feare leſt he, and his troupe following him, ſhould be diſcouered.

couered. It had beene often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Gouernour, when hee heard tell in the euening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arriuall; *Nico*, that was within the Towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was readie. Presently *Nico* beganne to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called vp the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that hee had killed a great Bore, so heauie, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two yong men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to bee worthie the looking on. While the Porter stood wondring at the largenesse of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-speare: and letting in some thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when he had slaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal*, entring *Tarentum* at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the Citie, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*; and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an vprore: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was vnskilfully sounded by a *Greeke* in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoile the Towne; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Gouernour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Hauen; whence hee might easily perceiue the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the *Tarentines*, gaue them to vnderstand, what good affection hee bore them; inueighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done: and hauing gotten such spoile as was to bee had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, He addressed himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would sallie out, he might giue them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Peece. According to his expectation it partly fel out. For when hee beganne to make his approches, the *Romans* in a brauerie sallying forth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst aduenture. Then gaue *Hannibal* a signe to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared readie for the purpose: and fiercely setting vpon the Enemie, draue him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood vpon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it vvas joyned by a cawsey. This cawsey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might bee able, without his helpe, to keepe themselues from all danger thence. His worke in few daies went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceiued hope of winning the Peece it selfe, by taking a little more paines. Wherefore he made readie all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was busied in his works, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which tooke away all hope of preuailing; and made him returne to his former counsaile. Now forasmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the Hauen, and could not passe forth, vvhilest the *Romans* held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the Towne would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and prouisions by Sea; whilest the *Roman* Garrison, by helpe of their shipping, might easily be relieued,

lieued, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconuenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the Hauen; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off al supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would bee no hard matter to draw the Gallies ouer Land, and launch them into the Sea without. This he vndertooke and effected: whereby the *Roman* Garrison was reduced into great necessitie; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required.

Thus with mutuall losse on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hastie growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the losse at *Canne* had reduced them. But to fill vp these Legions, they were faine to take vp yong Boyes, that were vnder seuenteene yeeres of age: and to send Commissioners aboue fiftie miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare seruiceable, & pressing them to the warres; making yet a Law, That their yeares of seruice, whereinto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so yong, as if they had beene of lawfull age. Before the *Roman* Armie drew neere, the *Campans* felt great want of victuailes, as if they had alreadie beene besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoile, which the *Romans* had in foregoing yeeres made vpon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadours to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed vp, as they feared to bee shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable words: and sent *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be readie with all manner of carriages, to store themselues with victuailes, that he would prouide. Neither did he promise more, than he performed. For hee caused great quantitie of graine, that had beene laied vp in Cities round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from *Beneuentum*. Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few packhorses; as if this had beene enough to victuaile *Capua*. Such was the rechlesnesse of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angrie hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherefore hee gaue them a longer day; against which hee made prouision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneuentum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as hee thought needfull for the seruice, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence hee made inquirie into the behauiour of the Enemie. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great Harueſt. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselues, to assaile the Enemies campe: and leauing all his impediments within *Beneventum*, He marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so vnexpected, Hee had well-neere forced the campe on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the lesse desire had *Fulvius* to loose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie; and to lie betweene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginian* be able to relieue them. Being thus discoursing, and about to sound the retrait; hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart.

There

There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the ſouldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that campe. Wherefore ſome Enſigne-bearers threw their Enſignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnleſſe they would endure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſſe. Feare of ſuch ignominie, than which none could bee greater, made the Souldiers aduenture ſo deſperately; that *Fuluius*, perceiuing the heat of his men, changed purpoſe, and encouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had alreadie gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the campe was wonne: in which were ſlaine aboue ſixe thouſand; and taken, aboue ſeuen thouſand, beſides all the ſtore of victuailes, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſaduenture, and the neerer approch of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pittifull Embaſſage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that he was wont to proteſt vnto their Citie; and how he had made ſhew, to affect it no leſſe than *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid, it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gaue not ſtrong and ſpeedie ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words: and ſent away two thouſand horſe, to keepe their grounds from ſpoile; whileſt hee himſelfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the citadell, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many townes adjoyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being ouer-taken, ſuffered death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greekes*, inhabiting that Eaſterne part of *Italie*, which was called of old *Magna Graecia*. Theſe people tooke to heart the death of their Hoſtages; and thought the puniſhment greater, than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoone as the *Roman* Garriſon was taken from them, to defend the citadell of *Tarentum*, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would haue done the like, vpon the like reaſon: had not ſome companies laine in their Towne; which they feared that they ſhould not bee able to maſter. Neuertheleſſe they helped themſelues by cunning: inuiting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neere at hand: againſt whom whileſt they proffered their ſeruice to *Atinius*, the *Roman* captaine, they drew him forth to fight; and recoyling from him, cloſed vp their gates. A little formalitie they vſed in pretending feare, leſt the Enemie ſhould breake in together with the *Romans*; in ſauing *Atinius* himſelfe, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practice) whether they ſhould yeeld to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this diſputation laſted not long: for they that had remoued the chiefe impediment, eaſily preuailed in the reſt; and deliuered vp the Towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſſe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters; whileſt the Conſuls, fortifying *Beneventum* to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelues vnto the ſiege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late beene twice Conſul, was ſlaine either by trecherie of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into ambuſh; or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His bodie, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to ſecure the back of the Armie that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his death happned in an ill time; to the great hindrance of that buſineſſe. The *Volones*, or *Slaues* lately manumiſed, forſooke their Enſignes, and went euery one whither hee thought good, as if they had been diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader; ſo that it asked ſome labour to ſeeke them out, and bring them back into their campe. Neuertheleſſe the Conſuls went forward with their worke: and drawing neere to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtilitie which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, gaue them an hard welcome; wherein aboue fifteene hundred *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long, ere *Hannibal* came thither: who fought with the Conſuls,

and

and had the better; inſomuch that hee cauſed them to diſlodge. They remoued by night, and went ſeuerall waies: *Fuluius* toward *Cumæ*; *Claudius*, into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*: who hauing led him a great walke, fetcht a compaſſe about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *M. Centenius Penula* a ſtout man, and one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a *Centurion*, lay with an Armie not farre from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when hee was wearie of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vants to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be truſted with the leading of fiue thouſand men. The *Fathers* were vnwilling in ſuch a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier; how meane ſo euer his condition were. Wherfore they gaue him the charge of eight thouſand: and he himſelfe, being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp ſo many voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue proofe of the difference, betweene a ſtout *Centurion*, and one able to command in chiefe. Hee and his fellowes were all (in a manner) ſlaine; ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. Soone after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cn. Fuluius*, a *Roman* Pretor, with eighteene thouſand men, was in *Apulia*, very careleſſe, and a man inſufficient for the charge which he held. Thither he therefore haſted, to viſit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine ſtrength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he ſhould haue cut off thoſe forces, that lay in the Prouinces about, vnder men of ſmall abilitie. Comming vpon *Fuluius*, He found him and his men ſo jollie, that needs they would haue fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So hee beſtowed *Mago* with three thouſand of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offering battaile to *Fuluius*, Hee ſoone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape aliue; leauing all, ſaue two thouſand of his followers, dead behinde him.

Theſe two great blowes, receiued one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Neuertheleſſe all care was taken, to gather vp the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Conſuls ſhould goe ſubſtantially forwards with the ſiege of *Capua*; which was of great conſequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate downe before the towne: and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Armie from *Sueſſula* to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoeuer would iſſue forth of *Capua* before a certaine day prefixed, ſhould haue his pardon, and bee ſuffered to enjoy all that vnto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their owne ſtrength, and the ſuccors attended from *Hannibal*. Before the Citie was cloſed vp, they ſent Meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journie, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*; vpon aduertiſement that he ſhould be let in. There the *Capuans* met him; told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with wordes as braue recomforted. He bade them conſider, how a few daies ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would preſently come thither againe, and ſend the *Romans* going, as faſt as before. With this good anſwere the Meſſengers returned: and hardly could get back into the citie; which the *Romans* had almoſt entrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelfe; He was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily deuoted vnto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time: and thereby giue him leiſure, to doe what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſterne parts of *Italie*; whilſt the *Roman* armie ſpent it ſelfe in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred: and thereby gaue the Conſuls time, both to fortifie themſelues at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*; whileſt he himſelfe purſued hopes, that neuer found ſucceſſe.

Claudius and *Fuluius*, when their terme of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies, as Proconſuls. The townes-

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men often ſallied out: rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemie lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* vſed to thruſt out ſome troups, that ſhould hold them skirmiſh. In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* vſually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemie; who ſcorned to take foile at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therefore deuiſed, that ſome actiue and couragious yong men, ſhould learne to ride behinde the *Roman* men at armes; leaping vp, and againe diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerued. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, hauing each of them three or foure ſmall darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick vpon the Enemies horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kinde of ſeruice, they much diſheartned in the maine. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the Citie; *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell vpon their campe. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuiſe: ſetting all their multitude of vnſeruiceable people on the walls; which, with a loud noiſe of Pannes and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelfe to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he draue them at length back into their Citie. Neuertheleſſe, in purſuing them to their gates. He receiued a wound, that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his graue. *Q. Fuluius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* Armie. The *Roman* campe was euen at point to haue beene loſt: and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirtie, were either gotten within the rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlaine vpon it, fell into the ditch; and filled it vp in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerued as a bridge vnto the Aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitiues, that could ſpeake *Latine* well, to proclaime aloud, as it were in the Conſuls name, That euery one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelfe, and flie betimes vnto the next Hils, foraſmuch as the campe was alreadie loſt. But all would not ſerue. The fraud was detected: and the Armie, hauing ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly entrenched it ſelfe; ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extremely perplexe the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it ſelfe: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadell, had well-neere loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadell, nor Citie of *Tarentum*, were to haue beene much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelfe and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater vſe: on the ſudden he entertained an haughtie reſolution, euen to ſet vpon *Rome*; and carrie to the walles of that proud Citie, the danger of warre that threatned *Capua*. This hee thought would bee a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they roſe from the ſiege with their whole Armie; then had he his deſire: If they diuided their forces; then was it likely, that either he, or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deale with them apart. Neither did hee deſpaire, that the terror of his comming might ſo aſtoniſh the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the Citie. His onely feare was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould thinke he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themſelues to the Enemie. To preuent this danger, He ſent letters to *Capua* by a ſubtile *Numidian*: who running as a fugitiue into the *Roman* campe, conueighed himſelfe thence ouer the innermoſt Trenches into the Citie. The journie to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celeritie: no ſmall hope of good ſucceſſe, reſting in the ſuddenneſſe of his arriuall there. Wherefore hee cauſed his men, to haue in a readineſſe ten daies victuailes; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night tranſport his Armie ouer the Riuer of *Vulturnus*. This could not be done ſo cloſely, but

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That the *Roman* Generalls by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate which was there with affected, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsaile to let alone *Capua*, yea and al places else, rather then to put the Towne of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the Enemie. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue *Capua*, should iudge himselfe strong enough to winne *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That, those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citie, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him thence; if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that letters should be sent to *Fuluius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to doe as they thought behouefull: and if it might conueniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the Citie of *Rome* into much aduenture. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fuluius* tooke fifteene thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choise of his whole Armie: with which he hasted toward *Rome*; leauing *App. Claudius*, who could not trauel by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal, hauing passed ouer *Vulturnus*, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might serue to transport the Enemie, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted he away toward *Rome*; staying no longer in any one place, then he needes must. Yet found he the bridges ouer *Liris* broken downe, by the people of *Fregellæ*: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grieuously to spoile their lands, whiles the bridges were in mending. The neerer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driuing the Countrie, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in *Rome*, were pestered with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; readie to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the middest of this trepidation, there came newes that *Q. Fuluius*, with part of the Armie from *Capua*, was hasting to defence of the Citie. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his returne home, and entrie into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fuluius* might lose nothing by comming into the Citie in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should haue equall power with the Consuls, during his abode there. Hee and *Hannibal* arriued at *Rome*, one soone after another: *Fuluius* hauing beene long held occupied in passing ouer *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrie was able to giue. The Consuls, and *Fuluius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*; attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew neerer and greater; so tooke they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne; whence he aduanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along a great way vnder the wals; viewing the site thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Storie saith) was driuen away; without doing, or receiuing any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were supprest by [illegible] and diligence of the Senators. Aboue the rest one accident was both trouble[illegible]me, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had shifted side, and fallen (vpon

ſome diſpleaſures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were ſome twelue hundred then in *Rome*, which were appointed by the Conſuls, to paſſe through the Towne, from the Mount *Auentine* to the Gate *Collina*, where it was thought that their ſeruice might be vſefull, among broken wayes, and Garden wals lying in the ſuburbes. The faces of theſe men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*, bred ſuch miſtaking, as cauſed a great vproare among the people: all crying out, that *Auentine* was taken, and the enemie gotten within the wals. The noiſe was ſuch, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ſtreets were ſo full of eattaile, and huſbandmen, which were fledde thither out of the Villages adioyning, that the paſſage was ſtopt vp: and the poore *Numidians* pittifully beaten from the houſe-toppes, with ſtones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the deſperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not beene certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedie the like inconueniences, it was ordained, *That all which had beene Dictators, Conſuls, or Cenſors, ſhould haue authoritie as Magiſtrates, till the Enemie departed.* The day following, *Hannibal* paſſed ouer *Anien*, and preſented battaile to the *Romans*, who did not wiſely if they vndertooke it. It is ſaid, that a terrible ſhowre of raine, cauſed both *Romans* & *Carthaginians* to returne into their ſeuerall Camps: and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking vp, and clearing, as ſoone as they were departed aſunder. Certaine it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more then ten daies prouiſion, could not endure to ſtay there, vntill his victuals were all ſpent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they ſuffered him to waſte his time and prouiſions, knowing that hee could not abide there long, did as became well-aduiſed men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is ſaid) by ſome accident of weather; the commendations muſt be giuen to their fortune. The terrour of *Hannibals* comming to the Citie, how great ſoeuer it was at the firſt, yet after ſome leiſure, and better notice taken of his forces, which appeared leſſe than the firſt apprehenſion had formed them, was much and ſoone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the ſame time, the ſupplie appointed for *Spaine*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was ſent out of the towne, & went forth at one gate, whileſt the *Carthaginian* lay before another. In al *Panick terrors*, as they are called, wherof there is either no cauſe known or no cauſe anſwerable to the greatneſſe of the ſudden conſternation; it is a good remedie to doe ſomewhat quite contrarie to that which the danger would require, were it ſuch, as men haue faſhioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cauſe his ſouldiers to diſarme themſelues, when they were al on a ſudden in a great feare of they knew not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh vprore in his Army, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tel who had ſent the Aſſe into the Campe. But in this preſent example of the *Romans*, appeares withall a great magnanimitie: whereby they ſuſtained their reputation, and augmented it no leſſe, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might ſeeme to haue beene diminiſhed. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceipts of their Enemies, and taken away the diſgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his firſt comming; than by making ſuch demonſtrations, when once they had recouered ſpirit, how little they eſteemed him. To this purpoſe therefore that verie piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamped, was ſold in *Rome*: and ſold it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incenſed *Hannibal* ſo much, that he made Port-ſale of the Siluer-ſmithes ſhops, which were neere about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the houſes within the Towne, were no whit worſe, then any *Roman* Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, wheron he raiſed his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did ſeek to manifeſt that aſſurance, which they iuſtly had conceiued; *Hannibal*, to make ſhew of continuing in an hope, which was alreadie paſt. His victuals were almoſt ſpe and of thoſe ends, that he had propoſed vnto himſelfe, this iourney had brou

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forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his campe: and doing what spoile he could in the *Roman* Territorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to bee gotten, He passed like a Tempest ouer the Countrie; and ranne toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that hee had almost taken the Citie of *Rhegium* before his arriuall was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, hee gaue it lost: and is likely to haue cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieue that faire Citie; since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

Q. Fuluius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that whoso would yeeld, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fuluius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gaue the *Capuans* to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To truit the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, euery mans conscience of his owne euill deserts, told him, that it was a vanitie: and some faint hope was giuen, by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Towne, that *Hannibal* should come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to conuey such letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the letters was vndertaken, by some *Numidians*: who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne, into the *Roman* campe, waited fit opportunitie to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned, ere they could conueigh themselues away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the Towne; and the letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened; containing a vehement entreatie vnto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make warre against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions whersoeuer they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* Armie bee readie to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue wee gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Canna*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising, to make a desperate sally, if he would once more aduenture to set vpon the *Roman* campe. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow. But *Hannibal* had alreadie done his best: and now began to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. *Liu. l. 30.* It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had beene sent ouer by the *Hannonians*, to obserue the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so; iustly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessitie. Howsoeuer it were, the letters directed vnto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfait fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them backe into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*: so that the Multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of *Capua* vnto the *Romans*. The braueſt of the Senators, and such as a few yeeres since had beene most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, vnderstood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them inuited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drink to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruel reuenge, which the Enemie sought vpon their bodies. About seuen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poyson. All the rest, hoping for more mercie than they had deserued, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Towne-gates was set open: whereat a *Roman* Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* campe. At their comming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all: and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe

custodie; some to *Cales*; others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall Multitude; they were reserued vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vsed by *Fuluius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersitie. *Ap. Claudius* was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately receiued: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as hauing loued them well in former times, and hauing giuen his daughter in marriage to that *Pacuuius*, of whom we spake before. But this facilitie of his Colleague, made *Fuluius* the more hastie in taking vengeance: for feare, lest vpon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behouefull to the common safetie, and honour of their state. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made al Townes of *Italie* the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campans*: and bred a generall inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines*, and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submissiõ, for very feare, and want of abilitie to resist. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by *Fuluius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of reuenge, got into *Rome*: where they found meanes by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the Citie was like to haue been consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no casualitie. Wherfore libertie was proclaimed vnto any slaue, and other sufficient reward vnto any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the *Campans*, being detected by a slaue of their owne (to whom, aboue his libertie promised, was giuen about the summe of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fuluius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme seueritie caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolued in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had beene an Harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wiues and children sold for slaues, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserued to further deliberation: but the generalitie of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certaine day; and confined vnto seuerall places as best liked the angrie Victors. As for the Towne of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beautie and commodious site: but no corporation or forme of politie, was allowed to bee therein; only a *Roman* Prouost was euery yeere sent to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit it, and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present warre. After this, the glorie of *Hannibal* beganne to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre spent; and that, which should haue reuiued his flame, being vnfortunately shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

§. XV.

§ XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicil, held warre againſt the Romans in thoſe Ilands; and were ouer-come.

WHileſt things paſſed thus in *Italie*; the commotions raiſed in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* & their friends, were brought to a quiet and happie end, by the induſtrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and ſudden: aboue thirtie thouſand being vp in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arriue there to ſuppreſſe it. One *Harſicoras* with his ſonne *Hioſtus*, mightie men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promiſed the aſſiſtance of his Countrie. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterpriſe ſo careleſſe, as in the reſt of their maine vndertakings, about the ſame time. Yet it had beene better, if their care had beene directed vnto the proſecution of that maine buſineſſe in *Italie*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would haue ſufficed, if they could haue hindred the *Romans* from ſending an Armie into *Sardinia*. *Harſicoras* with his followers might well enough haue ſerued to driue out *Q. Mutius* the Prætor; who lay ſicke in the Prouince; and not more weake in his owne bodie, than in his traine. But whileſt they ſought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the ſenſe was moſt grieuous: they neglected the opportunitie of requiting thoſe that had done them wrong, and of the ſecuring themſelues from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune alſo in this enterpriſe was ſuch; as may ſeeme to haue diſcouraged them from being at the like charge, in caſes of more importance. For whereas they ſent ouer *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the bald*, with a competent fleet and armie; aſſiſted in this Expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, & by *Margo* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* houſe, and neere kinſman to *Hannibal*: it ſo fell out, that the whole fleet by extremitie of foule weather, was caſt vpon the *Baleares*; ſo beaten and in ſuch euill plight, that the *Sardinians* had euen ſpent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquiſhed, ere theſe their friends could arriue to ſuccour them.

Titus Manlius was ſent from *Rome* with two and twentie thouſand foot, and twelue hundred horſe, to ſettle the eſtate of that Iland, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Conſulſhip. It was a laudable cuſtome of the *Romans*, to preſerue and vp-hold in their ſeueral Prouinces, the greatneſſe and reputation of thoſe men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had beene firſt ſubdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincialls; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatſoeuer accident required the aſſiſtance of a Patron: the firſt Conquerour, and his race after him, were the moſt readie and beſt approued meanes, to procure the benefit of the people ſubdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very ſure intelligence, in euery Prouince, and had alwaies in readineſſe fit men to reclaime their Subiects, if they fel into any ſuch diſorder, as would otherwiſe haue required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harſicoras* ſo ſtrong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twentie thouſand, whereof we haue ſpoken before: He landed at *Calaris* or *Carallis*, where mooring his ſhips, he paſſed vp into the Countrie, and ſought out the Enemie. *Hyoſtus*, the ſonne of *Harſicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Armie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrie, to draw in more friends to their ſide. This yong Gentleman would needes aduenture to get honor, by giuing battaile to the *Romans* at his owne diſcretion. So hee raſhly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he receiued a terrible ouerthrow; and loſt in one day aboue thirtie thouſand of his followers. *Hyoſtus* himſelfe, with

the reſt of his broken troupes, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Iſland: whither *Manlius* purſued them. Very ſoone after this defeature came *Aſdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to winne all *Sardinia* in ſuch haſte as he might haue done, if the tempeſt had not hindred his voiage; yet ſoone enough, and ſtrong enough to ſaue the Towne of *Cornus*, and to put a new ſpirit into the Rebells. *Manlius* hereupon with-drew himſelfe back to *Calaris*: where he had not ſtayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (ſuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* partie) craued his aſſiſtance; their Countrie being waſted by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebells, with whom they had refuſed to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where if he had ſtaied a little longer, *Aſdrubal* would haue ſought him out with ſome blemiſh to his reputation. But the fame of *Aſdrubal* and his companie, appeares to haue been greater than was their ſtrength. For after ſome triall made of them in a few skirmiſhes; *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazard of a battaile: wherein he ſlew twelue thouſand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thouſand. Foure houres the battaile laſted: and victorie at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Iſlanders; whoſe courages had beene broken in their vnproſperous fight, not many daies before. The death of yong *Hyoſtus*, and of his father *Harſicoras*, that ſlew himſelfe for griefe, together with the captiuity of *Aſdrubal* himſelfe, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*; made the victorie the more famous. The vanquiſhed Armie fled into *Cornus*: whither *Manlius* followed them; and in ſhort ſpace wanne the Towne. All other Cities of the Iſle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yeelded vnto the *Roman*: who impoſing vpon them ſuch increaſe of tribute, or other puniſhment, as beſt ſorted with the nature of their ſeueral offences, or their ability to pay, returned backe to *Calaris* with a great bootie, and from thence to *Rome*; leauing *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicil* was of greater length, and euery way more burdenſome to *Rome*: as alſo the victorie brought more honour and profit; for that the *Romans* became thereby not only ſauers of their owne, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Countrie; by annexing the Citie and Dominion of *Syracuſe*, to that which they enioyed before. Soone after the battaile of *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuſe* died: who had continued long a ſtedfaſt friend vnto the *Romans*; and greatly relieued them in this preſent warre. He left his Kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; *Gelo* his ſonne, that ſhould haue beene his heire, being dead before. To this yong King his ſucceſſor, *Hiero* appointed fifteene tutors: of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themiſtius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The reſt were ſuch, as he iudged moſt likely to preſerue the Kingdome, by the ſame arte, whereby himſelfe had gotten and ſo long kept it. But within a little while; *Andronodorus*, waxing wearie of ſo many Coadiutors, beganne to commend the ſufficiencie of the yong Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and ſaid, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without helpe of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, hee cauſed others to doe the like: hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to paſſe in a ſort as hee deſired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aſide all care of gouernement, gaue himſelfe wholly ouer to his pleaſures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was onely in matter of exterior ſhew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people; that had neuer ſeene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his ſonne. But much more he offended them, when by his inſolent behauiour, ſutable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that, in courſe of life, hee would reuiue the memorie of Tyrants dead long ſince, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. Hee grew proud, luſtful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him: ſo that ſuch of his late Tutors as could eſcape him by flight, were glad to liue in baniſhment: the reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoid the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than death it ſelfe.

Only

Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo* continued in grace with him, and were his Counſailers, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoeuer they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſenſion about that maine point, of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleaſures, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, hauing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earneſt to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whileſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline: a conſpiracie againſt his Perſon, was detected by a groome of his; to whom, one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the vndertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeake any thing: but yeelding (as it ſeemed) in the end, vnto the extremitie of the torture; he confeſſed, that he had beene ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the treaſon, together with many more, that were neere in loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeede the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreets, and neuer ſhrunke for the matter: aſſuring themſelues, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yeelde to no extremitie. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoone after found meanes to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelfe, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolued vpon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*; whereto he was very inclinable before. Yong men, when firſt they grow Maſters of themſelues, loue to ſeeme wiſer than their fathers, by taking different courſes. And the liberalitie of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſitie, had of late beene ſuch, as might haue beene termed exceſſiue; were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein hee tooke order for his owne eſtate, that depended vpon theirs. But the yong Nephew, taking little heede of dangers farre off; regarded only the things preſent; the weakeneſſe of *Rome*; the preualent fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much monie that his grand-father had laied out in vaine, to ſhoulder vp a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correſpondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* & *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a baniſhed *Syracuſan*. Theſe grew into ſuch fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they liſted. So that when *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the People of *Rome* and the King of *Syracuſe*; his Meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needes haue them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*; that hee might thereby learne how to accommodate himſelfe: ſaying, That he could hardly beleeue the *Carthaginians*; ſo wonderfull was the victorie as they reported it. Hauing thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Carthage*, where hee concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould raigne ouer all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied, with what they could get in *Italie*. At theſe doings *Ap. Claudius* did not greatly ſtirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the *Romans*, to entertaine more quarrells, then were enforced vpon them by neceſſitie; and partly (as may ſeeme) for that the reputation, both of himſelfe, and of his Citie, had receiued ſuch blemiſh, by that which hapned vnto him in his iournie, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, & forbad him to looke big. The money that *Hiero* had beſtowed vpon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieue them in their neceſſitie, this *Appius* was to carrie backe vnto him: it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater braueric than their preſent fortune would allow. But in ſtead of returning the monie with thankes, as he had beene directed, and as it had beene noiſed abroad that hee ſhould doe: the warre againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we haue ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide their vaine glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſigne that monie ouer to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the Citie had not otherwiſe wherewith to

beare

beare the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the *Roman* magnanimitie; into such a pittifull tune of thanksgiuing, as must needes haue bred sorrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were deliuered after his death, matter of pastime and scorne, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilest *Hieronymus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolued how to beginne it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innouation in the state of *Syracuse*; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it beene wisely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Country with two thousand men; to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium*, a Citie of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as hee was passing through a narrow street; and rushing betweene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the sound of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus*, had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually; that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp; the Armie, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carkasse to lie vnburied. These newes ranne quickly to *Syracuse*: whither some of the Conspirators, taking the Kings horses, posted away; to signifie all that had passed; to stirre vp the people to libertie; and to preuent *Andronodorus*, if he, or his fellowes would make offer to vsurpe a Tyrannie. The *Syracusians* hereupon presently tooke Armes; and made themselues masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island: being yet vncertaine what to doe; betweene desire of making himselfe a soueraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that well knowne Prouerbe, which *Dionysius* had vsed; *That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horse-backe*. But feare, and better counsaile preuailed so farre; that *Andronodorus*, hauing slept vpon the matter; dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope, vnto better opportunitie. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the People: telling them; That hee was glad to see, how prudently they behaued themselues in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, lest they would not haue contained themselues within bounds of discretion; but rather haue sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their liberty perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, & surrendred vp the charge, committed vnto him, by one that had beene an euill Master, both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made; and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraignetie: and so vehement were the instigations of his wife; that shortly he beganne to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captaines of the Mercinaries: hoping to make himselfe strong, by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had beene with the *Syracusian* Pretors, and told them, that, being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they according to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilest he liued, what seruice they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed: and with a conuoy; that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily

easily granted: both for that the *Syracusian* Magistrates were well cõtended to earne thankes of *Hannibal*, with such a little curtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple; which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Armie, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made shew: they were more mindfull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselues into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the army with tumult: especially of the *Roman* fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselues, when the *Romans* & *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great neede of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonis* the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entring into the Senate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilest *Hieronymus* liued, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in seeking to vsurpe the tyrannie themselues. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessarie to this dangerous treason: and that the vnquiet spirits of these women would neuer cease to worke, vntill they had recouered those Royall ornaments, and Soueraigne power, whereof their familie was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were also condemned to die: & executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserued this heauie sentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sosippus*, being altogether innocent; was murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash judgement. Her husband *Sosippus* was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassador to King *Ptolemie*, *&c.* he durst not returne home; but staied in *Ægypt* as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some other pittifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselues) all cryed out vpon the authors of so foule a butcherie. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger; they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicides* Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Pretors and Senators approued this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall crie forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But hauing striuen in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gaue way vnto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed to dissolue by practice. The *Leontines* had some neede of a Garrison: and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor, attended, by such fugitiues, and mercinary souldiers, as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, hee beganne to doe many acts of hostilitie against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word vnto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept sincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicides*, fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe vnto the *Leontines*, whom he perswaded to rebell against the *Syracusians*.

sians. For he said, that since they had all of late serued one Master; there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was slaine, and libertie first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented, to enjoy the freedome purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion ouer those that had broken the chaine, wherwith both the one, and the other were bound: his aduice was, that such their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was giuen by one article of the league, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been subiect to* HIERO *and* HIERONYMVS, *should hencefoorth be Vassals vnto the state of Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicides* told them, that in this noueltie of change, they had fit opportunity to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the *Syracusians*. But seeing they had long since yeelded vnto *Syracuse*, and been subiect vnto that Citie, by whatforme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable than just. Neuertheless the motion of *Epicides* was highly approued: in so much that when messengers came soone after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* & *Epicides*, that they should get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither else they listed, so that they staied not in *Sicil*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusians*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselues bound to obserue the couenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptorie answere was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusians*: who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the *Leontines* their Rebells; with condition that when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand; which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, *Leontium* was taken: all saue the Castle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled; and stealing thence away by night, conueied themselues into the Towne of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other *Roman* Captaines vsed after victorie; to seeke out the fugitiue *Roman* slaues and renegados, whom hee caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, hee tooke to mercy; forbearing also to strip or spoile them. But the fame of his doings was bruted after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slaine, Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Towne to sacke. These newes met the *Syracusian* Army vpon the way, as it was going to joyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercinaries there were, that had beene sent forth of *Syracuse*, vnder *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* two of the Pretors, to serue against the *Leontines* and other Rebells. These Captaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countrie: but the souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercinaries are commonly infected. They tooke the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had beene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutinie; though what to demand, or with whom to bee angrie, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and set them aworke in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no neede of their seruice. So toward *Herbesus* they marched: where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischiefe, deuising what further harme they might doe; but now so weakely accompanied, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therfore aduentured vpon a remedy little lesse

desperate

desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesus* vnarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of suppliants; and so presented themselues to the Armie. Sixe hundred men of *Creete* were in the vantguard; that had bin well vsed by *Hieronymus*; and some of them greatly bound vnto *Hannibal*; who had taken them prisoners in the *Italian* warre, and louingly dismissed them. These *Cretans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare; saying, that no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vse their weapons. Herewithall the Armie was at a stand; and the rumor of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by seueritie; which would not serue. For when they commanded these two Traitors to be laid in yrons: the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto *Megara*; where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuised a tricke; whereby to helpe himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie *Cretans*; directed (as they made shew) from the *Syracusian* Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*: but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the Mercinaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensiue, all of them in generall, to the libertie of the Citie, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed: the vprore was such, that *Sosis* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the campe, and flie for their liues. All the *Syracusians* remaining behinde, had been cut in peeces by the enraged souldiers, if the two artificers of the sedition had not saued their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischieuous knaue that had serued among the *Leontines*, to justifie the bruit of *Marcellus* his crueltie; and to carrie home the newes to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not only the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (said some) was the auarice and crueltie of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would haue dealt much worse; where their greedy appetites might haue beene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discoursing, and deuising how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Armie came to the gates; exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnlesse for want of helpe, they would be betraied to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong furie of those within the Towne; that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors; whom (being forsaken by all men) hee put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day he went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue liberty to all slaues and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was aduertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadours to *Syracuse*; that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he neere with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to doe hurt, but in fauour of the *Syracusians*, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and

enjoy their owne;as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be deliuered vp. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, That if their errand had beene to him,he could haue told what to say to them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the gouernement in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned; hee told them, they should finde by experience, that to besiege *Syracuse*, was an other manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus hee sent them gone; and returned back into the Citie. Immediately beganne the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quicke and easie winning of *Leontium* did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of walls, as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best, both by Land and Sea. Neuertheless all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of preuailing by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hastie victorie. But there liued at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of warre, as being in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischiefe to the *Romans* than could haue beene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This *Archimedes* discoursing once with *Hiero*, maintained, That it were possible to remoue the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proofe of this bold assertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to conuert his studie vnto things of vse; that might preserue the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injurie done vnto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propositions, vnto the workemanship, and gaine, of base handicrafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians; that seemed vnto him to profane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must wee rashly taske a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austeritie, or affected singularitie in his reprehension. For it hath beene the vnhappy fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wit; and things, that euery one, could well haue performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discouerie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which hee vnder-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proofe. He that lookes vpon our *English Brewers*, and their Seruants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Malt, was an inuention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuentors any whit the lesse, for that the labor of workmanship growes to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholers and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily ouer, and feede their workemen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankinde; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of injustice, that the long trauels of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth; or yeeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in it any thing allowable

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and naturall, as hauing Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in ſome ſuch caſe as this; and ſerueth againſt thoſe, which would vſurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Neuertheleſſe, if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection, that euery one ought to beare vnto the generalitie of mankinde, after the example of him *that ſuffereth his Sunne to ſhine vpon the iuſt and vniuſt*: it will appeare more commendable in wiſe men, to enlarge themſelues, and to publiſh vnto the world, thoſe good things that lie buried in their own boſomes. This ought ſpecially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it ſome dangerous cunning; that may bee peruerted by euill men to a miſchieuous vſe. For if the ſecret of any rare *Antidot*, contained in it the skill of giuing ſome deadly and irrecouerable poyſon: better it were, that ſuch a iewell remaine cloſe in the hands of a wiſe and honeſt man; than being made common, binde all men to vſe the remedie, by teaching the worſt men how to doe miſchiefe. But the workes which *Archimedes* publiſhed, were ſuch as tended to very commendable ends. They were engins, ſeruing vnto the defence of *Syracuſe*; not fit for the *Syracuſians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppreſſion of others. Neither did he altogether publiſh the knowledge, how to vſe them, but reſerued ſo much to his owne direction; that after his death more of the ſame kinde were not made, nor thoſe of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It ſufficed vnto this worthy man, that he had approoued, euen vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done eſpeciall benefit vnto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was beſides his purpoſe.

Marcellus had cauſed certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be faſtened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the wall. Againſt theſe, *Archimedes* had ſundrie deuices; of which any one ſort might haue repelled the aſſaylants: but all of them together ſhewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He ſhot heauie ſtones and long peeces of timber, like vnto the yards of ſhips; which brake ſome of the Gallies by their force and weight. Theſe afflicted ſuch as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall voly of ſhot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron graple were taken by the prow and hoiſted vp, ſhaking out all the men, and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by ſtrange engins were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken againſt the walls, or caſt vpon the rockes: and all of them were ſo beaten, that they durſt neuer come to any ſecond aſſault. In like ſort was the Land-armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like Haile; did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engins of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the aſſault. For remedie hereof it was conceiued, that if the *Romans* could earely before day get neere vnto the walls: they ſhould be (as it were) vnder the *point blanck*, and receiue no hurt by theſe terrible Inſtruments; which were woond vp hard to ſhoote a great compaſſe. But this vaine hope coſt many of the aſſaylants liues. For the ſhot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great ſlaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to ſtay by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did ſo terrifie the *Romans*; that if they perceiued any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engins were readie to diſcharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to ouercome theſe difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; againſt the cauſe whereof he knew no remedie. If the engins had ſtood vpon the walls, ſubiect to firing, or any ſuch annoyance from without; he might haue holpen it by ſome deuice, to make them vnſeruiceable. But all, or the moſt of them were out of ſight; being erected in the ſtreetes behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vſe them. Wherefore the *Roman* had none other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouiſion of victualls, both by Land and by Sea. This was a deſperate peece of worke.

For the enemies hauing so goodly an Hauen; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely, so soone to bee consumed with famine, as the besiegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a Citie, hauing no probabilitie to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleete, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so dealt with the Senate, that fiue and twentie thousand Foote, three thousand Horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many, that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of *Fortune*, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. Hee tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yeelded vnto him. He tooke also *Megara* by force and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie must haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue saued *Agrigentum*: whither hee came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as hee could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he vsed, in regard of *Himilco*; stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leauing the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse, intending to ioyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victorie, against the dispersed and halfe vnarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation heereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, ioyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer al the Island at his pleasure, and presented battaile to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Hauen of *Syracuse*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arriued at *Marcellus* his campe: yet many places reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*, and slue or betraied the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath awhile: and *Marcellus* leauing some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that he might not seeme to haue giuen ouer the siege, went vnto *Leontium*, where he lay intentiue to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious worke of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turne all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as vnable to preuaile: and he himselfe was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not faisible, an enterprise, that he had once taken in hand. Hee came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially hee assaied to preuaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his campe; exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doe, because the towne would harken to no parlee. At length a slaue vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*;

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where he talked in priuate with ſome few, as he had beene inſtructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conſpirators vſed to ſend him aduertiſement of their proceedings; by a fiſher-boat that paſſed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of foureſcore, and thought themſelues able to effect ſomewhat of importance: all was diſcouered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damaſippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had beene ſent out of the Towne as an Embaſſador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very deſirous to ranſome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpoſe, not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romans*, looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious arte of Geometrie, fell to numbring the ſtones: and, making an eſtimate of the height, iudged it leſſe than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith hee acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinarie length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a conuenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Towne, and therfore the moſt ſtrongly garded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurpriſe. But a fugitiue out of the Towne brought word, that a great feaſt was to bee held vnto *Diana*, which was to laſt three dayes: and that, becauſe other good cheare was not ſo plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large diſtribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not be wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Feſtiuall night, came vnto the walls, which hee tooke by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was diuided into foure parts (or fiue, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and ſafe lodging, with good ſtore of bootie; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the reſt. For there were now a great many, as well of thoſe in *Acradinia* and the Iſland, inner parts of the Towne, as of thoſe that were alreadie in the hands of *Marcellus*, that beganne to harken vnto compoſition, as being much terrified by the loſſe of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto thoſe, that were ſheltred vnder ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnfurniſhed of his helpe; ſince they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitiues, and Renegados, were more carefull than euer to defend the reſt of the Citie: being ſure to be rewarded with a cruell death, if *Marcellus* could preuaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell vpon the old camp of the *Romans*, whileſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradinia* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the Aſſailants were repelled. Neuertheleſſe, they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtreightly beſieged, as he himſelfe did beſiege the Towne. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and cauſed the reſt to diſlodge. The *Romans* were (though ſomewhat leſſe) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, in ſo much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to doe his Countrie ſeruice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. He arriued at *Pachynus* with a ſtrong fleet: where he ſtaied; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better ſerue the enemie than him: Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length hee came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, he ſtood off into the deepe; and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* ſouldiers, that remained aliue of *Hippocrates* his Armie, lay as neere as they could ſafely, vnto *Marcellus*; and ſome of them, in a ſtrong Towne three miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the ſtate of *Sicil* was giuen as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelues, and for the Towne. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue eare: for he had ſtaied there long enough; and had cauſe to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers, that lay abroad; That they ſhould be Maſters of their owne, enioying their liber- 10
tie and proper lawes; yet ſuffering the *Romans* to poſſeſſe, whatſoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors choſen; and the gates euen readie to be opened vnto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* fugitiues diſturbed all. Theſe perceiuing their owne condition to be deſperate, perſwaded the other Mercinarie ſouldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themſelues, and betraied the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently tooke armes, and fell vpon the new-choſen Pretors: whom they ſlue; and made election of ſixe Captaines that ſhould command ouer all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the ſouldiers; excepting only the Fugitiues. The treatie therfore was againe ſet on foot, and wan- 20
ted little of concluſion: which yet was delaied; either by ſome feare of the Citizens, that had ſeene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts alreadie taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vſe the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly ſubiect vnto *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſixe Captaines, that had beene choſen in the late commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as vſually is found in Mercinaries; holding his own particular benefit aboue all other reſpects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: hauing a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*; that went in company with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This craftie Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had alreadie got- 30
ten all *Spaine*: and that if euer he purpoſed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where elſe; it was now the onely time to doe it; by conforming himſelfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captaine was eaſily wonne, and ſent forth his owne brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadours to ratifie the couenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approued at his comming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had beene ſuch, as deſerued not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much leſſe, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Armie of Mercina- 40
ries, ſhould miniſter vnto the people of *Rome*, aduantage againſt them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts againſt the hired ſouldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey thoſe Miniſters of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately ſlaine many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themſelues had alſo bin ſlaine, both lately and in former times, becauſe of this their deſire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Raſcalitie, and ſome ill aduiſed Perſons ioyned with the ſouldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occaſion of the ſlaughter which they 50
heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in thoſe parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the *Roman* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracuſians*, to make a bargaine vnder-hand againſt them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries? Theſe things were obiected againſt *Marcellus*, at his re-

turne

turne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, and promises of good vsage in time to come, than to restore the bootie, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, so great, wealthie, strong, and many waies important. Neuertheleſſe if we conſider the many inconueniences and great miſchiefes, whereunto *Syracuſe* was obnoxious; both by euill neighbors, and by that very forme of politie, after which it was gouerned: wee may truly affirme, That it receiued no ſmall benefit, by becomming ſubiect vnto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only aſſured againſt all forraine enemies, domeſtical conſpiracies, and ſuch Tyrants as of old had raigned therein: but freed from the neceſſitie of baniſhing, or murdering, the moſt worthie Citizens; as alſo from all factions, inteſtine ſeditions, and a thouſand the like miſeries, that were wont to grow out of the iealouſie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enioyed that Citie, from her firſt foundation, any ſuch long time of happineſſe, as that wherein it flouriſhed, when it reſted ſecure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more moleſted, by the diſeaſe of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was throughly cured. But ſuch benefit, ariſing from wrongs done, ſerues not to make iniuſtice the more excuſable: vnleſſe we ſhould approue the anſwere of that Theefe, who being found to haue ſtollen a ſiluer cup from a ſicke man, ſaid, *He neuer leaues drinking.*

By the treaſon of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Army was let into poſſeſſion of all *Syracuſe*: wherin, the booty that it found, was ſaid to haue been no leſſe, than could haue beene hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it ſelfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea againſt them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuſe* was maruellouſly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left vntouched; ſaue only the houſes of thoſe baniſhed men, that had eſcaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himſelfe. He was ſo buſie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that he harkened not to the noiſe, and vprore in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heauily the death of him; and cauſed his body to bee honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life time) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an inſcription of the proportion betweene them; which hee firſt found out. An Inuention of ſo little vſe, as this may ſeeme, pleaſed that great Artiſt better, than the deuiſing of all thoſe engines, that made him ſo famous. Such difference is betweene the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar ſort. For many an one would thinke the monie loſt, that had been ſpent vpon a ſonne, whoſe ſtudies, in the Vniuerſitie had brought forth ſuch fruit, as the proportion betweene a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuſe*, all the Townes in *Sicil* yeelded vnto the *Romans*; except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately ſent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines*, by many good peeces of ſeruice, had added ſome credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* ſide; and withall made his owne name great. By his perſwaſions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* aduentured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not behaue themſelues as men expecting to be beſieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counſell, than in execution. Once and againe he ſet vpon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped; and droue them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in *Epicides* and *Hanno*: eſpecially in *Hanno*, that having beene lately ſent from *Carthage*, with commiſſion and authoritie from the State, thought himſelfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had ſent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, and to take vpon him, like as good a man as himſelfe. The indignitie ſeemed the greater, when *Mutines*, being to ſtep aſide vnto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of ſome troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduiſed (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemie, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before he ſought it. It is like, that a great

part of the *Roman* Armie was left behinde in *Syracuse*, as neede required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the oddes betweene the Captaines. For howsoeuer the people of *Carthage* would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth, and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceiued some displeasure against their Captaines: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuie of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a foolish desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countriman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident: for that it was not their purpose to shew themselues his enemies that day; but onely looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene misused. They made good their promise; and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set vpon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, droue them backe into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battell without neede; the *Romans* would shortly haue been reduced into termes of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leaue the Prouince; and soone vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie, consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, tooke it very hainously, that no good seruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, and not suffered to returne back to *Rome* with their Generall. *Mutines* had pacified his Countrimen the *Numidians*; and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue beene, if the Armie lately ouerthrowne had beene entire. *M. Cornelius*, the *Roman* Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his owne men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recouered those inland Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Countrie; yet hee hindred the Countrie from reuolting vnto *Mutines*. Aboue threescore Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which, *Agrigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despight of the *Romans*: not only to the succor of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) receiued instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue share in the honor of these *Sicilian* warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest *Italie* was neglected, that should haue been regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among his *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spightfull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countriman, being such a braue Commander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius Læuinus*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come into the Prouince, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these indignities: but being,

neither

neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauoured by thoſe that bore all the ſway in *Carthage*; He thought it the wiſeſt way, to play the beſt of his owne game, and forſake that Citie, which was likely to periſh by the euill counſell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himſelfe to ſee his Aduerſaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to ſuffer that harme, in doing whereof hee would not beare a part; but conſpired againſt them to deliuer vp *Agrigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vtterly out of *Sicil*. The Conſul was glad of his friendſhip: and carefully followed his aduertiſements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Matines* had vnder-taken. For hee with his *Numidians* did forcibly ſeize vpon a gate; whereat they let in ſome *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readineſſe for the purpoſe. *Hanno*, when firſt hee heard the noiſe, thought it had beene no worſe matter, than ſome ſuch tumult of the *Numidians*, as hee had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haſte to pacifie the trouble, he ſaw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among thoſe diſcontented followers of *Matines*, forthwith he betooke himſelfe to flight: and ſauing himſelfe, with *Epicides*, in a ſmall Barke, ſet ſaile for *Africk*; leauing all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercie of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued maſters of the whole Iland.

Læuinus the Conſul hauing taken *Agrigentum*, did ſharpe execution of juſtice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them hee ſcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the reſt of them he ſold for ſlaues, and confiſcated their goods; ſending home to *Rome* the monie that was raiſed of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* ſtood in no leſſe neceſſitie of gold, than of ſteele: which may haue beene the reaſon, why *Læuinus* dealt ſo cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Neuertheleſſe the fame of ſuch ſeueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; ſo that in great haſte they ſought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yeelded themſelues quickly vnto the *Romans*; twentie were deliuered vp by Treaſon; and ſixe onely ſtaied to bee wonne by force. Theſe things done, *Læuinus* returned home to *Rome*: carrying with him about foure thouſand men from *Agatirna*; that were a companie of outlawes, bankrouts, and baniſhed men, accuſtomed to liue by ſpoile of others, in theſe troubleſome times. He beſtowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italie*, where they might exerciſe their occupation againſt the *Brutians*; a theeuiſh kinde of people, that were enemies vnto thoſe of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Matines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he liued in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journie againſt *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is ſaid) very eſpeciall ſeruice. So by this enterpriſe of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* waſted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue beene emploied in *Italie*: leauing yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire poſſeſſion of this Iland; which they wanted when it beganne.

§. XVI.

How the warre paſſed betweene the Romans and HANNIBAL *in Italie, from the taking of Capua to the great victorie at Metaurus.*

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good ſeruices done in the Iland of *Sicil*, he had granted vnto him the honour of the leſſer Triumph, which vvas called *Ouation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: becauſe hee had not finiſhed the warre, but vvas faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Prouince. Hee ſtaied not long in *Rome*, before hee vvas againe choſen Conſul together with

with *M. Valerius Læuinus*, who ſucceeded him in the gouernement of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre againſt King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made againſt the Conſul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracuſians*, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendſhip to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly break the alliance, excepting when it was oppreſſed by ſuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that liued in *Syracuſe*. The Conſul, on the other ſide, reckoned vp the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoane themſelues to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their neceſſitie; and not vnto the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part hauing ſome good matter to alledge, the Senate made ſuch an end of the controuerſie, as beſt agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not reſtoring the bootie that hee had taken, nor making the *Syracuſians* free from their ſubjection, but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopefull promiſes, as hath been ſhewed before. The two new Conſuls, *Marcellus* and *Læuinus*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots ſhould fall out; the one in *Italie*; the other in *Sicil*. The Iſle of *Sicil* fell vnto *Marcellus*: which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracuſians* (whoſe cauſe had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not ſeeme hindred by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his buſineſſe with them was diſpatcht, hee gently vndertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie; to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Conſul, was ſent into *Sicil*, whoſe doings there haue beene alreadie rehearſed: but *Marcellus* was emploied againſt *Hannibal*.

Before the Conſuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with preſſing of Souldiers to the warre; and moſt of all, with getting Mariners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer ſort, that vſed to be emploied in Sea-ſeruices; eſpecially in rowing. Theſe could not liue without preſent wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treaſurie to giue them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they ſhould be ſet out at the expence of priuate men; who, in this neceſſitie of the ſtate, were driuen to ſuſtaine all publike charges. Hereat the People murmured: and were readie to fall into ſedition; had not the Conſuls deferred the matter vnto further conſideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a caſe of ſuch extremitie. For manifeſt it was, that the multitude had alreadie endured ſo much, as well it could vnder-goe; and ſomewhat more, than could with honeſtie haue been impoſed vpon it. Neuertheleſſe it was impoſſible to maintaine the warre againſt the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a ſtrong fleet. Wherefore, ſome were of opinion; That, ſince the common Treaſure was ſo emptie, the people muſt be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At laſt the Conſuls beganne to ſay, That no perſwaſions would be ſo effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Conſuls, like it was, that the People alſo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them ſhould bring forth, and put into the Treaſurie, all the monie that hee had; and that no Senator ſhould keepe any veſſell of gold, or plate whatſoeuer; excepting one ſalt-ſeller, and a boule wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods; as alſo a Ring for himſelfe, with ſuch other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vſe, and thoſe of as ſmall value as might be. This aduice of the Conſuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and haſtily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuſe to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For ſince the publike neceſſity could no otherwiſe be holpen, euery one was contented, that his priuate eſtate ſhould runne the ſame fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it ſuffered wrack, in vaine could any particular

man

man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper ſubſtance. This magnanimitie deſerued well that greatneſſe of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie againſt *Hannibal*; and *Læuinus* toward *Sicil.* The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminiſhed, by long and hard ſeruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* ſeeme to remember him, and thinke vpon ſending the promiſed ſupply, or any ſuch proportion as he needed. His credit alſo among his *Italian* friends, was much weakned, by the loſſe of *Capua:* which gaue them cauſe to looke vnto themſelues; as if in his helpe there were little truſt to be repoſed, when they ſhould ſtand in need. This he well perceiued; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he muſt thruſt Garriſons into all Townes that he ſuſpected, and therby ſo diminiſh his armie, that he ſhould not bee able to keepe the field: or elſe hee muſt leaue them to their owne fidelitie; which now beganne to wauer. At length his jealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked, and waſted, thoſe places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelfe; and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and ſome of thoſe, whom before he had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yeelded vnto *Marcellus:* and betraied vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horſe, the beſt of all that ſerued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſſe, then the Towne it ſelfe. *Blaſius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect; without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemie. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in priuate; and was by him accuſed vnto *Hannibal.* But when he was conuented, and charged of Treaſon, he ſo ſtoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuiſed out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and ſeeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſſe his aduerſarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with ſuch liuely reaſons; that he who could not be belieued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to winne the fauor of *Marcellus.* Preſently after this, the Conſul tooke by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnites:* wherein hee ſlew about three thouſand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch aduantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being growne ſtronger in the field than hee. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themſelues with ill ſpeede in many pettie enterpriſes, and laide aſide all this while the care of *Italie*, to follow buſines of farre leſſe importance; had now at length reſolued, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had beene ſo long promiſed and expected. This if they had done in better ſeaſon; *Rome* it ſelfe might haue beene ſtrucken downe, the next yeere after that great blow receiued at *Cannæ.* But ſince that which is paſt cannot be amended: *Hannibal* muſt force himſelfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with fiue thouſand *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſaile for *Spaine:* whither when hee came, it was appointed, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his journie into *Italie*; of which there had beene ſo long talke. Theſe newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans.* Wherefore each did their beſt: the *Romans* to preuent the threatning miſchiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the comming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fuluius*, a *Roman* Pretor, lay neere vnto *Herdonea* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, ſince, neere vnto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fuluius* had loſt his armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fuluius* heard newes of his approch. As ſoone as he came, he offered battaile to the *Roman* Pretor: who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeede. The

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Roman Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rowt; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himselfe, vvith twelue *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, vvere lost: of the common souldiers that were slaine, the number is vncertaine; some reporting seuen, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of *Herdonea*, because it was at point to haue yeelded vnto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemie, carried away the multitude; whom hee bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheare; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and ouer-taking him at *Numistro* in the countrie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battaile: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darkenesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often; and sought to bring the enemie within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light and vpon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the *Roman* affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yeere to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherfore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that serued vnder him the yeere before) to presse the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for hee thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. Hee followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall termes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmish; as being desirous to keep his Army strong vntill the comming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunitie of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignitie of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustie, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to bee at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile: wherein *Hannibal* had the victorie; tooke sixe Ensignes; and slue of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that hee rated his men, as Pesants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had beene beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumuented by any stratageme. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, hee did so vexe them; that thinking themselues better able to endure any violence of the enemie, than such displeasure of their Generall; they besought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies formost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victorie; whereof the newes might bee at *Rome*, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angrie, to see that nothing could make this Enemie quiet: and therefore vvas readie to fight againe; since all other motiues continued the same, and his men had beene heartned by the late victorie. But the *Romans* were stirred vp with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor lost, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselues disappointed of their hope; and the enemie, notwithstanding their late victorie, as readie to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victorie: which hee purchased at so deare

deare a rate; that neither hee, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if eight thouſand of the *Carthaginians* were ſlaine, and three thouſand of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late receiued ouerthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Neuertheleſſe it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſul hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſſe at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Q. Fuluius* the other Conſul, about the ſame time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volſcentes*, that willingly yeelded themſelues, and betraied the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fuluius* entertained in louing ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had been authors, or buſie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theeues, which *Læuinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on work to beſiege *Caulonia*, a towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerue to diuert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Conſul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, ſate downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needfull to carrie it, either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Towne a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, ſhee gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her louer was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe newes: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were farre in loue, hee might perhaps be wonne, by intreatie of his Miſtris, to doe what ſhee would haue him. The Conſul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his ſouldier to conuey himſelfe into the Towne as a fugitiue; and trie what good might be done. It fell out, according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne perſwaſions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his ſiſter; wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed vpon the buſineſſe, and reſolued how to order it; the ſame ſouldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Conſul with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; eſpecially about thoſe parts of the wall, which were fartheſt from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make reſiſtance in thoſe places, where the noiſe did threaten them with greateſt likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himſelfe, with the choice of his men, came in great ſilence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines*, and *Carthaginian* ſoldiers, made head againſt *Fabius* in the Market-place: but (as hapneth in like caſes, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obſtinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with thoſe that before had let in *Hannibal*, vſed now the laſt of their courage in dying againſt the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garriſon within the Towne, offered himſelfe priſoner: hoping to be well vſed, becauſe of hoſpitality that had paſſed betweene his Father and the Conſul. But he was ſlaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the ſword: in ſuch ſort, that they ſpared few of the *Brutians*. This ſlaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue beene made by appointment of the Conſul, to the end that hee might ſeeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treaſon: though he thereby failed of his purpoſe; and neither had the glorie which he expected, nor preſerued his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treaſurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curioſities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being

being told of some Idols, that seemed worthie to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let vs leaue vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his comming: but hee was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill, which serued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselues a little while, and then they yeelded. When this businesse was done, hee hasted away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when hee came within fiue miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieued him: yet hee said no more than this, *The Romans haue also their* HANNIBAL; we haue lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne back amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few daies together, so neere as hee was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgiue them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same Citie: who did their errand so well; that the Consul wrote back by them vnto the *Metapontins*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made readie his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journie to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were emploied againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discouered all.

This yeere was happie to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got euery where; saue onely at *Caulonia*; where they lost a companie of such lewd fellowes, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so been rid of them. But their common pouertie, and disabilitie to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirtie *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelue refused to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Canna*, and those vnhappie Companies, that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fuluius*; were transported into *Sicil*; where they liued, in a sort, as banished men. This grieued their friends at home, and made them reckon vp the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhausted with leuies of men, and impositions of monie: in euery of which yeeres they had receiued some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best which they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the enemie to bee made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that vvas taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer did returne. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicil*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly denie vnto the *Romans*, their fathers helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any farther help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadours to returne home, and bring a better answere, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campans*, or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadours continuing to protest, that they

they had already done what they could; and that they had remayning, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but shewed themselues willing to vndergoe whatsoeuer should be layed vpon them, without shrinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good seruices, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, & thankes accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelue Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them nor take any notice of them at all; but leaue them to their owne consideration of their ill deseruing.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelue people would haue wrought, in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then comming into *Italie*. For then must the *Romans* haue betaken themselues wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subiects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italie*, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuertheless, they were faine to open their most priuie treasurie; and thence take out the golde, that had beene layed vp to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie. Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius* the Consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spaine* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italie*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the iourney of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spaine*, nor any victories wonne by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuertheless it fell out happily for the People of *Rome*, that this yeare, and the next, were spent, before his comming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could haue beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessity of money, were driuen to furnish the Armie in *Spaine*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needes bee, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was farre lesse then fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoeuer *Liuie* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arriuall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fuluius*. In their yeere it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spaine*, though he came not into *Italie* vntill the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Canne*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good hauen, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italie*; where he made readie a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if hee had beene readie to come. But since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later then had beene expedient) readie to arriue: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein hee might make a partie against the *Romans*. The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Townes, from harkening to any sollicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the pouerty of the *Roman*, and the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie comming, then that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italie*; did emboldē many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Aretines*, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselues, without regard of their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senat, hearing the rumour of their conspiracie, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose comming did so terrific them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yere following they were

deuising how to breake out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors; partly by terror of seuere iudgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills; and tooke many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselues, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as *Fuluius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*; one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italie*: and brought thither all sorts of engines; sending for a fleet out of *Sicil* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the Citie: the fame of whose approch, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warre had no neede to stand vpon his reputation: which was alreadie so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisdome. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some aduantage; reseruing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingring manner of Warre, *Marcellus* tooke no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemie to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded againe to assaile the Towne of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he beganne to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to goe by Land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, betweene *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and hauing lost aboue three thousand of their companie, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and saue their owne liues within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal*, to waste their Armie by little and little: which to doe, hee neglected no aduantage. There lay betweene him and them an Hillock, ouer-growne with wood, that seemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vndiscerned, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the *Roman* campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom hee willed to keepe themselues close, and attend their best aduantage. To this piece of ground, the Consuls thought it fit to remoue their Campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neere enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the sonne of *Marcellus*, a few Colonells, and other principall men; and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinell gaue warning of their approach to his fellowes; who discouered not themselues, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls and their traine. The Consuls, as necessitie compelled them, defended themselues: hoping to be quickly relieued from their campe that was neere at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ranne away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weake assistance of no more than fortie horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consulls; and did what they could to haue brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then beganne euerie one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consull, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and yong *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recouered their campe: The rest of the Colonells and Officers; together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slaine or taken. To the dead bodie of the Consull *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and

bestowing

beſtowing his aſhes in a ſiluer pot, couered it with a crowne of gold; and ſo ſent them to yong *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Preſently after this, *Criſpinus* bethought himſelfe, how that the ſignet Ring of *Marcellus* was fallen into the cuſtodie of *Hannibal*; who might vſe it, to his owne purpoſes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore hee ſent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was ſlaine, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wiſhing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall ſigned. This prouidence of *Criſpinus* was not more than requiſite. For his Meſſenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Meſſenger arriued there ſent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and ſealed with the captiue Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpoſe to come the ſame night vnto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be in a readineſſe, for ſuch employment as he ſhould thinke needfull. The deuice was plaine: and no leſſe plaine was the reuengefull minde, which he bare againſt that Citie; becauſe of his braue *Numidian* companies, that had therein beene betraied. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themſelues, how to take their Enemie in his owne ſnare. They ſent back the Meſſenger which was a *Roman* fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any ſigne of diſtruſt in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readineſſe, for the entertainement of ſuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitiues armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. Theſe all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conſul was there. The gate was opened, faire and leiſurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it muſt bee, to let them enter. But when ſixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themſelues; being laied at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an ende with them.

Hannibal being thus ouer-reached with this ſtratageme, haſted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicil*, did lay hard ſiege. The firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confuſed haſte, runne to their ſhips: leauing all their engines, and whatſoeuer was in their campe, to the enemies diſpoſition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of theſe accidents, ſent vnto *Criſpinus* the ſuruiuing Conſul, and requeſted him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates, with other buſineſſe; whereunto himſelfe was diſabled by his hurts. Hee did ſo: and ſoone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that newe Conſuls ſhould be choſen out of hand: foraſmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay ſo neere vnto the Enemie, without any Generall. Eſpecially it was deſired, that Election ſhould be made of ſuch men, as were not onely valiant, but well aduiſed: ſince the beſt, and moſt fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by looſing himſelfe ſo ſtrangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto raſh heads. Among thoſe that ſtood for the Conſulſhip, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the moſt eminent. Hee was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whoſe many ſeruices in this preſent warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he ſeemed a little too violent; and one, whoſe temper needed the allay of a more ſtayed wit. The fathers therefore endeuoured to ioyne vnto him in the Conſulſhip *M. Liuius*: one that had borne the ſame Office, long before. This *M. Liuius* had been Conſul with *L. Æmylius Paulus*, in the yeere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Conſulſhip, wherein they did good ſeruice, they had both of them bin called into iudgement by the People: and this *Liuius* cõdemned; *Æmylius* hardly eſcaping. Though it hath bin once already noted; yet I cannot forbeare to remember it againe: how it pleaſed God, to vpbraid the vnthankefull *Romans*, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of *Cannæ*, it was apparant, what lamentable

effects,the memorie of their iniuſtice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather choſe to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greateſt ouerthrow, that euer fell vpon the State of *Rome*, than by reſiſting the pernicious courſes of *Terentius Varro*,to caſt himſelfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Liuius*, he is euen now readie, and will ſo continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeeres together after his condemnation had hee beene abſent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrie Grange; vexing himſelfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Læuinus*, being Conſuls two or three yeeres agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he liued priuate in diſcontented ſort as might appeare, both by his careleſneſſe in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Verie lately he was compelled by the Cenſors, to poll his haire,and come into the Senate: where hee vſed to ſit ſilent, and ſignifie his aſſent or diſlike to what was propoſed; either in ſhort formall words, or in paſſing from ſide to ſide, when the houſe was diuided. At length it hapned, that in ſome buſines weightily concerning one that was his kinſman,he ſtood vp,and made a ſet ſpeech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bade them enquire of him,and take better notice,what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered ſince he had left it; many braue men were loſt; new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerued to fill vp the number, than to anſwere to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding,had euen ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to ſay; that it was great pittie, ſo worthy and able a man, as this *Liuius*, had beene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth ſtood in great neede, yet had not vſed in this dangerous warre. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other, of neceſſitie a *Plebeian*: and ſince, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Læuinus*, being both of them *Patricians*,could be ioyned with *Claudius Nero*:euery one was of opinion,that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Liuius*. But *Liuie* would not endure to heare of this. He ſaid it was vnreaſonable,that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man,ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe, and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions, and examples rehearſed,of ſuch as had patiently digeſted iniuries done by the People,and repaied good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but runne vnder it for ſhelter in a ſtorme. Such vnthankefulneſſe, to well-deſeruing men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude.Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spaine* his dealing with the Duke of *Alua*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, vpon ſome ſmall offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſeruice of a man, more then ordinarily ſufficient; hee ſtood no longer vpon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures;but employed the ſame Duke,whom he had newly diſgraced. Thus is wiſdome often taught by neceſſitie.

It was a dangerous yeere toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*,and *M. Liuius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was alreadie come into *France*, and waited only, to haue the waies of the *Alpes* thawed by warme weather,for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* vſed at this time the ſeruice of three and twentie Legions:and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leuie and maintaine them. Of theſe which they had, foure ſerued in *Spaine*, two in *Sicil* and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeuerall parts of *Italie*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of

execution,

execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall obſeruance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Liuius* would not ſtirre out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mightie a power as followed *Aſdrubal*; vntill he had firſt obtained, that hee might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imploiments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to ſerue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yere, among the *Siſalpine Gaules*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Liuius*; to whom the warre againſt *Aſdrubal* was alotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, neere vnto *Tarentũ*, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie; that was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Neuertheleſſe the Conſuls, by the eſpeciall inſtance of *Liuie*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne diſcretion. For newes came, that *Aſdrubal* was alreadie paſſing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrie about *Genua*, with their Neighbour people, were in readineſſe to ioyne with him; and *L. Porcius* ſent word, that he would aduenture no further, then hee ſafely might. When all was ordered, as themſelues thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the Citie; each, his ſeuerall way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had beene, when *L. Æmylius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals; or bid them diſpatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they ſtood in feare; leſt all diligence, wiſdome and valour ſhould proue too little. For ſince few yeeres had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not beene ſlaine; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith ioyne, and make ſhort worke with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſſe than could be expected, that each of them ſhould returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mightie oppoſition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had *Rome* held vp her head, euer ſince the battaile of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the warre in *Italie*. But there was now arriued another ſonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed, a man of more ſufficiencie than *Hannibal* himſelfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riuers, and Mountaines, that were thought vnpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Armie: this *Aſdrubal*, in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, deſcended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow-bal, farre greater than he came ouer the *Pyrenees* at his firſt ſetting out of *Spaine*. Theſe conſiderations and the like, of which feare preſented many vnto them; cauſed the People of *Rome*, to wait vpon their Conſuls out of the Towne; like a penſiue traine of Mourners: thinking vpon *Marcellus* & *Criſpinus*, vpon whom in the like ſort they had giuen attendance the laſt yere; but ſaw neither of them returne aliue, from a leſſe dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accuſtomed aduice to *M. Liuius*, that he ſhould abſtaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwere, and ſaid, That he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recouer his honour by victorie; or by ſeeing the ouerthrow of his owne vniuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelfe with the ioy of a great, though not an honeſt, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the ouerthrow that *Aſdrubal* receiued in *Spaine*, by *Scipio*, a little before hee tooke his iournie into *Italie*; ſuch mention hath alreadie been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Liuie*. Yet I thinke it not amiſſe to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his hiſtorie concerning that accident. *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spaine*; by reaſon of thoſe Captaines that were ſent from the citie of *Carthage*, to ioine with him in the adminiſtration of that Prouince: they being, as it may ſeeme, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the ad-

Excerpt. E. Polyb. hiſt. l. 10. & 11.

uantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthie sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courses vndertaken, it cannot bee knowne: since of those bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to vs remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the spightfull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Iland: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by these mischieuous Partisans of *Hanno*, to vse the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuertheless *Asdrubal* was a good *Patriot*: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His iournie into *Italie* being resolued vpon: he lay with part of the Armie at *Betula*, not farre from the mines of siluer; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The ouerthrow seemes not to haue beene so great, as it must haue been supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prouident man, and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, sent away all his monie, with his Elephants before him: but staied behinde himselfe to sustaine the *Romans* awhile, vntill his carriages might bee out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed ouer *Tagus*. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pyrenees*: leauing the care of *Spaine* vnto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* haue stopped him on his iournie, by sending to defend against him the ordinarie way of the Mountaines. But whether *Asdrubal* tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keepe the *Pyrenees* (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voiage by any such impediment. Comming into *Gaule*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by accesse of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driuen to Winter in their Countrie; whilest that the passages of the *Alpes* were closed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountaines likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his iournie ouer the *Alpes*; were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he trauailed through their Countrie. For these poore men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to robbe them of their cattaile; and to make spoile of that little wealth, which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in processe of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land, and Sea; and that the *Alpes* did only lie in their way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gaules*. The *Ligurians* also ioyned with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* haue done; if he had arriued in their Countrie. There was no other *Roman* Armie neere, then *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon *Placentia* a *Roman* Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there hee lost a great deale of time, and finally was driuen to quit the enterprise: by vndertaking which, he gaue the *Roman* Consuls leisure to make readie for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the *Alpes*, was about to leaue his wintring camps, and go forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Consul, made what speede hee could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about fortie thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse: with which he daily offered battaile to the *Carthaginian*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driuen to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Countrie of the *Brutians*, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weake for the iournie intended. Afterward comming to *Grumentum*, a Towne of the *Lucans*; he there fought vnprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Neuertheless he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driuen to returne to *Metapontum*: where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Armie; hee assaied againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to *Venusia*, hauing *Nero* still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Riuer *Ausidus* to *Canusium*, where he sate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victorie. There also did *Nero* sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrie very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouer-come the way to *Canusium*: where if he could once againe deale with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victorie, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrie. If this had so fallen out; *Rome* would haue beene vndone for euer. But the *Carthaginians* should not haue needed to wish any second victorie, in the naked Champans about *Cannæ*; if such an armie, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when hee was in his full strength; and the *Romans* not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italie*; which else no power of the *Romans* could haue done.

Whilest *Nero* waited vpon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their succour: he was aduertised of *Asdrubal* his approch; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gaue notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could bee made by *Liuie* the Consul. Of these newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioyned as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparant, that howsoeuer the fortune of *Rome* should auoid, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull Associates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore hee resolued, that it were better to make any desperate aduenture, than to suffer the coniunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the suddaine, yet within few yeres, was like to worke most lamentable effect. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readines, that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed vnder the two Consuls. Hereupon hee concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessitie required; and to carry part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* bretheren, was farre more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Armie: and making shew, as if he would only step aside, to doe some small piece of seruice neere at hand; away he posted as fast as hee could, to

assist

assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which he was to passe, that they should be ready to meet him, with victualls, and all other necessaries for his Armie. *Liuius* the other Consul, at that time, lay incamped, neere vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In sixe daies *Nero* had finished his journie thither; and when he drew neere, sent Messengers before him, to giue notice of his comming. *Liuie* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: lest the Enemie, perceiuing this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done: and a token giuen, that the Colonells, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him; should bee lodged and entertained by men of their owne sort. Their Companie was somwhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Neuertheless, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which receiued them, should bee enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arriued Companies, to refresh themselues a few daies after their wearie iournie, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his absence. The souldiers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiuing that the honour of the victorie was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vndertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generalls pauilion.

Asdrubal was no lesse willing than the *Romans* to come to battaile, hauing long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iournie. Hereupon he beganne to with-draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no prisoners could bee taken, by whom he might bee certified of the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath beene said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded only once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, sound twice in the quarter of *Liuius* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders; held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arriued. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were aliue, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke; till he might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neere hee lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceiued, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, hee changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remoue a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night, intending to get ouer the Riuer *Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessitie of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did steale away from him in the dark, so that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heauie, and hindred his speede: farre hee had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heeles with all the *Roman* horse, and staied him from passing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe ouer-taken with necessitie to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gaules*, in whom he reposed least confidence, hee placed in his left wing vpon a Hill,

which

which the Enemie ſhould not, without much difficultie, bee able to climbe: in the right wing he ſtood himſelfe, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midſt; and his Elephants, hee beſtowed in the front of his battailes. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Liuius* of the left; and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well vnderſtood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafetie there was vnto the vanquiſhed. Only the *Romans* herein ſeemed to haue had the beter in conceipt, and opinion; That they were to fight with men deſirous to haue fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Liuius* the Conſul with a proud brauery, to giue charge on the *Africans*: by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the victorie ſeemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout ſoldiers; and well acquainted with the maner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to giue ground; which they needed the leſſe, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midſt. *Liuius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, preuailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their firſt rankes; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſignes were driuen to fall backe. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine againſt a ſteepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the *Gaules*; that ſtood oppoſite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who ſeeing his owne left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, vpon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiuing that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of *Porcius* and *Liuius*: which hauing compaſſed, he fell vpon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victorie to be manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in front, ranne all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on euery ſide, the greateſt part was ſlaine. The *Ligurians* and *Gaules* eſcaped as they could; and ſaued themſelues by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aliue: the reſt were ſlaine; ſome by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, beganne to waxe vnruly, and ruſh backe vpon their owne battailes following them: the guide had in readineſſe a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a ſtroke betweene the eares, in the joynt of the necke, next vnto the head; wherewith hee killed the beaſt vpon the ſuddaine. This ſpeedy way of preuenting ſuch harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the ſquadrons following them; is ſaid to haue beene the deuice of *Aſdrubal* himſelfe; who died in this batraile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Aſdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Liuie*. He is ſaid at all times to haue ſhewed himſelfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother; to haue ſtriuen with great patience, againſt many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the meanes of thoſe Captaines, that were ſent from *Carthage* into *Spaine*; to haue performed in this laſt battaile all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally when hee ſaw the loſſe irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickeſt of his Enemies; where fighting brauely, hee was ſlaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Liuie*, and of *Polybius*, doe very much diſagree. For *Liuie* ſaith, that the *Carthaginians* had no leſſe an ouerthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*; that fiftie ſixe thouſand of them were ſlaine, fiue thouſand & foure hundred taken priſoners; and aboue foure thouſand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and ſet at libertie. He ſaith alſo, that of the *Romans* and their Aſſociates there were ſlaine eight thouſand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes; but in gold and ſiluer. Concerning the bootie; *Polybius* hath no mention of it.

Likely

Likely it is to haue beene as rich as *Liuie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with monie. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of *Metaurus*, a paralel vnto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side, and two thousand of the *Roman*, to haue beene slaine. The number of the prisoners he doeth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken aliue; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme, that they were all *Barchines:* forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselues, and of their Countrie, aboue their liues.

The joy of this victorie was no lesse in *Rome*, than had beene the feare of the euent. For euer since it was knowne in what sort *Nero* had left his Armie; the whole Citie was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his cõming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great aduenture, as thus to put the one halfe of all the *Roman* forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to haue notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Armie that staied behinde, much weakned, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke: yet reseruing their censure vnto the successe; with libertie to approue or condemne, according to the issue. In the meane while the People filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waitiug still ready at hand vpon the Magistrates: as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require euery ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholy, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleeue it. Afterwards when Messengers arriued from the Consuls, with Letters contayning all that had passed: there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth beganne to follow their priuate businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driuen out of *Italie*.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of this misaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the *Roman* Generalls, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoeuer the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their loue vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolencie of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that hee hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being ouer-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of *Metaurus* that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italie*; with-drew himselfe into the Countrie of the *Brutians*: and thither hee caused all the *Lucans* that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compasse in the vtmost corner of *Italie*; it being a Countrie of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is likely

likely that this remoue of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harueſt was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Liuius* the other Conſul tarried among the *Ciſalpine Gaules* vntill the end of Summer; there to ſet things in ſuch order as he thought requiſite: which done, hee wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more neede of him and his Armie in that Prouince; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well diſcharge the place. For this cauſe, hee deſired leaue to returne home; and that he might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well vnderſtood his meaning: which was, to haue the honour of triumph, as he well deſerued. But foraſmuch as it was well knowne, what intereſt *Nero* had in the late victorie: order was giuen, that not only *Liuie* with his Armie ſhould come home; but likewiſe *Nero*; though leauing his Armie behinde him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Liuie* made the greater ſhew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; becauſe in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armie alſo being preſent at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horſe-backe, and without ſuch attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victorie was in a manner wholly aſcribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generalls, the due acknowledgement of their good ſeruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthy to bee choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memorie, in their Conſulſhip. Neither indeede from this yeere, which was the thirteenth of the preſent warre, vntill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italie*; ſaue only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that hee was quiet. Such opinion had they conceiued of him; that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himſelfe vpright. And ſurely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*; whom *Liuie* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the moſt warlike, hee obtained ſo many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armie, compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greekes*; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; hee held them all in ſuch good order, that they neuer fell to ſedition among themſelues, or againſt their Generall. But that which *Liuie* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Armie, without helpe from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry ſoile of the *Brutians*: which, when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſſe of reward and bootie: ſince, after the death of *Aſdrubal*, he made no inuaſion vpon the wealthier parts of *Italie*; but held himſelfe ſtill among the poore *Brutians*. Where we muſt leaue him, vntill he be drawne into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

§. XVII.

§. XVII.

How P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO *the Roman, made entire conqueſt of Spaine.*

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driuen by SCIPIO *from the Continent into the Iſle of Gades.*

MAGO, & ASDRVBAL the ſonne of *Geſco*, tooke vpon them the charge of *Spaine*, when *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italie*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voiage to the *Baleares*; there to leuie a ſupply of men: and *Aſdrubal* with-draw himſelfe into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoone ended his buſineſſe, and returned into *Spaine*: where hee met with one *Hanno* (the ſame perhaps that had lately beene emploied in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*, and came to ſucceede in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not vnlikely that *Spaine* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men, and all things needfull from *Carthage*; when that ſonne of *Amilcar*, whoſe authoritie had beene greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approue it ſelfe, againſt that noble race of Warriors; when it ſhould appeare, that things did proſper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought ouer: *Hanno* tooke the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet vpon the *Romans*. So he entred into the Countrie of the *Celtiberians*, not very farre from new *Carthage*: where, by monie, and other perſwaſions, he leuied aboue nine thouſand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himſelfe in the Eaſterne parts of *Spaine*: attentiue, as it may ſeeme, to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*; againſt whom, he is reported by ſome Writers to haue ſent part of his forces into *Italie*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Liuius* the Conſuls. But hearing of the leuie made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the *Celtiberians*: he ſent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome fugitiue *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countrimen encamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherefore as cloſely as he was able, he drew neere to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling vpon them on the ſuddaine, gaue them ſuch an ouerthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* comming to their ſuccour, in ſtead of heartning & reinforcing them, became partakers of the loſſe. *Mago* ſaued himſelfe, with all the horſe, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten daies iourney brought them ſafe to *Aſdrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken priſoner; though he kept himſelfe out of the fight vntil all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift; & ſaued moſt of themſelues by running into the woods.

It could no otherwiſe bee, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italie* ſtood, by the comming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand foot and eighteene hundred horſe he did therefore ſend out of *Spaine* (as it is reported by ſome Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to ſend them; and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentiue to the neceſſitie & ſucceſſe of his Countrimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of this Summer, then might hee well ad-

uenture

uenture, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spaine*; which muſt needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of ſuch an ouerthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldiers that ſerued vnder *Hannibal*, and thoſe that had beene ſent ouer into *Africk*; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrie was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noiſed abroad, That all which had followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italie*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Armie, was cloſed vp in a ſtreight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the *Spaniards* to conforme themſelues vnto the will of the Victors. That it was the ſucceſſe of things in *Italie*, which gaue ſuch confidence vnto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, becauſe hee tooke not this great enterpriſe in hand, vntill the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore vſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Armie into many Garriſons; hindred the Enemie, from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, cauſed *Scipio* to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* tooke by aſſault the Towne of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next yeeres danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Armie: and ſpared not coſt, nor trauaile, in ſtrengthning himſelfe, for the triall of his laſt fortune in *Spaine*. With ſeuentie thouſand foot, foure thouſand horſe, and two and thirtie Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleeue, that he could hardly haue raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italie*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weake to encounter with ſuch a multitude. Wherefore hee iudged it needfull to vſe the helpe of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were caſt away by the treaſon of ſuch falſe *Auxiliares*; made him on the other ſide very doubtfull, of relying vpon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt neede. Yet ſince one *Colchas*, that was Lord of eight & twentie Townes, had promiſed him the laſt Winter, to raiſe three thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe for his ſeruice: hee reſolued to make vſe of thoſe, and ſome few others; that might helpe to make a ſhew; and yet not bee able to doe great harme, if they would reuolt. So with fiue and fortie thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, he ſought out the Enemie; neere to whom hee incamped. At his firſt comming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell vpon him; with hope to take him vnprepared, whileſt hee was making his lodgings. But hee layed certaine troups of horſe in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly retrait: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betooke themſelues to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*: there were daily skirmiſhes betweene the horſe and light armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight, yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many daies: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the euening, withdrew himſelfe into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh Auxiliaries* were placed on both ſides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre diſtance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before deſigned. But *Scipio*, when hee purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier then he had been wont. He cauſed his men and horſes, to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then ſent forth his horſe and light armature, to traine out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies emptie: vſing herein the ſame trick, whereby he might remember, that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battaile of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the wings; his *Spaniards*,

in the battaile. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste,to entertaine the *Romans*; whilest he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order,at the Hill foot, vpon which he encamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since being ouer-pressed on either side, they had a safe retrait vnto their foot; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, hauing well fed themselues,were like to hold out better then the Enemie. But about noone, he caused his wings to aduance a good pace; leauing their battaile of *Spaniards* farre behinde them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercinaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable,saue only in number,to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers,leuied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time,by the *Roman Velites*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose: they were sorely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would faine haue succoured them; but that they durst not stirre out of their places,because of the *Spanish* battaile which was cõming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Armie stood idle, vntill the wings were broken. For,had he aduentured to meet with the *Spaniards*, hee must haue cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him betweene the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arriued, he should haue found himselfe incloſed in such sort,as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battaile of *Canne*. Wherefore he did onely employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner,no greater harme to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance led them,and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In processe of the fight: the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning,endured lustie; when the others beganne to faint with trauell and heate of the day. Wherefore perceiuing their aduantage,they followed it the more hotly: and gaue not ouer, till they had forst the enemie to change his pace and runne from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to haue made an orderly retrait; and afterward againe, to haue caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victorie to be so extorted from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished; led by the obstinate passion of feare which harkens to no perswasion. The Campe of *Asdrubal* had that day beene taken; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the suddaine, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to giue ouer.

The same night, *Asdrubal* gaue no rest to his men: but caused them, hungrie, and ouerlaboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein hee feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he haue in the strength of his Trenches; when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his subiects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yeelded vp to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betraied. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition,to beleeue the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiuing this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away, faster than an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning: & ouertaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse,caused them so often to make stand; that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here beganne a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, saue onely seuen thousand, that with *Asdrubal* himselfe recouered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste.

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This place he made shift awhile to defend: but wanting there necessaries to sustaine himselfe long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherfore he resolued to make shift for one: and stealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence; he tooke shipping, and set saile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* vnderstood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone: he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masanissa* staied in it) whileſt he with the rest of the Armie did what was needful in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masanissa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Armie dispersed it selfe; some flying ouer to the *Romans*; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the continent of *Spaine*, there were only three Townes left, *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, that made countenance of warre against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had in it a *Carthaginian* Garrison; consisting of such as had saued themselues by flight in the late ouerthrowes. Hereby it seemes, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yeelded long since vnto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three Townes that held out on the *Carthaginian* side. *Illiturgi* had sometimes beene inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune; it not onely rebelled; but with great cruelties betraied, and slue, the poore men that escaped thither from the ouerthrowes. *Astapa* was a Towne, that had still adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thriuen by spoile of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeere) *Scipio* went against these, and tooke himselfe *Illiturgi* and *Castulo*: *Illiturgi* by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubelius*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was throwne all the gold, and siluer, with whatsoeuer else was precious; the women and children standing by it vnder a sure guard; that should kil and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Towne. This prouision being made: all the Inhabitants that could beare armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell vpon the *Roman* campe; where striuing beyond their power, they were euery one slaine. Then was the Towne forth-with set on fire, by those that had taken charge to doe it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame; whileſt they rushed ouer-hastily to catch the gold, and siluer, which they saw lying on the pile readie to melt.

Asdrubal, being beaten into the Iland of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seuen Gallies; leauing *Mago* behinde him, to wait vpon occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax* King of the *Masæsili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to winne him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill *Angel*, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, hauing driuen the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine*, did foorth-with bethinke himselfe, how to finish the warre; by putting them to the like distresse in *Africke*. Hereunto it seemed, that the helpe of *Syphax* would be much auailable: a king that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moued to seeke reuenge. He had also beene beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him ouer a Captaine into *Africke*; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he therby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the *Numidian* King sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and made league with the Citie, in a time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceiued hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in *Africk*; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent ouer *C. Lælius* his Embassadour, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italie*, and had nothing now at all to

doe in *Spaine*, easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested, that the *Roman* Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Herto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not farre distant from *Spaine*, well worthy of the aduenture. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he tooke Sea: and arriued in the Kings Port, at the same time, with *Asdrubal*. This would haue beene very dangerous to him, had he beene discried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Hauen, they forbare to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captaines of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would haue brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himselfe, by want of such commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into couenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by SCIPIO. *A Duell between two Spanish Princes. A digression, concerning Duells.*

SCIPIO returning into *Spaine*, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeere, vpon those of *Iliturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, as hath beene said before. The Conquest of the Countrie being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memorie of his Father, and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues as was vsed in the Citie of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered themselues as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to giue proofe in single combat, of the valour that was in their seuerall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decision of their Controuersies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, *Corbis*, and *Orsua*, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherfore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house; after the manner of our *Irish Tanistrie*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the Principality: which though himselfe receiued by the death of his elder brother; yet this his sonne would not let it goe back; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, and old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had alreadie laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but only *Mars*, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire betweene them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the yonger.

Such combats haue beene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*, by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two at the Warre of *Troy*; the one betweene *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other, betweene *Hector* and *Aiax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*: whereof that betweene *Dauid* and *Goliah*; and others performed by some of *Dauids* Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betweene twelue of the Tribe of *Iuda*, and as many of the *Beniamites*. The *Romans* had

had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatij*, againſt the three brethren *Curiatij* that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and ſhortly after, of *Valerius Coruinus* with two Champions of the *Gaules*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of leſſe importance, as hauing onely reference to braueric. In *England* there was a great combat fought, betweene *Edmond Ironſide* and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no leſſe than the Kingdome. The vſe of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almoſt vpon euery occaſion, great or ſmall. In the raigne of *Edward* the third, who ſuſtained the party of *Mountfort* againſt the *Earle of Bloys*, contending for the Duchie of *Brittaine*; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, betweene thirtie of the *Britons*, and thirtie *Engliſh*: two of which *Engliſh*, were *Caluerlie* a braue Captaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* warres, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is deſcended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian* Hiſtories. Moſt of them haue beene combats of braueric, and of *gayeté de cure*, as the *French* terme it; for honour of ſeuerall Nations; for loue of Miſtreſſes; or what ſoeuer elſe gaue occaſion vnto men, deſirous to ſet out themſelues. But beſides thoſe of this ſort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accuſation for life; or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which wee ſpake euen now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orſua*. Vnto theſe (me thinkes) may bee added, as of different condition from the reſt, the combat vpon Wager; ſuch as were that betweene *Dauid* and *Goliah*; or that betweene the *Horatij* and *Curiatij*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accuſation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord *Henrie of Boulinbrooke* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolke*. There was a combat performed by Sir *Iohn Anſley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Anſley* charged with treaſon; and proued it vpon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betweene *Robert of Mountfort* and *Henrie of Eſſex*. The like alſo, betweene a *Nauarrois*, and one *Welch* of *Grimsby*, who the *Nauarrois* accuſed of treaſon: but, being beaten in fight, confeſſed that hee had belied him; and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the falſe accuſer, if hee be vanquiſhed, ſhall ſuffer the puniſhment which had beene due to the offender, if the accuſation had beene proued; I cannot affirme. But we euery where find, That if he which is accuſed of treaſon, or, according to the cuſtomes of *Normandie*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences puniſhed by death) bee ouer-come; He ſhall ſuffer the paines appointed for thoſe crimes. In combats for triall of *right*, it is not ſo: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in perſon, but hee may trie it by his Champion, as did *Paramor* and *Lowe*, or offered to doe, in the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*. And in this caſe, he that is beaten, or yeeldeth, looſeth only his cauſe, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accuſation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are thoſe of braueric; but in *Campe cloſe*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was ſo ordinarie in *France*, before the time of S^t. *Lewes*, and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as euery Lord of Fee, Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iuriſdiction. And it ſeemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorialls of the Chamber of Accompts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a combat were once accepted, and after, by conſent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties ſhould pay two ſhillings ſixe pence; but if it were performed, then ſhould the partie vanquiſhed forfeit an hundred and twelue ſhillings. And vpon this cuſtome grew the *French* Prouerbe, which they vſe when any man hath had an hard or vniuſt iudgement; ſaying, That *hee was tried by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of theſe frequent trials by battaile, that great learned man *Yuo*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, did often complaine, and

Ao. 21. Ric. 2di.

Ao. 3. Ric. 2di.

Ao. 9. Henr. 2di.

* *Si homines de Loraico Vadia Duelli temerè dederint, &c.*

*Cleric: vestri nuper ad nos reuerentes, qui cause Comitis Theobaldi Aurelianis interfuerunt, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini Rodulphi quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiã prouocauerit, & hanc prouocationem Ecclesiæ vestræ iudicio confirmauerit, &c.

speciallỹ against the *French* Church-men: as appeares by * his letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Arch-bishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the iudgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this libertie, and kinde of triall, was retrencht by Saint *Lewes*, and *Philip the faire*; so that no man should decree, or grant it, saue the King himselfe. It hath since beene granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* Kings; as to the Lord of *Carouges* against *Iaques le Gris*; and to *Iulian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro*, his Countriman: wherein Sir *Henrie Kneuet*, Father of the Lord *Kneuet* now liuing, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victorie, and lastly to the Lord of *Chast*. Now in those Challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deseruing death, (and in those only) the rule held, That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffenses per vne dementir*; *The Defendant was bound to pleade not guiltie, by giuing the accuser the Lie*: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did *taisiblement confesser le crime*; *silently confesse the crime*. But after such time as *Francis* the *French* King, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lie* vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fist, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: euery pettie Companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made the giuing of the *Lie* mortalitie it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glorie, to haue it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France*, would not put vp, what the great Emperour *Charles* the fift had paciently endured.

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obiection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe so many Duells, as are founded vpon meere priuate Anger, yea or vpon matter *seeming* worthie of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats; the giuing of the *Lie*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so vnpardonable, as will admit no other recõpence, than the bloud of him that giues it. Thus the fashion, taken vp in haste by the *French* Gentlemen, after the patterne of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we haue deriued a kinde of Arte and Philosophie of quarrel; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many other no lesse ridiculous) some so mysticall curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receiue from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a slaue; the other to a souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretie: though, for my owne part, if I had had any such Italionated enemie in former times, I should willingly haue made with him such an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiuing it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that giue it them; vse nothing so much in their conuersation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing assumed & sworne to pay the monies and other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Instice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised, that he will pay monie by a day; or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath beene made. Nay, what is the profession of loue that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their seruice, and of all they haue, vsed in their ordinarie

dinarie complements, and (in effect) to euery man whom they bid but good-morrow, or ſalute, other than a courteous and courtlike kinde of lying? It is (ſaith a wiſe *French-men*, deriding therein the Apiſh cuſtome of his Countrie) *vne marché & complot fait enſemble the ſe mocquer, mentir, & piper les vns les autres*; *A kinde of merchandize, and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other*: and ſo farre now-a daies in faſhion, and in vſe; as he that vſeth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinctions) that there is great difference betweene theſe mannerly & complementall lies, with thoſe which are ſomtime perſwaded by neceſſity vpon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men vſe out of cowardize and feare: the latter confeſſing themſelues to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other ſtiled the moſt villainous. But now for the *Lie* it ſelfe, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrells in effect: to it I ſay, That whoſo giues another man the *Lie*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainouſly taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promiſed, that hee will performe it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himſelfe a Lier. On the other ſide, He that giues any man the *Lie*, when himſelfe knowes that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the Lie directly to himſelfe. And what cauſe haue I, if I ſay that the Sunne ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's mid-night; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelfe a fooliſh Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the Lie in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; giues it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not denie but it is an extreme rudeneſſe to taxe any man in publike with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice againſt whom the vntruth is vttered) but all that is rude, ought not to bee ciuilized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a *French* cuſtome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counſaile of God. But you will ſay, That theſe diſcourſes ſauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize, to feare God or Hell: whereas he that is truly wiſe, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword wee ſhall finde ten thouſand ſeuen-penie-men (waged at that price in the warres) that feare it as little, and perchance leſſe, than any profeſt Sword-man in the World. *Diligentiſsima in tutela ſui Fortitudo*; *Fortitude is a diligent preſeruer of it ſelfe.* It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocritie between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna: ſic nec fortem pugna*; *ſed cauſa*; *As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man*; *but fighting in a good cauſe.* In which whoſoeuer ſhall reſoluedly end his life, reſoluedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrie: as hee may juſtly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe we indeede take our owne reuenge, or puniſh the injuries offered vs, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would bee reuenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death on our owne conſciences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere*; *And to drowne our ſoules in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne in generous and noble ſpirits the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay that I doe not; if the injuries bee violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Chriſtian Kings and States; doe fauour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the Aſſailant. You will ſecondly aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentle-man, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like qualitie, bee not bound in point of honour to ſatisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I anſwere that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrarie and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can

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judge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Actes honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror; and the Lawes of *God* appointed the *Deuill* to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, and a foole, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will bee answered, That the Kings of *England*, and other Christian Kings, haue seldome taken any such aduantage ouer men of qualitie; who vpon euen termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble-men and Gentle-men in former ages, in all important injuries, sue vnto the King, to approue themselues by battaile and publique combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law: so did they disdaine to submit themselues to the shamefull reuenge therof; the same reuenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theeues. Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders; Yet is not the Man-slaier freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieued notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Assize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (saith S^r. *Thomas Smith*) is not denied; and he further saith (for I vse his owne wordes) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man-slaier) be conuinced either by Great Assize or by Battaile, vpon that appeale; the Man-slaier shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to justice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men & Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemie, taking the start either in wordes or blowes, shall lay on them an infamie vnsufferable? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily giue satisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recouerie of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wiues, and children, are sustained, to the Iudges of the Law; because it may bee fellonie, to take by violence euen that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues to the Iudges of honour in cases of honour; because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet againe it may be obiected, That the losse of honour ought to be more fearefull vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, or of our liues; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeede, and that which ought to bee so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of historie, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imploied and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he looseth his honor. But the acting of a priuate combate, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a friuolous one, is not an action of vertue; because it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult; because euen and equall in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrarie; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Com.wealth of *Engl.*

Now that a Marshall of *England* hath power to saue euery mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine iniurie by wordes, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any ill words that we haue giuen, and to confesse that we haue done him wrong to whom we haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For hee that giues ill words in choller, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon aduisement; hath the disaduantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeede not to be giuen but to those that are seruile, whether sufficient recompence will bee made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Mounsieur de Plessis*, that was stricken in *France* not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Constable and Marshalls of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue iudgement,

ment, *M. de Pleſsis* was ſet in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhalls ſate: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a ſword with the point towards himſelfe; and in his left hand the like cudgell or baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleſsis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Pleſsis* hands, ſubmitting himſelfe to ſuch reuenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of thoſe weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhalls hauing formerly left it to the will of *Pleſsis*, to vſe his owne diſcretion in the reuenge of his owne wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelfe, as one beforehand in point of honour, who ſtrucke *M. de Pleſsis*, like a Ruffian comming behinde him, and (hauing aduantage of companie, and his horſes ready) ſhifted himſelfe away on the ſuddaine, but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himſelfe in this ſhamefull manner; Or whether *Monſieur de Pleſsis* (of whoſe valour no man doubted) had not farre juſter cauſe to reſt ſatisfied, ſince he might at his pleaſure haue beaten or wounded his enemie, but forgaue him; let any wiſe man iudge. To this if it be ſaid, That the Baron was conſtrained to make his ſubmiſſion; that his repentance was enforced and not voluntarie; and therefore no diſgrace vnto him: I anſwere, that one may ſay as well, that it is no diſgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, becauſe his repentance alſo is conſtrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no diſgrace in reſpect of the force, but in reſpect of the fact: which (but for our ſinnes to God) makes all repentance ſhamefull; becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for ſomewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honeſt man. Nay voluntarie repentance it ſelfe, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakeneſſe. Certainely, as wiſe men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie iniuries or ſuddaine iniuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, then reuenge them: ſo men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly ſuſpect their owne valour; and rather deſire, that thereby the world ſhould beleeue them to be of great daring, than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelues. For he that knowes himſelfe indeede to be a valiant man, ſcornes to hunt after the opinion.

Now the ſame power which the Conſtable and Marſhalls of *France* haue, hath alſo a Marſhall of *England*, or his Deputies; by whoſe iudgement, in all diſputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preſerued; wee may therefore as well ſubmit our ſelues to the Iudge of honour in all diſputes of honour, as wee doe ſubmit our ſelues in all controuerſies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And; out of doubt, the inſtitution of this Court of Cheualrie in *England*, in *France*, and elſewhere; was no leſſe charitable than politike. For the bloud of man, violently ſpilt, doth not bring forth *honie-bees*, as that of Bulls doth, which ſting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monſtrous Beaſt, *Reuenge*, which hath ſtung to death, and eaten vp of ſeuerall Nations, ſo many nøble perſonages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God vpon ſupreme Gouernours, than the permiſſion.

His Majeſtie therefore (which *Henrie* the fourth of *France* alſo endeuoured) hath done a moſt Kingly and Chriſtian-like deede in *Scotland*, which the moſt renowned of all his Predeceſſours could neuer doe: in beating downe, and extinguiſhing, that hereditarie proſecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conqueſt, which ſhall giue him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for euer-more. And we haue cauſe to hope, that his royall care ſhall be no leſſe happy in preuenting the like miſchiefe, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outragious vanitie of Duelliſts.

Vnto this that I haue ſpoken of lying, and of man-ſlaughter, it muſt bee added, That each of theſe are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or leſſe, in their ſeuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of neceſſitie vpon breach of promiſe, or complementall lies; and

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such pernicious lies, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false witnesses: the former sort, being excusable by weakenesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per insidias*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull* murderer bee drawne by force, from the protection of his Altar. Exod 21. Neither is euery guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *ouert* violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poisoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betweene comming *presumptuously* vpon a man, *to slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood, priuily, for the innocent, without a cause*, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as *the net is spred before the eyes of the birds*. Exod.21.v.14. Pro.1.v.11. *Francis* the first, *Queene Marie* of *England*, and the Kings Majestie now raigning, haue giuen notable testimonie of their justice, vpon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull* murder. Of the first kinde, King *Francis* vpon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (saith the *French* Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances*; *who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by diuers great alliances*, of which the Cardinall of *Bellay* (in especiall fauor with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the hands of the Hang-man. *Queene Marie*, vpon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. *His Maiestie*, vpon a Baron of *Scotland*; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans; euery Age hath had too many examples. Of guilefull killing by the *pen* (that I may not speake of any *English* Iudge) the Authour of the *French Recherches* giues vs two notable instances: the one of *des Essars*, who (saith *Pasquire*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estrangle*; *Who caused Montaigu great Master of France to die, to content his minde* (to wit, the Duke of *Burgoyne*) *whom at that time Essars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled.* Lib.4.cap.12. & cap.11. The other was of the Great *Francis* the first, vpon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall *Chabot*, a man most nobly descended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which hee had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which hee had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marseilles* against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admiralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as, albeit nothing could be proued against the Admirall, worthy of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignement, and condemnation? *Belle lecon certes* (saith *Pasquire*) *a tout Iudge pour demourer touiours en soy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'vne imaginarie faueur, qui pour fin de ieu le submerge*; *A faire lesson to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselues, and not to suffer their consciences to float vpon the waues of imaginarie fauour, which in the end ouerwhelmes them.* And as for the Admirall: though it might haue beene

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anſwered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vndeſerued, That hee was tried, according to his owne deſire, by the Lawes of his Countrie, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yet the Kings juſtice, ſurmounting all other his paſſions, gaue backe vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Eſtate.

†. III.

The laſt Acts of SCIPIO *in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is choſen Conſul.*

THe laſt buſines that troubled *Scipio* in *Spaine*, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſicke, in ſuch ſort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout *Spaine*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, pettie Kings, that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* awhile before, to take armes againſt the *Romans*. They were vainely perſwaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driuen out, they themſelues ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spaine*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſſe of their hopes; they thought it beſt, to take the preſent aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they raſhly fell vpon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans*; and waſted their Countrie. Part of the *Roman* Armie lying at *Sucro*, in ſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebells, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reaped ſuch profit of their *Roman* conqueſts, as might ſatisfie their deſires; or as they thought eaſie to bee gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought, that the time ſerued very well, to enrich themſelues with ſpoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greateſt of all, driuing away their Colonells, that ſhould haue bridled their furie; they choſe out of their owne number two baſe fellowes, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmber*, to be their Commanders. Theſe tooke vpon them all the Enſignes of Proconſuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was choſen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whileſt they were deuiſing, what exploits they might do, for the enriching of themſelues, in a time of ſuch combuſtion, as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that *Scipio* was both aliue, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonells, ſent vnto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to bee glad that they had no further ouer-ſhot themſelues; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receiue their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had reſolued to doe exemplarie juſtice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deſerued. Therefore hee cauſed *Syllanus* to make readie the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition againe *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; He cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius* with ſome thirtie other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their lodgings; He called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpoſe; hee bitterly inueighed againſt them all, as Traitors. This done; *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other priſoners, were haled to the ſtake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the *Roman* cuſtome toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their oath of obedience anew; and receiued euery man his pay when he was ſworne.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithſtanding that they had certaine word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could haue beene contented to be quiet: but by the ſeueritie vſed to the *Roman* Souldiers; they ſtood in feare, as being

being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them: and sending *Lælius* with all his horse to fetch a compasse about the Hills, and charge them in reare; he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this no hope remaining, to preserue themselues and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselues lesse free Princes, then they formerly had beene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masanissa*; who secretly promised to doe him all seruice, if the People of *Rome* would send him to make Warre in *Africk*. Vnto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spaine* alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into *Italie*; and there wage an Armie of *Gaules*, and *Ligurians*, to joyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was monie sent vnto him from *Carthage*; and he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of *Gades*; without sparing either priuate men, the common treasurie, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, hee landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to haue taken it by surprise. But hee failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himselfe awhile at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoile that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not suffer him to enter againe into their Citie. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, hee allured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spaine* farewell for euer.

The Isle and Citie of *Gades*, was yeelded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Prouince, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succeede him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to *Rome* he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet beene granted vnto no Proconsul; excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*; might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cæsar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were staied by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the Warre transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the diuision of Prouinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of emploiment so farre off.

§. XVIII.

§. XVIII.

SCIPIO *obtaines leaue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of* MASANISSA *who ioyned with* SCIPIO. *The victories againſt* ASDRVBAL *and* SYPHAX.

PVB. CORNELIVS SCIPIO, and P. LICINIVS CRASSVS, entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould bee allowed, to beſtow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spaine* into the treaſurie; vpon the ſetting forth of ſolemne plaies, that he had vowed to make, whileſt he was buſied in his *Spaniſh* warres. This helped well to reuiue the memorie of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* embaſſages auaile much in the Senate, eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deſeruedly; ſaying, That they were the moſt happie of all their Countrimen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeene him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch joyfull newes. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadours were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though coſtly it were both to them, and to the *Romanes*, had well deſerued. Neuertheleſſe, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince: there wanted not many, euen of the principall men, that vehemently gainſaid him. Of theſe was *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the chiefe: who ſeemes to haue been troubled with that diſeaſe; which too often cauſeth men renowned for long approued vertue, to looke aſquint vpon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kinde. Hee alleaged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treaſurie was vnable to ſuſtaine the charges of a warre in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard ſo great forces, where they could not at pleaſure bee recalled vnto the defence of *Rome* it ſelfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italie* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italie* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the *Spaniſh* warres, as of leſſe moment than the intended voiage againſt *Carthage*; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſſe into *Italie*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſſe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to bee good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the vtter endangering of *Rome*, whilſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that yere a Prouince: which the Conſul neuertheleſſe propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other ſide, inſiſted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offenſiue, than a defenſiue warre: eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*; who being ill prouided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelues by helpe of money, with leuies made abroad. As for the care of *Italie*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would bee as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his owne home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe; he propoſed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: foraſmuch as it was noyſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who reſented in this honourable man a little ſpice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* referred himſelfe wholly vnto the Senates

good will and pleasure; whereby hee obtained thus much, That the Isle of *Sicil* might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passe ouer into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voiage, made the *Roman* Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon *Africke*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, comming on the suddaine from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon *Italie*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great Armie of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with ciuill warres. Therefore he was driuen to make choice of his partie; and to helpe those whom hee thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly haue spared; yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vnsteadie *Gaules* readie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay readie to be employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of *Lombardie* and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either comming to his aide from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) loaden with the bootie that he had taken; fell into the hands of the *Roman* Pretor, that gouerned in *Sardinia*. This did much disable him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of money, heartning him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voiage of *Scipio* into *Africke*, disturbed all; and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians haue beene pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, where hee raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in *Punike*, and *Greeke* letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesnesse; in those that are vpon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infesting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Campe, is said to haue beene the occasion of this yeeres idlenesse, which fell not out much amisse for the Citie of *Rome*, that was maruailously empouerished by this warre; and had alreadie tryed the vtmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeeres since confiscated) should bee sold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receiue no losse; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was hee allowed to make presse of Souldiers for his *African* voiage; neither did hee ouer-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselues; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vsually found in Councells of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carrie all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne judgements, to the wisedome that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, hee that reposeth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde himselfe deceiued: the counsaile of those many being wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the businesse, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fuluius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne olde in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend

apprehend) embraced the needfull reſolution of *Scipio:* in ſuch ſort, that beſides his *Roman* forces, he had from diuers parts of *Italie* about ſeuen thouſand Voluntaries. Hee had alſo prouiſion from the ſeuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for ſailes, Axes, Beede-hookes, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Firre for building of ſhips, many thouſands of Targets, Helmets, and Speares of all kindes: euery place furniſhing him with that commoditie, which it beſt could affoord. Vnto this willingneſſe of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correſpondent. In the compaſſe of fiue and fortie daies, hee had both feld his Timber, built, and lanched twentie *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith hee tranſported his Armie into *Sicil.* In *Sicil* he found, beſides other forces, two Legions, that had ſerued at *Canne:* which were olde Souldiers, and (as hee himſelfe well knew) not guiltie of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauie cenſure. They had ſerued vnder *Marcellus* and *Læuinus*, at the taking of many Cities, and ſtrong peeces: in which regard, they were like to be of good vſe to him in *Africk*, where would bee ſtore of ſuch emploiment. For increaſing the number of his horſe, hee preſſed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthie young men, and ſuch as loued well their eaſe. Theſe he afterwards diſcharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they ſhould deliuer their Horſe and Armes, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpoſe. Whileſt hee was prouiding, to haue things in a readineſſe for *Africk*, the baniſhed *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* ſide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadells of *Locri* (for there were two in the Towne) being taken priſoners by the *Romans*, promiſed to betray the place, if they might be ranſomed, and rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertiſed of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily ſucceeded; and that Citadell was ſurpriſed. The other Citadell was ſtrongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, which ſent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like ſort, fearing leſt their owne paucitie ſhould make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craued helpe of the Conſul *Scipio*. The Townesmen were doubtfully affected: but the beſt, and moſt of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* cauſed thence to depart; and cauſed likewiſe the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in cuſtodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* vnto the *Roman* Senate; not onely againſt thoſe of the Garriſon: but much more againſt *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worſe than all the reſt. Beſides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of *Proſerpina*, that had a great fame of ſanctitie, was ſpoiled by theſe barbarous Theeues. The *Locrians* therefore aduiſed the Senate to make preſent amends to the Goddeſſe for this ſacrilege: ſaying, that the like had neuer been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good eare to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redreſſed the injuries done vnto them, ſent for *Pleminius*, with other principall the offenders, whom they caſt into priſon, & vſed according to their deſerts: as alſo they reſtored vnto *Proſerpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon *Scipio*, that had placed ſuch a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully harkened to the complaints made againſt him, but ſuffered him to runne on in theſe his wicked courſes. By the ſharp inuectiue that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to ſpeak what they pleaſed, as well againſt the demeanor of *Scipio*, as againſt the diſſoluteneſſe of his Armie; which lay, as they ſaid, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindfull of any ſeruice toward, nor fit for it if neede ſhould require. Finally, things were ſo farre vrged, that ten Legates were ſent ouer into *Sicil*, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Ædiles*; who ſhould examine theſe matters; and either cauſe the Generall to returne into *Italie*, or con-

tinue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastned him on his journie, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had alreadie emploied *Lalius* in *Africk*; rather to make discouerie, than to worke any other great effect of warre. He tooke a great bootie: and struck no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*; who saw their affaires to bee vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journie was, That speaking with *Masanissa*, he will informed himselfe of the state of *Affrick*; and knew what was to bee expected of those two Kings, that had promised to joyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa* his reuolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made vnder-hand with the *Romans*: *Liuie* doth professe, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferiour to *Liuie*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary trueth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe; that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Liuie*, if it had beene true: vnlesse we should beleeue, that he wilfully forbare to rehearse a Tragedie; the sorrow whereof would cause men to thinke amisse of *Scipio*. How soeuer it was, thus * *Appian* tells it: and many circumstances of things done confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loued. *Masanissa*, being brought vp at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to be his sonne-in-law. When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into *Spaine*, and there did great seruice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the mariage of *Asdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her vpon *Syphax*; without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulse, had made him become their enemie. Hereof *Masanissa* was aduertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it: which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleeue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seemes, that howsoeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* vnto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtesie proceeded from feare, He thought it wisdome to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the *Romans*; vntill ASDRVBAL *had sent for his daughter* from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Liuie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appeares by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Liuie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

Liu. l. 28.

* *Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic.*

Liu. lib. 29.

Masanissa was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crown descended by order of the Country, vnto *Desalces* the brother, not vnto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Vncle of *Masanissa* shortly died: and his elder sonne, who tooke possession of the Kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himselfe Protector ouer the yonger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne hee feared; by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serue: He, and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason should haue beene glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable seruice, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not beene guiltie of the injurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cousin raigned, and hee seemed vnlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Corriual,

warred

warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheleſſe *Maſaniſſa* ſtill retayned the hearts of his people: and thereby remained ſtrong enough, to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in diſtreſſe, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syrtis*, betweene the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the comming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrie, euen as farre as to *Hippo*; and when *Lælius* arriued thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haſten on *Scipio* to the inuaſion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whoſe great aide and ſuccour was repoſed more hope of good ſucceſſe, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Maſaniſſa*; ſent an Embaſſage into *Sicil* about the ſame time, which was little pleaſing vnto *Scipio*. He excuſed himſelfe of his promiſe lately made: and ſignified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That hee could not chooſe but fight for the defence of *Africke*, wherein he was borne and raigned; and for defence of his beloued wiues Countrie, if it were inuaded. Neuertheleſſe hee promiſed to remaine a Neuter; ſo long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held warre abroad, farre enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This meſſage haſtened *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perſwaſion could haue done. For the promiſed aſſiſtance of *Syphax* had not a little aduanced his enterpriſe; in procuring both the aſſent of the Senate, and the forwardneſſe of many Aduenturers. Leſt therefore the fayling of this hope, ſhould worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the beſt way to preuent all diſcourſe, and ſet the warre vndertaken immediatly on foot. The Embaſſadours he diſmiſſed in all haſte, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to conſider, that what hee had promiſed hee had alſo ſworne; and therefore ſhould doe well to make it good. Hauing ſent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make ready for the voyage; which he intended no longer to deferre. For, ſaid he, *Maſaniſſa* hath beene with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly ſent to me; greatly wondring vpon what I ſhould thus ſtay; and ſaying, that they will prouide for themſelues, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale preuented all further inquiſition, that might elſe haue beene made concerning the meſſage of theſe Embaſſadours; whoſe followers had beene ſeene walking vp and downe *Syracuſe*. And leſt any thing ſhould afterwards breake out, that might hinder the buſineſſe, *Scipio* immediatly ſent about his fleet vnto *Lilybæum*: and requeſting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Pretor in *Sicil*, to meete him there; haſted thither with his Armie. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Pretor, about the diuiſion of the Legions betweene them; which to leaue behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carrie with him into *Africk*. What numbers hee tranſported, it is not certaine: ſome Hiſtorians reckoning only ten thouſand foot, and two and twentie hundred horſe; others increaſing them to fiue and thirtie thouſand, horſe and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their courſe, I holde it needleſſe to ſet them downe: ſince they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither he, when he tooke his voyage into *Spaine*, nor others vpon like occaſions, haue omitted; they being alſo word for word ſet downe by an Hiſtorian, who borrowed them from *Liuie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Armie landed in *Africk*, neare vnto a Fore-land then called *the faire Promontorie*: which how farre it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compaſſe, I cannot preciſely affirme; becauſe it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the Noth-eaſt of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by Weſt. The comming of *Maſaniſſa* vnto *Scipio* at his firſt arriuall, helpes to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*: who thinkes the *faire Promontorie* to haue beene the ſame, that was alſo called *Mercuries Cape*, ſince with little difficultie *Maſaniſſa* might come

thither from the leſſer *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But foraſmuch as without any memorable impediment, ſoone after his arriuall, *Scipio* encamped before *Vtica*, that ſtood Weſtward from *Carthage* beyond the Riuer *Bagradas*: it may rather ſeeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Vtica* was not long. This is alſo ſtrongly proued; for that out of *Carthage* were ſent, the next day, fiue hundred horſe to trouble him in his diſembarking. Neither was it ſo hard for *Maſaniſſa*, that roued about the Countrie with a troupe of horſe, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee vſually reſorted, like as before he had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off: as it would haue beene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer-come the trouble of a long journie, and fetch a great compaſſe to *Vtica*, by Land; when he might haue diſembarqued nearer vnto it. Neuertheleſſe it may paſſe as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came firſt of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*; ſince he gaue charge to the Maſters of his ſhips, at the ſetting forth from *Lilybæum*, to ſhape their courſe for that coaſt. The Countrie thereabout was very rich, and fit for ſuſtenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make reſiſtance. Thus much perhaps *Maſaniſſa* had ſignified vnto *Lælius*, when he ſpake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howſoeuer they made braue promiſes, would not come ſtrong enough to fight *at head*. But when hee ſaw their fleet and Armie to be ſuch, as not only ſerued to inuade the Lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conqueſt of the Citie, and whole Eſtate: then might hee better aduiſe them to ſet ſaile for *Vtica*, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuied, or to be leuied in haſte. *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, the ſame that had lately beene chaſed out of *Spaine* by *Scipio*, was their beſt man of warre. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellowes, of whoſe faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him paſſeable. He was at that preſent with the King his ſonne-in-law, working him (no doubt) againſt the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Inuaſion: entreating the one of them to giue aſſiſtance; and commanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where he was choſen Generall. But ere theſe could be readie, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horſe, that were ſent out of the Citie to diſturbe his landing; and ſlaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had alſo taken and ſacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, beſides other bootie, hee tooke eight thouſand priſoners; all which he conueighed aboord his Hulks or ſhips of burden, and ſent them backe loaden into *Sicil*. Hee tooke likewiſe a Towne called *Salera*; which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thouſand *Numidian* horſe: whoſe ſeruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places; made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskilfulneſſe of their Leader, that had thus houſed them. Wherefore he ſent *Maſaniſſa* before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a Brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* ſo farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victorie was eaſily gotten; and *Hanno* either taken, or ſlaine. With thoſe that fled, the *Romans* entred *pell-mell* into the Towne; which preſently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vtica*, a Citie of great importance, * of which mention hath beene formerly made; and ſate downe before it. Fortie dayes hee ſpent about it: aſſailing it both by Land and Sea, and vſing all his engines of batterie whereof he had plentie; yet was in no likelihood of preuailing. And now the Summer was quite ſpent: ſo that it was time for him to chooſe a place, and fortifie his Winter-campe; which muſt bee well ſtored againſt the yeere following. Whileſt thus neceſſitie vrged him to leaue *Vtica*: and ſhame of taking the repulſe in his firſt great enterpriſe, rather than any hope of better ſucceſſe, cauſed him to ſtay there: *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour

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*Lib.5.cap.2. §.3.

of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuie of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Armie to draw neere vnto the *Romans*, before the comming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto *Carthage* fiftie thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse: which joyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*; who thereby tooke occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the bankes of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottome of the Creeke he mored his ships; and there hee quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the fleet. The whole Campe he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the yeere, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattaile and other bootie *Masanissa* had brought in great store; by driuing the Countrie, before the comming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne also he had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serue turne; for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as hee could best spare; especially with Captiues to be sold for slaues. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neere vnto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselues, as did the *Romans*; either for that they wanted the seuere institution, which the *Romans* vsed in discipline of Warre; or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue foorth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neere; *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might bee wonne by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen proofe of before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peraduenture no lesse wearie with satietie of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: Hee might bee mooued with a little entreatie to with-draw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honored in the Citie of *Carthage*, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had beene inuited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe a while: his wife Queene *Sophonisba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoeuer it were, *Syphax* did only make an ouerture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should bee recalled out of *Italie* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africk*; and so make an end of the Warre, wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue eare: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadours: He beganne to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the King, That the Enemies had their Campes without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cabbins, and couered with boughes: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed couerings of Mats and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelesly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement he bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire; and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, Hee foresaw that it would be a worke of great difficultie for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrie wherein hee lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought

vpon

vpon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end he sent many Embassadours, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpose to discouer all that might concerne the intended surprise. With these Embassadous he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandring (as it were) idlely vp and downe the Campe, might obserue the waies and entrances, with whatsoeuer else was needfull. When hee had learned as much as hee desired: vpon the sudden hee sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his designe in execution. The Truce being thus cut off: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very pensiue; as hauing lately perswaded themselues, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw *Scipio* out of his campe; and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe; they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusall of peace, as did *M. Atilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come foorth of his Trenches: what else remained than to besiege him? which they themselues were well able to doe by Land; and the *Carthaginian* fleet should doe by Sea, that was making readie for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselues; recompencing in conceipt the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that, consulting about the furure, they prouided not against present danger; but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, Hee was not idle: but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe somewhat against *Vtica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made readie; and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon hee lay against *Vtica* before. This he did, partly to keepe secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemie might happen to haue notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Vtica* from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leaue behinde him in his campe. He caused his men that night to suppe well and betimes; that they might be readie for the journie. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, vnto the defence of his Campe; all the rest of his Armie he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seuen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vndertake himselfe with the one halfe of his armie; the other halfe he committed vnto *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, whom hee sent before him to set vpon the Campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualtie vpon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the Campe of *Asdrubal*, it would bee suspected as the doing of enemies; and giue *Syphax* warning to looke vnto himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and softly; that *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, who had a longer journie, and were to fetch a compasse about for feare of being discouered, might haue time to get before him, and doe their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* beganne to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himselfe, imputed vnto casualtie; as thinking themselues safe enough from Enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking; ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But such was the tumult, that they neither could rightly vnderstand in what case they were; nor giue remedie to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped

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the fire, fell vpon the Enemies sword, which was readie to receiue them. Especially *Masanissa*, that best knew the Countrie, did great execution vpon them; hauing laid all the wayes, by which he foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiuing this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: so that some ranne out to helpe the poore *Numidians*; carrying only what would serue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart: where, fearelesse of any danger towards themselues, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would haue it. Hee therefore lost no time: but setting vpon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their campe; which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had beene taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would haue judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then haue been said, that with lesse than one halfe of thirtie thousand men, hee might at least haue giuen some bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling these fires, had he not beene only carefull how to saue his owne fearefull head. Neuertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to haue beene true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would haue striuen to shew valour, when the campe was once on fire: He should not thereby haue done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not neede to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their seuerall waies of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saued themselues in the darke: but they were not many; as after shall appeare. Surely it must needes haue beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away; and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Liuie*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*; may seeme to haue followed some lesse worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting vp the summe. For hee reckons onely two thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse, to haue escaped; fortie thousand to haue perished by sword or fire; and aboue sixe thousand to haue beene taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes. *Excerpt. è Pol. lib. 14.*

Asdrubal, putting himselfe into the next Towne that was very strongly fortified; thought there to finde the *Romans* worke, vntill the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repaire their Armie. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselues. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw that the arriuall of *Scipio* would soone giue an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; He shrunke away betimes, and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the Towne, which hee left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first comming: and thereby preserued it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adjoyning would needes bee valiant, and make countenance of warre: but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This done, hee returned to the siege of *Vtica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable

lamentable ouerthrow. Neceſſitie enforced them to make haſtie prouiſion for the future: but how to doe it, few of them ſaw any meanes. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*; but the moſt, and they which finally preuailed, were of opinion, That notwithſtanding the loſſe of this Armie, they might well defend themſelues againſt the *Romans*, by rayſing new forces: eſpecially, if *Syphax* would not leaue them. It was therefore concluded. That they ſhould bend all their care this way, leuying in all haſte another Armie; and ſending Embaſſadours to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not paſſing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the ſame their infortunate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, was imployed to make new leuies of men: and Queene *Sophonisba* went forth with Embaſſadors to her huſband *Syphax*; who hauing gathered together as many as he could of his ſubjects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. *Sophonisba* laboured ſo with her huſband, that at length ſhe wonne him to her owne deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time, that foure thouſand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought ouer to ſerue in *Africk*. Of theſe were made ſuch braue reports; as if their courage, and the armes which they vſed, were not to be reſiſted. Euen the multitude within *Carthage* beleeued theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one Age, the whole Countrie of *Spaine* had beene twice conquered; firſt, by the *Carthaginians* themſelues, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* theſe tales preuailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours helped with a lie; ſaying, that there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible *Spaniards*. Vpon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirtie daies they made vp an Armie, conſiſting well-neare of thirtie thouſand men; reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians*, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called *the great fields*, about fiue daies journie from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to viſit them: leauing behinde him his impediments, with ſome part of his Armie; to make a ſhew of continuing the ſiege. Two or three daies after the meeting of both Armies, paſſed away in skirmiſh; without any great thing done. It had now beene time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman*, *Fabius*, and ſeeke to wearie out the Enemie by delaies. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worſe Commander, or elſe it was not in his power to giue ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: whercin the *Romans* were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner; hauing their *Italian* horſe in the right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrarie ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the Battaile. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrained followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtaine the firſt charge of the *Italians*, or of *Maſaniſſa*. Onely the *Spaniards* fought a long time, euen till they were all in a manner ſlaine: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercie, ſince they were thus come ouer to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerued of them; than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obſtinacy was beneficiall vnto thoſe that fled; for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal*, and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home, to his owne Kingdome: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediatly followed him.

Scipio, hauing thus gotten the maſterie of the field, tooke counſaile about the proſecution of the Warre. It was reſolued vpon as the beſt courſe, That hee himſelfe, with part of the Armie, ſhould attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with ſome of the *Roman* Legions, ſhould follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take reſt within his owne Kingdome, where eaſily elſe hee might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice it ſeemes that *Maſaniſſa* gaue: who knew beſt the qualitie of the *Numidians*;

and

and what good might bee done among them, by the reputation of a victorie. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his owne Kingdom, vſurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no leſſe concerned the *Romans* at the preſent, than it did himſelfe. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behinde, carrying the warre from Towne to Towne. Many places yeelded for feare: many were taken by force: and all the ſubjects of *Carthage* wauered in their fidelitie; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe vnreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had laid vpon them for maintenance of the warre in *Spaine* and *Italie*. What to doe in this caſe the *Carthaginians* could hardly reſolue. Fortune was their Enemie: they had loſt their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their owne ſubjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who neuertheleſſe of their owne free will were likely to giue little helpe. Very much it grieued them, to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*: yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Armie; it was decreed, that Embaſſadours ſhould bee forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to ſet out a fleet againſt that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Vtica*, weakely manned, and eaſie to be taken, whilſt *Scipio* himſelfe was buſied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it ſhould be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the Citie of *Carthage*: vpon the ſafetie whereof they ſaid that all depended; adding, that whileſt they were true, and at vnitie among themſelues, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſſe) would preſent them. Theſe counſailes were not rejected: but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning defence of the Citie, and for the attempt vpon the *Roman* fleet at *Vtica*. Neuertheleſſe it was conſidered, that hereby they ſhould onely protract the warre: without any way aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victorie; no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the ſhippes at *Vtica* might bee taken or deſtroyed. Wherfore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he ſhould immediately come ouer into *Africk*, as the laſt refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no ſooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themſelues to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome, to fortification of the Towne: ſome, to make readie the Fleet; and ſome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themſelues for *Italie*. In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a Citie in thoſe daies very ſtrong, and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of euery part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather ſome defencible piece adjoyning, he eaſily tooke; the Garriſon forſaking it, and running away as ſoone as he drew neere. But whileſt hee was about there to incampe, and fortifie himſelfe againſt the Citie, He might perceiue the *Carthaginian* fleet ſetting forth, and making towards *Vtica*: What this meant, he readily conceiued: and ſtood in great feare, leſt his owne ſhips, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heauily loden with engines of batterie, and wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt conuenient for aſſaulting the Towne) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a fleet appointed for that ſpeciall ſeruice. Wherefore he haſted away towards *Vtica*, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needfull caſe. It fell out well, that hee had ſent his carriages, and all the great bootie which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he ſhould haue come too late. Neither could he indeede haue beene there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had vſed ſuch diligence as was conuenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way: and at their comming to *Vtica*, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; preſenting themſelues in order of battaile, as if the *Romans* would haue put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: He thought it would bee ſufficient, if hee could preſerue his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their brauerie at Sea: it ſhould little auaile the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole Eſtate by Land. Wherfore he tooke his ſhips of burden, and faſtning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge ouer

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the Channell of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces hee left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessells, might runne out and back againe vpon any aduantage or neede: but these he couered with plancks; vsing the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarce was this worke finished; when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauen. The fight betweene them and the *Romans*, that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood vpon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnsteadie, could not doe. But the *Roman* Frigots and long Boats, aduenturing foorth from behinde the Bridge, were greatly ouer-borne by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them: nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grapling hookes, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw vpon the masts and yards which serued as Arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder; in such sort that one ship followed another, and all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to saue themselues as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselues any further in this laborious worke: but hauing haled away sixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to *Carthage*. Their wel-come was greater then their victorie: because among so many grieuous losses, onely this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about *Carthage*; *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, in their journie against *Syphax*, found as good successe as could be desired. The fame of the victories alreadie gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdome, without further contention: the *Masæsyli*, his subjects, joyfully receiuing him; and forsaking the Vsurper. But here they stayed not: neither indeede would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. Hee had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and, therefore being sollicited by *Asdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloued wife; the losse of the *Masæsyli* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession; be the title vnto some part neuer so vnjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the yong Kite; which thought that shee had vomited vp her owne guts, when it was onely the garbage of some other fowle, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleeued the Kingdome of the *Masæsyli* to be part of his entrailes: *Lælius* and *Masanissa* will shortly giue him somwhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossesse (if it might be) that King: whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had beene conuerted into strong enmitie; as also to set in his place another, who might doe them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, euen to this day, though there be many strong Townes, yet the fortune of a battell is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman* Centurion,

Centurion, long agoe ſent vnto him out of *Spaine* fron *Cn. Scipio.* But though hee could teach his men how to march in order; yet could hee not teach them to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered vp in haſte: and few of them had ſeene warre before. Encamping neare vnto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall Troupes of Horſe on both ſides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmiſh, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: ſo that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to diſhearten his men by taking any foile at their firſt meeting with the Enemie, came vp with all his Horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith ouercharged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were farre leſſe. But whileſt he was proſecuting his hope of victorie: ſome *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came againſt him through their owne Troupes of Horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their Battaile ſtanding now more firme, than a little before; *Syphax* was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his Troupes, grew confident vpon this aſſiſtancé: and charging afreſh the Enemie, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to giue backe. Herewithall the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the Numidian Horſe, that they beganne preſently to disband. Faine would *Syphax* haue ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnhappily, that he was caſt from his Horſe, which receiued a wound; and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſooke the place, and fled: and that their King, vpon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, That this victorie ſhould make an end of the Numidian warre, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta* the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; whither hee himſelfe deſired to bee ſent before with the Horſe, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Maſaniſſa* comming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings miſchance was there arriued, called out the chiefe of the Citie to parlee: wherein by many faire promiſes and threats, but eſpecially by ſhewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he preuailed ſo far, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one ſtroue to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reſt, Queene *Sophonisba* yeelded her ſelfe into his hands: and vehemently beſought him, that ſhee might not be deliuered vp vnto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beautie, ſo commended her ſuit, that *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promiſe, married her himſelfe that very day: thereby to preuent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwiſe of her, ſince ſhe was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainouſly; ſo that at firſt he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other priſoners, and haue ſent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-entreated by *Maſaniſſa*, he ſuffered the matter to reſt a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* diſcretion: to whom hee ſent away *Syphax* and other Captiues immediatly; following ſhortly after himſelfe with *Maſaniſſa*, when they had done what was needefull in the Kingdome.

At the comming of *Syphax* there was great ioy in the *Roman* Campe: the mightie Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together ſought his friendſhip: with ſuch other commemoration of his paſt and preſent fortune; miniſtring to euery one a large argument of diſcourſe. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not only to forſake the *Roman* friendſhip, but to make warre vpon them, vnprouoked. He briefely anſwered, That his wife had moued him ſo to doe: calling her a Furie, and a peſtilent creature: and ſaying, That *Maſaniſſa* was no wiſer than himſelfe; ſince hee had now taken the ſame woman to his wife, who would ſhortly draw him to the ſame courſes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and

ſtood in great doubt, leſt this perilous woman ſhould depriue him of *Maſaniſſa*, as ſhee had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* came vnto him: both of whom together hee louingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable ſeruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Maſaniſſa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderſtand, that the *Romans* had title to her head; and that ſhe was a miſchieuous enemie of theirs. Wherefore hee entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memorie of his great ſeruices alreadie done; (for which he ſhould be highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reaſon. *Maſaniſſa* bluſht, and wept: and finally promiſed to be gouerned by *Scipio*; whom hee neuertheleſſe entreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that ſhe ſhould not be deliuered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after ſome time ſpent in agonie, he called vnto him a ſeruant of his that had the cuſtodie of his poyſon (which Princes then vſed to haue in readines, againſt all miſchances that might make them vnwilling to liue:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, ſent it vnto her with this meſſage; That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but ſince they who had power to hinder him of his deſire, would not yeeld thereto, he ſent her a cup, that ſhould preſerue her from falling aliue into the handes of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and eſtate, and accordingly to take order for her ſelfe.

At the receit of this Meſſage and Preſent, ſhee onely ſaid, That if her Huſband had no better token to ſend vnto his new wife, ſhe muſt accept of this; adding, That ſheemight haue died more honourably, if ſhee had not wedded ſo lately before her Funerall. And herewithall ſhee boldly dranke off the poiſon. Thus *Liuie* reports. But *Appian* varies from this: and ſets it downe agreeably to that which hath beene ſpoken before, concerning the præcontract betweene *Maſaniſſa* and *Sophonisba*. Hee ſaith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embaſſadors from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* vpon their way thither, yeelding vp their Citie, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne priuate, ſent meſſengers to excuſe her marriage with *Syphax*, as made againſt her will, by compulſion of thoſe in whoſe power ſhe was. *Maſaniſſa* readily admitted this excuſe; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had receiued information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perſwaſion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*: he fell out about her with *Maſaniſſa* at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the bootie belonging to the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* ſaid, ſhe was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeares before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true; yet he ſaid it was no reaſon, that *Maſaniſſa* ſhould keepe her in poſſeſsion, as long as it was diſputable, vnto whom ſhe might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him firſt of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her; wherein he ſhould haue no wrong. Herewithall hee ſent to fetch her away: and *Maſaniſſa* accompanied the meſſengers, as it were to deliuer her; but making her acquainted with the neceſſitie, gaue vnto her a cup of poiſon, wherewith ſhee ended her life, before they came that ſhould haue apprehended her. So hee ſhewed vnto the *Romans* her dead bodie; which he royally enterred. The ſudden violence of *Maſaniſſa* his loue, and the readie conſent of *Sophonisba* to marrie with him: adde not ſo much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other euident cauſe (which [a] *Liuie* notes) of the ſudden falling out betweene him and the *Carthaginians*; vnder whom he had bin trained vp, & done them great ſeruice. Howſoeuer it were: *Scipio*, hearing of this tragicall accident, ſent for *Maſaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as he could; leſt his melancholie ſhould lead him to ſome inconuenience. Hauing therefore gently rebuked him for his raſhneſſe, he brought him foorth in preſence of the Armie: where extolling his noble acts, and ſhewing how highly he had deſerued of the Citie of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King; and gaue vnto

a *Lib.28.*

to him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the readie way to diuert his thoughts from the ſadde remembrance of that which was paſt, vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to ſmile vpon him.

This was the firſt time that the *Romans* tooke vpon them to create or proclaime a King. Which honour though *Maſaniſſa* well deſerued: yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither ſhould he haue beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recouered poſſeſſion of his Countrie, together with the greateſt part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It ſeemes not vnlikelie, that had he remained a Neuter in theſe warres, and ſuſtained himſelfe with his Troupe of Horſe, in ſuch ſort as hee did before the comming of the *Romans*; hee might neuertheleſſe haue recouered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne ſubiects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice beene vanquiſhed. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than hee deſerued: neither were the *Romans* then in caſe, to make a conqueſt of *Numidia* for themſelues; neither could they haue wiſhed a fitter opportunitie, than of ſuch a man, vpon whom to beſtow it that was their aſſured friend, and paſſable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Maſeſyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the ſame Nation. Yet this liberalitie of the *Romans*, was noyſed abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themſelues, in a politicke ſort of grauitie, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their ſaluting him by the name of *King*, had beene a matter of great conſequence. Hee thriued indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all ſides; but moſt of all vpon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little diſpleaſed. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the ſonne of *Syphax* (of whom wee ſhall ſhortly ſpeake more) which held ſome piece of his Fathers Kingdome, deſiring friendſhip of the *Romans*, and promiſing by all meanes to deſerue their loue, requeſted therewithall, that they would call him *King*. But though it were ſo, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of ſuit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *puntilious* herein; and anſwered very grauely, That it was not their cuſtome to giue the honour of that appellation, ſaue onely vnto ſuch Kings, as had greatly deſerued of their Citie. Thus they made it a matter of State: and in proceſſe of time grew ſo proud of this their imaginarie prærogatiue, that they imputed as a ſingular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the ſalutation by b *that name*; though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or profit thence redounding.

Liu. l. 31.

b *Cæſar. com. lib.* 1.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians deſire Truce: and breake it.

THe *Carthaginians* were extremely diſmaied, when they heard of the great calamitie, that was befalne their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderſtood that *Maſaniſſa*, their mortall enemie, had got poſſeſſion of his Kingdome. To increaſe their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their Citie: where hee made an ende of that Fortification, which hee had begunne at his laſt being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withſtand him: but their hearts ſo failed them, that they ſent forth vnto them thirtie Embaſſadors, Princes of the Citie, which were their Priuie Councell, to make ſuit for peace. Theſe being admitted into the preſence of *Scipio*, did not only proſtrate themſelues on the ground; but kiſſed the c feet of him, and of thoſe that ſate in Councell with him.

c *Excerpt. è Polyb. lib.* 15. *Liu. lib.* 30.

Anſwerable to this baſe adoration was their ſpeech that followed. They confeſſed

feſſed themſelues to haue vniuſtly broken the Peace betweene them and *Rome*; and to haue deſerued whatſoeuer puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe the *Romans* to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly beſought *Scipio* and the reſt, that in common regard of thoſe misfortunes, whereto all men are ſubiect, they would ſhew mercie vnto the Citie of *Carthage*, and let it remaine, as a Monument of their clemencie; which, by the follie of her Citizens, had now twice deſerued to be ouerthrowne. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that theſe Embaſſadors were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno* and the choice of his companie; who had now their long deſired worke in hand, of ſuing vnto the *Romans* for peace. Whatſoeuer they were, it muſt needes be that they were moſt inſolent men ouer thoſe that were ſubiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made ſuch adoration vnto the *Romans*, in their owne neceſſitie; vnleſſe they themſelues had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnknowne to *Scipio*, or to his aſſiſtants, in what poore caſe the Citie of *Rome* then was; and how vnable to defraie the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the loſſe of ſo many Armies, in ſuch ill caſe, as the *Romans* themſelues had very lately beene. For they had monie enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre ſtronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* reſolution: and therefore diſtruſted the walls of *Carthage*; though *Vtica*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out againſt *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Armie, though ſo often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their ſubmiſſion, and told them, That though he came into *Africk*, to make a Conqueſt, and not a Peace: yet hauing the Conqueſt as it were in his hand, hee would not denie to grant them the Peace, which they deſired; for thereby ſhould all Nations vnderſtand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of juſtice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The conditions which he impoſed vpon them, were theſe: That they ſhould render vp vnto him all priſoners that they had taken, together with all Renegado's and fugitiue ſlaues: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of *Italie* and *Gaule*: That they ſhould not meddle in *Spaine*, nor yet in any Iland between *Italie* & *Africk*: That they ſhould deliuer vp all their ſhips of warre, ſaue twentie; and That they ſhould pay a great ſumme of monie, with certaine hundred thouſand buſhels of Wheat and Barlie. To conſider of theſe Articles, hee gaue them three dayes: and when they had approued them, he granted a Truce; that they might ſend Embaſſadours vnto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Maſaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the warre had beene alreadie at an end. *Syphax* was a little before ſent with *Lelius* vnto *Rome*: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with ioy; and gaue hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were ſet open, and an holy day appointed for thankſgiuing and ſupplication to their Gods. *Lelius* was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King *Maſaniſſa*: who gratulating the happie ſucceſſe of the *Romans* in their *African* Warre, and giuing thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Maſter, made requeſt for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his ſubiects and priſoners in *Rome*, that they might be beſtowed vpon him; who by rendring them to libertie, ſhould doe an act very plauſible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The *Roman* Senate were not behinde with *Maſaniſſa* in complement: but ſhewing themſelues to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould doe for him; they called him *King* againe; releaſed his *Numidians* that were captiues; and ſent him two purple Caſſocks, that had each of them one gold button; with ſuch other Preſents, as in time of their pouerty might ſerue to teſtifie their good will.

will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*; when the newes came, that Embaſſadours from *Carthage* were arriued to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadours were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: vntill *Lælius* being ſent for, came backe from *Oſtia*, to bee preſent when their demands were to bee heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that ſtood in the ſuburbs. The errand of theſe Embaſſadours, was Peace: but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was onely to winne time, and get reſpite from warre; vntill *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italie*, either to chace the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great names and Armies, vpon more eaſie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded betweene them and *Luctatius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remaine in force: neither had there ſince beene any warre at all betweene the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any leaue from *Carthage*, had of his owne head beſieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*: and after that aduentured in like ſort, without Commiſsion, to paſſe the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italie*. This being ſo: their Meſſage was none other, than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale; hearing theſe Embaſſadours make (as it were) a jeſt of a warre, that had beene ſo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many queſtions, concerning that Peace made by *Luctatius*, and other paſſages following betweene the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelues by their age: (for they were all yong men) and ſaid, That thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they ſought no other than to gaine time; vntill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were ſent home in companie of *Lælius*; without any concluſion at all of peace; and, in effect, without anſwere. This notwithſtanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiuing aduertiſment from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed betweene him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treatie of peace, approued the conditions by him propounded; and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vnto concluſion. This may with good reaſon bee beleeued: ſince it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt vpon the moſt vncertaine iſſue of one battaile betweene *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be auerſe to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite loſt. *Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15.*

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours came backe from *Rome*: a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ſhips of burden, and thirtie Gallies, being bound for *Africk* to victuaile the *Roman* Campe, was ouertaken by foule weather at Sea; and hardly eſcaping wracke, was diſperſed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuails in *Carthage*: which cauſed the people to crie out vpon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a bootie eſcape them; ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedie deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* vnderſtood (as it ſeemes) that all this diſcourſe of peace in hand, was no better than meere mockerie; and therefore cared not for obſeruation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewiſe in *Alexandria*, for all the Raſcalitie, together with women and boyes, to be medling in vprores: the clamours of the boyes being in ſuch tumults no leſſe violent, than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent out vnder *Aſdrubal*, to gather vp the diſperſed *Roman* ſhips of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the ſtation whereto their Campe adioyned) and *App. de bello Punico.* *Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15.*

bring them into *Carthage*: which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby releeued; but for that by this breach of truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadours vnto them: both to require satisfaction for the iniurie done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the *Carthaginians* to vnderstand, That Letters were come from *Rome* vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the peace; vpon those conditions which hee had propounded. But (said they) *we hold it strange, That yee, who so lately haue cast your selues to the ground before vs, and kissed our feet, after an vnusuall manner of humilitie, confessing your selues to haue perfidiously broken the league that was betweene vs, and thereby to haue deserued such punishment as is due vnto Rebels; should so soone forget what yee then vttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which yee acknowledged your selues worthie to be destroyed, hauing only recourse vnto our mercie. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in* HANNIBAL *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yee should consider, how long hee hath beene pent vp in a corner of Italie, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner besieged, and vnable to stirre: so that yee are like to finde his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it bee supposed, that he were now in Africke, and readie to giue vs battaile: yet should it well agree with your wisdome, to doubt what might befall; remembring that he is a man, and not inuincible. Now if it should happen that he were ouercome; what refuge haue yee left vnto your selues against hereafter? What gods will yee either sweare by, to bee beleeued, or call vpon in your miserie? What wordes, and lamentable gesture will yee hencefoorth vse, to moue compassion? Surely yee haue alreadie wasted all your forces of perswasion, and shall not againe deceiue vs, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at the present ye are capable.* It is no maruell though the *Carthaginians* were angrie, when they heard themselues vpbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadours. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselues: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that the *Roman* Embassadours were very much delighted, in the rehearsall of that point which was yeelded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrell. But the *Carthaginians* tooke this in so ill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the furie of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian* (I know not why) calls *Hanno the great*; or by the very reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort; though it were without answere to their Proposition. There were also two Gallies appointed for their safe Conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from *Carthage* towards *Vtica*. Hee, whether onely desirous to please the Multitude, of whose dispositon he was informed; or whether directed by publike order, to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the Riuer *Bagrada*. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good Voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had beene then in safety; since the *Roman* Campe was euen in sight. The Embassadours tooke this in ill part: not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselues too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell vpon them in such manner, as they might well discerne his purpose; which was to haue stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal*; they slipt away, and made him ouer-shoot himselfe. Yet he gaue them chace; and had well-neare surprised them. But they discouered some

Roman

Roman Companies on the ſhore ouer againſt them, and therefore aduentured to run their veſſell aground: whereby they ſaued their owne liues; though a great part of their companie were ſlaine, or hurt. This practiſe of the *Carthaginians* was inexcuſable: and for the ſame cauſe perhaps were the Citizens heartned in ſuch a diſhonourable attempt, by thoſe that were deſirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driuen to ſtudie nothing elſe, than how to get the victorie, as hauing none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the ſame feare, which had cauſed them to make ſuch earneſt ſuit for peace, would alſo haue cauſed them to be better aduiſed, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not beene giuen to vnderſtand, that *Hannibal* was alreadie landed in *Africk*, in whom they repoſed no ſmall confidence; but verily perſwaded themſelues, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themſelues contented with more eaſie conditions, than were thoſe that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what ſort HANNIBAL *ſpent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doings of* MAGO *in Italie.* HANNIBAL *and* MAGO *called out of Italie. How the Romans were diuerſly affected by* HANNIBALS *departure.*

EVer ſince the loſſe of that battaile at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Countrey of the *Brutians*; waiting for another ſupplie from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Conſuls that ſucceeded vnto *Claudius* and *Liuius*, by whom *Aſdrubal* was ouercome and ſlaine, were contented to bee quiet all their yeare. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthie of remembrance againſt *Hannibal*: being hindred by the peſtilence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Conſul who followed *Licinius*, and *Cn. Seruilius Capio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earneſtly bent to haue done ſomewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitleſſe. In ſome skirmiſhes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in ſome, the worſe: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by ſtealth; his care being more to preſerue his Armie, than to keepe thoſe places that were weake.

The *Romans* had at this time ſo many great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemie was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon *Africk*, wherin they were at no ſmal charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) ſhould bring the warre to a ſhort and happie concluſion. They ſtood neuertheleſſe in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who tooke exceeding paine among the *Ligurians* and *Gaules* to raiſe an Armie, wherewith to kindle anew the warre in *Italie*, that beganne to waxe colde. *Mago* ſollicited alſo the *Hetrurians*; and found them ſo readie to ſtirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Country ſtrong, it might haue proued no leſſe needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of *Africk*, than ſhortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make ſpeed vnto the defence of *Carthage*. Theſe dangers cauſed the *Romans* to employ one of their Conſuls or Proconſuls, with an Armie, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gaules*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: foraſmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which ſide *Mago* would breake out. Being thus buſied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*; when things were in ſome readines for his ſetting forwards, he met in the Countrie of the *Inſubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconſul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prætors. With theſe hee fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue ſhewed it ſelfe worthie of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtfull;

full; in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking vnto him all the *Roman* Horse, thought to haue shaken the Enemies to peeces. The Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout: and strained themselues hard; as if at that brunt the victorie should haue beene carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the seruice of those beasts being fitter for such vse, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to mannage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got aduantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more auaileable against those that were loose, than against the Troups that were close and thick. Then fel the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a showre of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to giue backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemie; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* employed some of his *Gaules*, whom hee had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these *Gaules* discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men beganne to shrinke, Hee put himselfe in the head of his Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length he receiued a grieuous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. He was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, prouided euery one for himselfe: So the *Romans* obtained victorie, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about fiue thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides diuers Colonells, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hote peece of seruice. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recouered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. Howeuer it were, this victorie would haue much imported for the assurance of *Italie*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer haue permitted these valiant sonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himselfe (by easie iournies, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of *Italie*, since *Carthage* it selfe was readie to bee lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarqued shortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* receiued the like command from *Carthage* to returne into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were readie to burst out, whilest the Embassadours were deliuering their errand. When their message was done; Hee told them, That *this was yet plaine dealing. For*, said He, *They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their best to hale mee out of Italie; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that should haue enabled mee to mannage the Warre here.* SCIPIO *therefore shall not neede to bragge, that hee hath drawne me home by the heeles: it is* HANNO, *that hath wrought this noble feat; and ouerwhelmed the House of the Barchines, for lacke of other meanes to doe it, with the ruine of Carthage.* He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that which after came to passe: wherein he embarqued, besides his owne men, as many of the *Italians*, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunke backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as hee could take

take he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuarie vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italie* no lesse passionate, than men are wont to bee, when they leaue their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that he had not led his Armie from *Cannæ*, hotte and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the wals of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit Hee quitted the possession of *Italie*; wherein he had liued almost halfe his time.

If it could haue beene foretold vnto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italie*: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holiday was appointed for thanksgiuing vnto their gods; and extraordinarie great sacrifices publikely made, for joy of such happie tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal*, at his comming into *Africk*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had beene troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Countrie, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the warre from their owne dores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Golde and Siluer, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spaine*: onely the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred backe vnto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had beene borrowed in time of more necessitie from priuate men. Hence also proceeded the seuere chastisement, laid vpon those twelue Colonies, that for want eyther of meanes, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had beene wont to set out for the warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the verie most of their abilitie. So confident were the *Romans* growne (though their wealth were not as yet suteable to the greatnesse of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the Battaile at *Metaurus*; and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more neerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof *Italie* had beene few dayes since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would bee found a true Propher. For bethinking themselues of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* no specialitie of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had beene wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe-scullions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such souldiors. Likewise *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was onely good at sauing himselfe by a swift retrait. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their child-hood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in *Roman* bloud, and wearing the spoiles not onely of good souldiors, but of braue Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke vsed the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battaile, with many that had slaine *Roman* Prætors, yea and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had beene first in getting ouer the Trenches of seuerall *Roman* Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of Townes; briefly,

that

that he should now bee opposed by an Armie, as good as had euer serued in warre, and following the dreadfull Name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

HANNIBAL *in Africk prepares to fight with* SCIPIO; *treates with him about peace in vaine; looseth a battaile at Nadagara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.*

HANNIBAL disembarqued his Armie at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill prouided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italie*. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemie; that hee might furnish himselfe with this and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battaile. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the *In-land* Countrie; gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horses of seruice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the *Romans* got the victorie, it should bee easie for *Masanissa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppresse both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument, and the fame of him that vsed it, preuailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought vnto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetullus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protectour ouer *Masanissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and aduerse to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought vnto *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to assaile the places that yeelded obedience to *Masanissa*. This *Vermina*, as we finde in *Liuie*, came with more than sixteene thousand men (for he lost more than so manie) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would haue made the victorie assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base, as to make humble suit vnto the *Romans* for Peace; whilest they had such a braue Champion aliue, to maintaine their cause by warre. But when they bethought themselues of their owne sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimitie to endure them, appeared greater than indeede they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad. And to this purpose, they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answere, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was Generall of their forces, He thought it reasonable, that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuertheless, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence, done to his Embassadours: and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*; made *Scipio* to vnderstand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themselues, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto *Masanissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying

praying him to come away with ſpeed, and lay all other buſineſſe a-part. Ten Roman Companies, of Horſe and Foot together, *Maſaniſſa* had with him; that were lent vnto him by *Scipio*, to doe him ſeruice in the eſtabliſhing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well vnderſtood, that thoſe and many more beſides all his owne forces would little auaile him; if *Hannibal* ſhould driue the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking ſuch order as hee could vpon the ſudden, for the ſafetie of his owne Kingdome; with foure thouſand Horſe, and ſixe thouſand Foot, hee made all haſte vnto *Scipio*.

Soone after the beginning of theſe new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours that had beene at *Rome*, returned backe vnder the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them ſafe into the *Roman* Campe. There when they arriued, and vnderſtood what had lately paſſed, eſpecially how their Citizens had behaued themſelues towards the *Roman* Embaſſadours: they made little doubt, how their owne heads ſhould anſwere for ſuch notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion.

M. Babius one of the late Embaſſadours that had beene in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Campe, laid hands vpon them, and detained them; ſending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might bee repaid in their owne Coyne, for the injurie by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to heare of this; and commanded *Babius* to vſe them with all poſſible courteſie, and ſend them ſafe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and cauſed them to acknowledge themſelues, (which was a great victorie) farre leſſe honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithſtanding, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to ſacke, without hearkning to any Compoſition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they tooke a Towne by aſſault, to put all that came in their way to the ſword, whatſoeuer they were, without regard. This they did, to make themſelues terrible: and the better to worke ſuch impreſſion in the mindes of thoſe, with whom they had to doe, they vſed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beaſts, that ranne athwart them in the ſtreets; hewing their bodies aſunder, as men delighted in ſhedding of bloud. This being their practiſe at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no peece of crueltie; when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengefull mindes, for the injuries receiued. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were ſo earneſt in preſſing *Hannibal* to fight. *Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 10.*

Hannibal being encamped at *Zama*, ſent foorth his Scowts and Spies, to diſcouer where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken, and brought vnto *Scipio*: who inſtead of truſſing them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleaſure; appointing one to conduct them vp and downe, and ſhew them whatſoeuer they deſired. This done, He gaue them libertie to depart; and ſent them away ſafe vnto their Generall. *Hannibal* vnderſtanding this, admired the brauerie and courage of his Enemie: with whom on the ſudden he grew deſirous to haue an Enter-view, and perſonall conference; and ſignified ſo much vnto him, by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned anſwere, that Hee would meet him ſhortly in place conuenient. The next day *Maſaniſſa* came with his Armie: whom *Scipio* taking with him, remoued vnto a Towne called *Nadagara*; neare vnto which hee ſat downe, in a place otherwiſe commodious, and cloſe by a water that might opportunely ſerue his Campe. Thence he ſent word vnto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly ſerue, if He had ought to ſay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon remoued from *Zama*, and came within foure miles of the Enemie: where hee encamped well to his owne good liking in all things elſe; excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines, in fetching their water ſomewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of Horſe,

Horſe, rode foorth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well ſearched, for feare of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelues, with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the *Carthaginian*, ſaluting the *Roman*, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for *Carthage* and for *Rome*, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of *Africke* and of *Italie*; for that the Countries of *Sicil* and of *Spaine*, about which their fathers and themſelues had ſtriuen, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many Fleets as had beene loſt, and of ſo much bloud as had beene ſhed, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not bee recalled: He ſaid, That it was meet for them to conſider, vnto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had beene expoſed, by the greedie deſire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wiſedome hereafter. And to ſuch peaceable diſpoſition He affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his minde vpon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are ſubiect. *Yet* (ſaid He) *mine owne example may peraduenture ſuffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that ſame* HANNIBAL, *who after my victorie at Cannæ wanne the greateſt part of Italie: and deuiſed with my ſelfe, what I ſhould doe with your Citie of Rome; which I hoped verily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, ſee the change! I ſtand here entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may ſerue as a document of Fortunes inſtabilitie. I fought with thy Father,* SCIPIO: *Hee was the firſt of the Roman Generals, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke; that the time would come, that I ſhould haue ſuch buſineſſe, as now at the preſent, with his ſonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pageants, whereof ſhee hath many. And thou maiſt haue experience of the like in thy ſelfe, who knowes how ſoone? Thinke vpon* M. ATILIVS. *If hee would haue hearkened vnto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now vſe to thee; hee might haue returned home to Rome an happy man. And ſo maiſt thou doe now, if any reaſonable offer will giue thee ſatisfaction. How ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and whatſoeuer Ilands elſe are ſituate betweene Italie and Aſrick, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou ſhalt haue glorie enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well be glad of ſuch a bargaine. As for vs: our owne quiet ſhall henceforth giue vs contentment. And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make vs faithfully obſerue the Peace with you. But if thou thinkeſt all too little, I muſt deſire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou muſt vndergoe, for the obtaining of a very little more, than that which thou maiſt haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay holde vpon good Fortune, if it pleaſe thee: ſtay but till to morrow night; and thou muſt take ſuch fortune, as it ſhall pleaſe the gods. The iſſue of battaile is vncertaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and ſteele we ſhall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victory, neither of vs hath aſſurance. Let vs therefore without more adoe, make peace. And doe not tell me, that ſome falſe-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I* HANNIBAL *that now deſire peace with thee; which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrie. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it: like as I haue maintained vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie mee, the Warre by me begunne.* Hereunto *Scipio* made anſwere, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in *Sicil* and in *Spaine*, which had mooued the *Romans* to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe armes; which the gods by the finall iſſue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to bee moſt iuſt. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune: he ſaid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without

out

out any note of insolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. *For was it not plaine, that all these Countries, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were alreadie wonne from them by the Romans? If,* said He, *these Conditions had beene propounded whileſt as yet yee detained some part of Italie, they might peraduenture not haue beene reiected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit vnto you any one peece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians haue yeelded alreadie, and thought mee to deale graciously in being so moderate. Rather I say, that the iniuries which they haue done me since, haue made them vnworthie of obtaining peace vpon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee,* HANNIBAL, *though thou wouldest be glad to make thy Citizens vnderstand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes eased. Onely thou must thinke, that in like sort it concernes me in honour, not to let them be gainers or sauers by the wrongs which they haue done of late. Thou knowest well, that, besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well content to restore vnto vs ransome-free all prisoners that they haue of ours; to pay vs fiue thousand Talents; to deliuer vp their Gallies; and to deliuer hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce; their spoiling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embassadours? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these iniuries newly done: then will I take aduice with my Councell what answere to giue you; otherwise, you may euen prepare for warre, and blame your owne selues, for that I haue denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at breake of day they issued into the field: a notable Match, and such as hath very seldome beene found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing first the *Hastaty*, diuided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise diuided; and so after them the *Triarij*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinarie custome of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the *Hastaty*, that so the *Hastaty*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betweene the *Principes*; but hee placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This Hee did because of the Elephants; whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse, whileſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke such order; that when they had passed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his *Velites* or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, Hee gaue direction, that when they found themselues ouer-charged, eyther by the Enemies; or (which was most to bee feared) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armie; thereby leauing roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behinde, to saue themselues on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third Battailes; without cloying vp the way betweene the Maniples, which he desired to keepe open. His *Italian* Horse hee placed in the left wing vnder *C. Lelius*. In the right wing was *Massanissa* with his *Numidians*. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vsing words not many, but verie forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieued, since their comming into *Africke*. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victorie in this warre, should make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary; if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would fly. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neyther was there any place in

Africk, that would giue them shelter; if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory: vnlesse they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most mercilesse Enemies. In such necessitie, he said, that they which consider themselues to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, haue neuer beene knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in Front of his Battaile. Next behind these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercinaries; *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, *Baleares*, and *Moores*. Then followed his Battaile: which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercinaries; though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behind these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his *Italian* warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lælius*, in his owne right wing he bestowed the *Carthaginian* Horse. *Tycheus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masanissa*. He was indeede farre too weake for the Enemie in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tycheus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the foure thousand of *Masanissa*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other than such as could be leuied in the haste of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that had of late beene often vanquished, and accustomed to fly. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neyther had hee perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foote, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could haue done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixteene thousand and vpwards, the most of them Horse: the aduantage of number might haue serued well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of *Carthage* would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that hee reposed in his old *Italian* Souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their seuerall conditions: promising vnto the Mercinaries bountifull rewards: threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the *Romane* Souldiers; euen such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry battailes, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countrie. As for the rest: they were yong men, the sonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chaced. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day striue to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of *meninvincible*.

Such exhortations vsed the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew neare together: the *Numidian* Horsemen on both sides beganne to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the *Romanes*. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an vncertaine kinde of helpe) those that stood neere vnto the point of the left wing, turned backe for feare: and ranne vpon their owne *Numidian* Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masanissa* espying this, gaue charge vpon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to rally themselues, draue them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the *Romane Velites*, whom they

they followed into the ſpaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themſelues; which gaue them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well prouided. Diuers of them receiuing many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe which were in that wing: againſt whom they gaue to *Lelius* the ſame aduantage, that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which hee vſed in like ſort. In the meane while, the Battels of foote aduanced, and drew neere together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a weapons caſt: at what time they gaue a ſhout, and ranne one at the other. The Mercinaries for a time ſeemed both in audacitie, and in quickneſſe, to haue the better of the *Romanes*; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the *Romane* diſcipline after a while, preuailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell of the *Principes*, following ſomewhat neere after the *Haſtaty*, encouraged their fellowes; and ſhewed themſelues readie, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwiſe, the Mercinaries receiued no manner of helpe or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould haue ſeconded them. For the newleuied *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they ſaw their hired ſouldiers giue backe, did alſo themſelues retire. This cauſed the *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, and the reſt, to thinke themſelues betrayed: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, ſo as it refuſed to giue way vnto the Mercinaries for their ſafe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head againſt the Enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaced by the *Romanes*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their Armes with an heedleſſe furie againſt both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten downe and ſlaine, through their owne indiſcretion, by their owne Mercinaries. The *Romane Haſtaty* in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng, had their hands ſo full of worke; that the *Principes* were faine to come vp vnto them, and helpe to ouer-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themſelues. In this place was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercinaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily flie. Such of them as eſcaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not ſtirre one foote, to helpe or ſaue theſe Runne-awaies. He cauſed his men to bend their Pikes at thoſe of his owne ſide, that would haue ruſhed vpon him: whom hee thereby compelled to turne aſide beyond his Battaile, and ſaue themſelues in the open field. The ground, ouer which the *Romanes* were now to march, ere they could meete with *Hannibal*, was couered with ſuch thicke heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and ſo ſlippery with bloud: that *Scipio* began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his Battalions ſhould be diſſolued in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if he ſhould fight with that warlike Armie, which he ſaw before him, remayning yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well aſſured to receiue a notable ouerthrow. Hee cauſed therefore the *Haſtaty* to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite vnto the maine battaile of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarij*: Hee placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Haſtaty*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he aduanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer he had beene receiued in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, ſeemed to haue beene onely a matter of paſtime; in regard of the ſharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweene theſe notable Souldiers. The *Romanes* were encouraged, by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were alſo farre the more in number. But theſe old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were freſh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gaue backe one foote; but rather choſe to die vpon the ground, whereon he ſtood. So that, af-

ter a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worse: vnlesse it may seeme, that the *Romanes* were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of *Masanissa* and *Lælius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to haue beene *most happie* and in a *needfull time*. These vpon the sudden charged the *Hannibalians* in Rere; and ouerbearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.

In this Battaile there dyed of the *Romanes* fifteene hundred and vpwards: on the *Carthaginian* side, aboue twentie thousand, besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captaine of the *Macedonians* was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Liuie* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enioyned, as hee was, by the State of *Carthage* to take battaile with such disaduantage, he could worke no maruels. He saued himselfe with a few Horse; and stayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to *Carthage*; from which he had beene absent sixe and thirtie yeares. At his comming into the Senate He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other course to take, resolued to send Embassadours againe; and trie the fauour of *Scipio*, whose Armes they could not now resist.

Scipio hauing spoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Vtica*: where hee found *P. Lentulus* newly arriued, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this Fleet, and that which hee had before, Hee thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed vnto *Cn. Octauius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lælius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victorie, He set saile from *Vtica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountred on the way by ten Embassadours from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, beganne to vse the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they receiued none other answere, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where He would giue them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to *Vtica*, and called backe *Octauius* thither, with whom in person Hee set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journie thither, they heard the newes, that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were alreadie vanquished. This *Vermina* seemes to haue beene both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defectiue in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the *Roman* Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not onely beat him, but so compasse him in, that hee hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leauing fifteene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken prisoners. If this good companie had beene with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should haue beene farre better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to bee doubted, that this victorie, though it were no great accesse vnto the former; yet serued well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirtie Embassadours from *Carthage*: whose behauiour though it was more pitifull than it had beene before; yet procured it lesse commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselues. Neuertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to besiege the mightie Citie of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honor of this warre, if it were protracted, should bee taken out of his handes; and giuen to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Seruilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the warre against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of *Italie*: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of *Sicil* (as it were in chace of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpose thence to haue proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the Command

mand of the Armie there. But a Dictator was choſen of purpoſe, to reſtraine the ambition of this Conſul *Seruilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made ſuite for the ſame Prouince of *Africk*: and was therein ſo earneſt, that though neyther the Senate, nor People, would grant him his deſire; yet hee needes would be going, procuring onely leaue of the Senate, that hee being Conſul might ioyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere Hee could haue his Fleete and all things in a readineſſe for the journey, wherein no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and hee was onely toſt at Sea with foule weather, firſt vpon the Coaſt of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Conſulſhip expired, and ſo he returned home a priuate man. Then came the joyfull newes to *Rome*, of the victorie obtained againſt *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Conſul ſo paſſionate, in deſiring *Africk* for his Prouince, That hee ſaid hee would ſuffer nothing to paſſe in the Senate, vntill hee had firſt his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at laſt it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it ſhould be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* ſhould haue command therein by Land, and the Conſul at Sea. The ambition of theſe men, cauſed *Scipio* to giue the more fauourable anſwere vnto the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours. Hee willed them to conſider what they had deſerued: and in regard thereof to thinke themſelues well dealt withall, in that hee was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garriſon to hold them in ſubiection; leauing alſo vnto them their poſſeſſions in *Africk*, ſuch as they were at the beginning of this warre. As touching the reſt hee was at a point, That, before hee eyther granted them Peace or truce, they ſhould make ſatisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whileſt the late Treatie was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld; then required Hee *That immediatly they ſhould deliuer vp vnto the Romanes all Priſoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewiſe all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants: That they ſhould make no warre at all thence-forth out of Africk, neither yet within Africk, without licence of the Romanes: That the Countries, Townes, goods whatſoeuer, belonging any wiſe vnto* MASANISSA, *or to any of his Anceſtors, which were in their poſſeſſion, ſhould be all by them reſtored vnto him: That they ſhould finde corne for the Romane Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, vntill the Peace were fully concluded: That they ſhould pay ten thouſand Talents of Siluer, in the terme of fifty yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for obſeruance of Conditions, they ſhould giue an hundred hoſtages, ſuch as* SCIPIO *would chooſe, being none of them vnder foureteene yeares of age, nor aboue thirtie.*

With theſe conditions the Embaſſadors returned home; and reported them vnto the Citie. They were verie vnpleaſing; and therefore one *Giſco* ſtood vp to ſpeake againſt them: and exhorted the People, who gaue good attention, that they ſhould not condeſcend vnto ſuch intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiuing this and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude; was bold to pull him downe from his ſtanding, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured; as if their common libertie were too much wronged, by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Captaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiuing, roſe vp and ſpake vnto them: ſaying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwiſe than the cuſtomes of the Citie would allow; forasmuch as he had beene thence abſent euer ſince he was a Boy of nine yeares old, vntill he was now a man of fiue and forty. Hauing thus excuſed himſelfe of the diſorder, He diſcourſed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perſwaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themſelues; had the demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally vpon good aduice, they reſolued to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they payed out of hand fiue and twentie thouſand pound weight of Siluer, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done

done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths; in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall Hee gaue injunction, that they should neyther in the meane while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismisse any Embassadours to them sent; without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honorable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious Counsailes. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours; who related vnto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the same time arriued at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were faine to wait awhile for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the *Romanes* had lately signified vnto their King that they found themselues grieued; returned the blame vpon those *Greekes* themselues, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *M. Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately beene sent from *Rome* vnto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behinde his fellowes; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweene him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countrimen, that had lately serued *Hannibal* for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in *Africk*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*; might be released, and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharpe answere. Hee said, that the *Greekes* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured so many iniuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to stay behinde, to helpe them as he might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiection. As for *Sopater*: He affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsaile, and verie inward with him; one that serued not for money, but carried money with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the ayde of *Hannibal*. About these points when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make vnto the Senate no good answere: they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre hee sought, and warre hee should finde, if hee proceeded as hee had begunne. For in two maine pointes Hee had broken the League, that was betweene him and the *Romanes*: first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had ayded their Enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Easterne Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* aboue the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romanes* from necessitie of sending Embassadours to *Carthage*, vpon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had beene wholly on the *Romanes* side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the Citie; that had beene too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if *Hanno* and himselfe might haue had their wills: the *Carthaginians*, euen at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the *Romanes*, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwaies they had beene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough

enough to endure ſuch reproofe of Perjurie, as they themſelues might haue laid vpon the *Romanes*; if their diligence and fortune had beene ſuch as the *Romanes* was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would ſweare to keepe the peace hereafter: *Aſdrubal* made anſwere; *Euen by the ſame gods, that are ſo ſeuere vnto thoſe that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Conſul interpoſing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto concluſion of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to loſe the honour, which he purpoſed to get by making warre in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom reſted the Soueraigne Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio* with ten Delegates ſent vnto him from *Rome* of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the *Carthaginians*, vpon ſuch Conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had alreadie propounded. For this fauour, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might viſite their Countrimen, which were priſoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ranſome and carrie home with them ſome, that were their eſpeciall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadours would chooſe, ſhould be ſent ouer into *Africk*, and be freely reſtored to libertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leaue, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyne with *Scipio* in Commiſſion.

At their comming into *Africk*, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuerſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, were deliuered vp to *Scipio*: likewiſe the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegados, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon thoſe of the *Romanes*, than vpon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* hee beheaded: the *Romanes* hee crucified. About the firſt payment of their money; the *Carthaginians* were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treaſurie could haue ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent: yet ſince the penſion was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeares; it was thought meete to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collecting of the ſumme there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Romane* yoke had begunne to pinch them; ſo as many, euen of the Senatours, could not forbeare weeping. Contrariwiſe *Hannibal* could not refraine from laughter. For which when hee was checked by *Aſdrubal Hædus* and tolde, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince hee had beene the cauſe why all others did weepe; Hee anſwered, *That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy; but ſometime from extremitie of indignation. Yet* ſaid Hee, *My laughter is more ſeaſonable, and leſſe abſurd, than your teares. For yee ſhould haue wept, when yee gaue vp your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the vſe of Armes; without the good leaue of the Romanes firſt obtained. This miſerable condition keepes vs vnder; and holds vs in aſſured ſeruitude. But of theſe matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your priuate purſes, yee haue thereof ſome ſenſe. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein yee ſhall acknowledge, That it was the very leaſt part of your miſerie, for which yee haue ſhed theſe teares.* Thus diſcourſed *Hannibal* vnto thoſe, who taſting the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counſaile, repented when it was too late; and in ſtead of curſing their owne diſorders, which had bred this grieuous diſeaſe, accuſed that Phyſicion, whoſe noble endeauours had beene employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being to take leaue of *Africk*, produced *Maſaniſſa*, and magnified him in preſence of the Armie, with high commendations not vndeſeruedly. To him alſo hee conſigned ouer thoſe Townes of King *Syphax*, which the *Romanes* at that preſent held: wherein, to ſay truth, he gaue him but his due; and that which otherwiſe hee knew not well how to beſtow. But the loue of the *Romanes*, and friendſhip of

Scipio,

Scipio, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deseruings of this Numidian King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romanes* embarqued themselues for *Sicil*: where when they arriued at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Armie tooke his way home to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italie* was no lesse glorious than any Triumph: all the people thronging out of the Townes and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entered the Citie in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great ioy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the Citie in this Triumph; and died soone after in prison: or whether he were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the *Romanes*, to insult ouer the calamities of mightie Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neyther the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grieuous warre past, whereof the *Romanes* had beene in a manner *without hope, that euer they should set Italie free*. This made them looke cheerefully vpon the Author of so great a conuersion; and filled them with more ioy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: stiling him by the name of that Prouince which he had subdued. This honorable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselues the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto *Scipio the African*.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 16.

CHAP. IIII.

Of PHILIP *the father of* PERSEVS, *King of Macedon; His first Acts and warre with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The Ætolians ouerrun Peloponnesus. PHILIP *and his Associates make war against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians inuade Greece and Macedon, and are inuaded at home by* PHILIP.

Plut. in vita Sertorij.

OF the great similitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of *matter* hath beene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subiect that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needes be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, we are lesse to wonder, if we find lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious vnto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundrie men are ouer

uer-ruled, in mannaging the affaires of our daily life. It may bee obſerued in the change of Empires, before thoſe times whereof we now write, how the *Aſſyrians* or *Chaldæans* inuaded the kingdome of the *Medes*, with two hundred thouſand foote and threeſcore thouſand horſe: but fayling in their intended conqueſt, they became ſubiect within a while themſelues vnto the *Medes* and *Perſians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the *Greekes* with ſuch numbers of men, as might haue ſeemed reſiſtleſſe. But after that the *Perſians* were beaten home, their Empire was neuer ſecure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leaſure from inteſtine warre deuiſed vpon that conqueſt thereof, which finally they made vnder the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonoſor* with his rough old ſouldiours, had vndertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon *Greece*; the iſſue might, in humane reaſon, haue beene farre different. Yet would it then haue beene expedient for them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatneſſe of their names, againſt thoſe people; that were no leſſe valiant, though leſſe renowned, than their owne. For the menacing wordes vſed by *Cyrus*, and ſome ſmall diſpleaſures done to the *Greekes* (in which kind it may bee, that *Nabuchodonoſor* likewiſe offended the *Medes* and *Perſians*) were not ſo auaileable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in ſtrength, ſuffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppreſſion done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Aſſe. But Princes are often carried away from reaſon, by miſſe-vnderſtanding the language of Fame: and deſpiſing the vertue that makes little noiſe, aduenture to prouoke it againſt them ſelues; as if it were not poſſible that their owne glory ſhould be foyled by any of leſſe-noted excellence. Againſt the ſame ſtone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Euilmerodach*, had ſtumbled; *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath daſh his foot. Hee was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though moſt of marke, and a better ſouldiour than any other Greekiſh King, when he entred into war againſt the *Romans*. This war he vndertooke as it were for his mindes ſake: hauing receiued no iniurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greekes* that ſerued vnder him, to preuaile ſo eaſily againſt the barbarous *Romans*, that they ſhould onely ſerue as a ſtep to his further intended conqueſts, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory againſt *Pyrrhus*, had found their owne vertue to bee of richer mettall, than was the more ſhining valour of the *Greekes*: then did all the brauery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants and whatſoeuer elſe had ſerued to make him terrible) ſerue onely to make the *Romans*, in time following, ſo thinke more highly of themſelues. *For ſince they had ouercome the beſt Warriour in *Greece*, euen Him; that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himſelfe Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what ſhould hinder them from the conqueſt of all thoſe vnwarlike Prouinces, which in compaſſe of twelue yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requiſite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion by ſome good meanes, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the reſt, this done, would follow of it ſelfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*; *Philip* and *Alexander* had ſhewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the firſt Punick war was ended, which followed ſoone after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leiſure to hearken after newes in *Greece*; and to entertaine any good occaſion, that ſhould bee on that ſide preſented. They had alſo then a ſtrong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwiſe very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wiſhed, that the *Illyrian* Queene *Teuta* made at the ſame time cruell warre vpon the *Greekes*: waſting their Country, and ſacking their Townes, only becauſe they were vnable to reſiſt, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were deſirous to enter; the Queene was not ſlow to giue them [e] cauſe. And their happy accompliſhing of that war which they made with

*The King of Spaines pretended inuincible Nauie, being beaten out of the Britiſh ſeas, inuited vs to thoſe of Spaine: and hauing broken the greateſt Fleet that euer the Spaniards gathered together; wee neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time.

[e] *Lib. 5. ch. 2. §. 7.*

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Her, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greekes*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselues; by signifying, that for the loue of *Greece* they had vndertaken this Illyrian warre. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romanes*: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose businesse with them being now the subiect of our storie, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefely) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions.

It was like to proue a busie time in the world, when, within the space of foure yeares, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and three of them yong boyes, in three of the greatest Kingdomes. This happened from the third yeare of the hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, vnto the third of the *Olympiad* following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the great*. *Ptolemie Philopator* succeeded in the Kingdome of *Ægypt* vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being sixteene or seuenteene yeares old, receiued the Kingdome of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and most of the *Greekes*; by the decease of his Vncle *Antigonus Doson*, that was called the *Tutor* or *Protector*. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then beganne his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found meanes to make himselfe King ouer the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Common-weale, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebell vnto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeares of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad* it was, that open war brake out betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Inuasion vpon *Italie*. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we haue alreadie followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, and the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the *Romanes* finde them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achæans*, and many others his dependants. That Country, hauing freed it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subiection vnto *Cleomenes*: was now become no lesse obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should haue beene to the *Spartan*; and therewithall it lay open vnto the violence of the *Ætolians*, who despised euen the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons thereof. These *Ætolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than warre. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the *Messenians* that were their owne Clients, and excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinitie) the onely good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their inuasion was no lesse vnexpected, then it was vniust: whereby with greater ease they made spoile of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Messenians* to helpe: which they did the more willingly; because the *Ætolians* passing without leaue through their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Olde *Aratus* could ill abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the iniuries, wherewith most vngratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Armie, that hee could hardly endure to stay a few dayes vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the yeare following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath beene alreadie noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a great part of the Countrie, wherein he might easily haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neare, when they had recouered ground of aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie.

Lib. 5. chap. 2. §. 6. Ibd.

So

So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Achæans*; they got hereby onely the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* inuaded *Peloponnesus* againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Country of the *Eleans*. There ioyned with them in this their second Inuasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed vpon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of warre vnto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to seeke aduentures againe, and did great mischiefe. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell vpon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the Ægean Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, hauing gotten what they could else-where by rouing at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater hauocke in the Countrie now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any resistance. *chap. 3. §. 1.*

Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselues with some speedie reuenge: there were that vrged to haue some grieuous punishment laid vpon the *Lacedæmonians*: who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the *Ætolians*, in meere despight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselues had lately beene subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had beene so affected: and (which was worse) at the arriuall of *Philip*, they slue such friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselues to iudgement: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: since their Towne was lately much disquieted with ciuill discord, which they hoped soone to appease, and meant alwayes to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly gouerned him) did misse-vnderstand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadours of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining vpon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to haue warre decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the *Ætolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some conuenient time; if they could alleadge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come or send, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue beene there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* vnderstood this for certaintie, they adiourned the Councell vnto a further time: saying, That such weightie matters ought not to be handled, saue in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This tricke of Law notwithstanding, open warre was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserued it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Inuasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the onely man, in a sort, vpon whom they must haue laid the blame of these actions, if they would haue shifted it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*; where he prepared busily for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promises: whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had cousened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achæans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Country, sent vnto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselues, and to denounce warre vnto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the euent. Hereunto they receiued

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Lib. 5. chap. 2. §. 6. ibd.

So

So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Achæans*; they got hereby onely the friendſhip of the *Meſſenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* inuaded *Peloponneſus* againe; hauing no more to doe, than to paſſe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Country of the *Eleans*. There ioyned with them in this their ſecond Inuaſion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition impoſed vpon them by the *Romans*, of ſetting out no ſhips of warre vnto the Coaſt of *Greece*; made bold to ſeeke aduentures againe, and did great miſchiefe. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of theſe *Illyrians*: who ſhortly repented him of this his voyage; which cauſed him to loſe his Kingdome, as is ſhewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell vpon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the Ægean Sea: whence returning, he did ſome good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The reſt of the *Illyrians* vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, hauing gotten what they could elſe-where by rouing at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponneſus*: who made greater hauocke in the Countrie now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any reſiſtance. *chap. 3. §. 1.*

Of theſe things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And becauſe men were deſirous to ſatisfie themſelues with ſome ſpeedie reuenge: there were that vrged to haue ſome grieuous puniſhment laid vpon the *Lacedæmonians*: who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the *Ætolians*, in meere deſpight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themſelues had lately beene ſubdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had beene ſo affected: and (which was worſe) at the arriuall of *Philip*, they ſlue ſuch friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, ſeemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durſt they well commit themſelues to iudgement: but entreated the King, that he would abſtaine from comming to them with an Armie: ſince their Towne was lately much diſquieted with ciuill diſcord, which they hoped ſoone to appeaſe, and meant alwayes to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was eaſily ſatisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly gouerned him) did miſſe-vnderſtand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in preſence of the King, the Embaſſadours of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining vpon the *Ætolians*: and deſiring to haue warre decreed againſt them, by common aſſent. *Philip* ſent his letters vnto the *Ætolians*: requiring them to make ready their anſwer in ſome conuenient time; if they could alleadge any thing in excuſe of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet ſhould be holden at *Rhium* for that purpoſe: whither if it pleaſed him to come or ſend, hee ſhould be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue beene there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* vnderſtood this for certaintie, they adiourned the Councell vnto a further time: ſaying, That ſuch weightie matters ought not to be handled, ſaue in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This tricke of Law notwithſtanding, open warre was proclaimed againſt them. And they, as it were to ſhew how well they had deſerued it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of theſe Inuaſions made on *Peloponneſus*; and the onely man, in a ſort, vpon whom they muſt haue laid the blame of theſe actions, if they would haue ſhifted it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*; where he prepared buſily for the warre againſt the yeare following. He alſo aſſayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promiſes: whom he eaſily won from the *Ætolian* ſide, forаſmuch as the *Ætolians* had couſened him of his ſhare, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like ſort the *Achæans*, who had firſt of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Country, ſent vnto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Meſſenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requeſting them forthwith to declare themſelues, and to denounce warre vnto the *Ætolians*, without ſtaying (as it were) to await the euent. Hereunto they receiued

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diuerſe anſweres, according to the qualities of thoſe with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a ſmall Nation, and bordering vpon the *Ætolians*, of whom they ſtood in continuall danger; ſaid, that they could not honeſtly refuſe to ſhew their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall aſſent. The *Epirots* that were more mightie, were neuertheleſſe more cunning and reſerued: ſo that they ſtood vpon a needleſſe point; and deſired to bee held excuſed, vntill *Philip* (of whoſe meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) ſhould firſt proclaime the warre. The *Meſſenians*, for whoſe cauſe the warre was vndertaken, excuſed themſelues, by reaſon of a Towne which the *Ætolians* held vpon their borders; and ſaid, that they durſt not be ouer-bold, vntill that bridle were taken out of their mouthes. As for the *Lacedæmonians*; the chiefe of them ſtudied onely how to mannage that treaſon, for which their Citie had beene ſo lately pardoned: and therefore diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, without any anſwere at all. They had three yeares together continued ſubiect againſt their wils to the *Macedonians*, expecting ſtill when *Cleomenes* ſhould returne out of *Ægypt* to raigne ouer them againe; and maintaine, as he was wont, the honour of their Citie. In this regard they choſe not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of theſe there were ſome, that thought the publike ſafetie to conſiſt, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preſerued them: And hereto they referred all their counſailes; being perhaps not a little moued with reſpect of the benefit, which might redound vnto themſelues, by adhering firmely to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule ouer them. Others, and thoſe the greater part, were ſtill deuiſing, how to make all readie for *Cleomenes* againſt his returne; and therefore ſought to ioyne with the *Ætolians*, which were the moſt likely to giue him ſtrong aſſiſtance. The Macedonian faction had the more authoritie, and durſt more freely ſpeake their mindes: but the contrary ſide was the more paſſionate; and ſpared not by murders, or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neyther did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which theſe intended: fancying vnto themſelues the glory of their Anceſtors in ſuch Ages paſt, as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able man to reſtore them vnto their greatneſſe and luſtre; which once he had in a manner performed: But ſince he was dead, and that, without iniury to his well-deſeruing vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helpes, they muſt continue little better than ſubiects vnto the *Macedonian*, and farre leſſe by him reſpected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they tranſported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working ſpirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durſt haue made himſelfe the Author. Much diſputation and hot there was, betweene thoſe of the Macedonian partie and theſe their oppoſites; in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; vntill by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chiefe, that ſpake againſt the *Ætolians*, the diuerſitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*; who had ſpared the Citie, when they might haue deſtroyed it. Then alſo they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the chooſing of the one King; that we may iuſtly wonder, how they grew ſo careleſſe in making choyce of the other. In the one of their Royall Families they found *Ageſipolis*, the ſonne of *Ageſipolis* the ſon of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to raigne ouer them, as heire apparant to his Grandfather. This *Ageſipolis* was a yong boy, ſtanding in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Gouernment. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the ſonne, how yong ſoeuer, ſhould haue his fa-

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thers whole right and title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in obseruation of the Law; that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Vncle *Cleomenes* to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselues about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdome, bestowed vpon each of the *Ephori* a Talent, and thereby made himselfe be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partisans, and to approue his worth by Action; inuaded the Countrie of the *Argiues*: which lay open and vngarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and wanne diuers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After such open hostilitie, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themselues on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed warre against the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not readie: the *Epirots* gaue vncertaine answere: the *Messenians* would not stirre: all the burden must lie vpon themselues and the poore *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by fauour of the *Eleans*, could inuade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing ouer the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Towne of *Ægira*: which if they could haue held, they should thereby grieuously haue molested the *Achæans*; for that it stood in the mid-way betweene *Ægium* and *Sicyon* two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrie. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile; whilest they that should haue made it their first care to assure the place vnto themselues, by occupying the Cittadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedlessely to ransack priuate houses, and thereby gaue the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great slaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Armie landing among the *Eleans*, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the Territorie of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacie. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemie grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe vnto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the *Achæans* hauing lately beene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to doe little of themselues: neither could they get any strength of Mercinaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war, they had couetously with-held part of their due from those that serued them therein. So through this disabilitie of the *Achæans*, and insufficiencie of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driuen to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike seruice, and to conuert the monie to their owne defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to winne vpon the *Arcadians*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achæans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Armie was thus employed a farre off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* ioyned all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their owne hands; for that, by commoditie thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselues Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent fortie dayes, ere he could end the busines; which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first comming; it was thought that he might haue made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunitie of Associates, to haue their own desires fulfilled, conuerts the preparations of great Kings to those vses for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their maine

deſſignes. Thus was our King *Henrie* the eight led aſide, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the ſiege of *Tournay*: at ſuch time as the French King *Lewes* the twelfth, hearing that the ſtrong Citie of *Terwin* was loſt, and that of his Cauellerie, wherein reſted his chiefe confidence, two thouſand were beaten by the *Earle of Eſſex* with ſeuen hundred *Engliſh*; was thinking to withdraw himſelfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would haue come to *Paris*.

The ſtay that *Philip* made at *Ambracus*, did wondrouſly embolden the *Ætolians*: in ſuch ſort, as their Prætor *Scopas* aduentured to lead all their forces out of the Countrie; and therewith not onely to ouer-runne *Theſſalie*, but to make impreſſion into *Macedon*. He ranne as farre as to *Dium*, a Citie of *Macedon* vpon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forſaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, Hee tooke, and razed to the ground. Hee ſpared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the reſt, he threw downe the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrimen at his returne; foraſmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto *Peloponneſus*, but euen to *Macedon* it ſelfe. But this their pride was ſoone abated; and they rewarded ſhortly at home in their owne Countrie, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* hauing diſpatched his worke at *Ambracus*, made a ſtrong inuaſion vpon *Ætolia*. Hee tooke *Phoetiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Paanium*, *Elaus*, and diuers other Townes and Caſtles of theirs: of which hee burnt ſome, and fortified others. Hee alſo beat the *Ætolians* in ſundrie skirmiſhes; and waſted all the Countrie ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, and to doe the like ſpoile in the Countrie of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently ſollicited by the *Achæan* Embaſſadours: newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were readie with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrie. Theſe *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*; and were accuſtomed to ſeeke bootie in that wealthie Kingdome, when they found their owne times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journie into *Peloponneſus*: they purpoſed in his abſence, which they thought would bee long, to get what they could for themſelues in his Countrie; as had beene their manner vpon the like aduantages. This made the King to diſmiſſe the *Achæan* Embaſſadours, (whom hee ſhould haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeare. So Hee tooke his way home: and as he was paſſing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there came to him *Demetrius Pharius* with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaced out of his Kingdome by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately ſhewed himſelfe a friend to *Antigonus Doſon*, in the warres of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his laſt Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was readie, at their firſt requeſt, to take part with *Philips* Captaines. Theſe, or the like conſiderations, made him welcome vnto the *Macedonian* King: whoſe Counſailor he was euer after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue ouer for the preſent their inuaſion of *Macedon*, towardes which they were alreadie on their way.

All that Summer following the King reſted at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſalie*, whileſt his people gathered in their Harueſt. But the *Ætolians* reſted not. They auenged themſelues vpon the *Epirots*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the moſt notable was the ruine of the famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre vntill another yeare was laid aſide: *Philip* ſtole a journie into *Peloponneſus*, with fiue thouſand Foot, and about foure hundred Horſe. As ſoone as hee was within *Corinth*; He comanded the Gates to be ſhut, that no word might bee carried foorth of his arriuall. He ſent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, hee would haue the *Achæan* Souldiors readie to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with

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somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to feare: since the *Achæans* themselues were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; vntill they heard, that those two thousand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellowes, were by him surprised and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which hee did at his first comming, *Philip* got very much reputation: as likewise hee purchased both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediatly following. He wanne *Psophis*, an exceeding strong Towne, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Aetolians* then held. Hee wanne it by assault at his first comming: wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemie, not beleeuing that he would vndertake such a peece of worke at such an vnseasonable time of the yeere, was careless of prouiding euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preserued by the King from sacke; and giuen to the *Achæans*, of his owne meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lasion*, which yeelded for very feare; hearing how easily he had taken *Psophis*. This Towne also he gaue to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he vsed towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recouered. Then fell he vpon the Countrie of *Elis*, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three dayes; Hee proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Aetolians*, in the spoiles of their other-wise-deserning neighbours. Great abundance of Cattaile hee tooke, with great numbers of slaues, and much wealth of all sorts; such as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yeelded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his journie, by sending Embassadours to yeeld before hee came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, tooke courage to set themselues at libertie, by seeing the King so neare; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselues. And many places were spoiled by the *Ætolian* Captaines; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King wanne more Townes in the Countrie, than the sharpenesse of Winter would suffer him to stay there dayes. Faine he would haue fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made such hast from him, that he could not ouertake them, vntill they had couered themselues within the Towne of *Samicum*; where they thought to haue beene safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that hee made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed so much in this Expedition, the King reposed himselfe a while in *Megalopolis*; and then remoued to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arriuall in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedæmonians* with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselues home. This *Lycurgus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with monie: so was hee neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which Vsurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall bloud, that thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Commonwealth. He wanne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the *Ephori* as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Ly-*

curgus his house: wo perceiuing the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should giue account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their mindes being not hereto prædisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilst he was vsing his best perswasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So hee liued afterwards among the *Achæans* a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found meanes to driue out his fellow-King yong *Agesipolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort as once he should haue beene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might haue beene defended; yet rather than to aduenture himselfe into iudgement, hee chose to flie for a time, and sojourne among his friendes the *Ætolians*. His wel-knowne vehemencie in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, Hee tooke better heed vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not bee in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions hee got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chaced *Agesipolis* out of the Citie; I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vsurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three very iustly deserued. Whatsoeuer he was towards some priuate Citizens: in the war against *Philip*, He behaued himselfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

§. II.

How PHILIP *was misseaduised by ill Counsailors: Who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were iustly punished. Hee inuadeth the Ætolians a second time: And forceth them to sue for peace: Which is granted vnto them.*

WHileſt the King lay at *Argos*, deuising vpon his businesse for the yeare following; some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently their owne greatnesse, as they were like to haue spoiled all that he tooke in hand. *Antigonus Doson* had left vnto *Philip* such Counsailors, as to him did seeme the fittest men for gouerning of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if he could reduce the *Achæans* vnto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* liued. To bring this to passe; during the late Expedition hee had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastice some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refraine) to helpe their fellowes; them hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that they should bee qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing vniust that pleased the King. But these *Achæans* were tenderly sensible in matter of libertie: whereof if they could haue been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them

them in the warre against *Cleomenes*: They bemoned themselues vnto old *Aratus*; and besought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* foorthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weightie, than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words vpon those that had bene wronged; and forbad *Apelles* to follow the course begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choller for a time. He thought so well of his owne Proiect, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the *Achæans* there were some, who bore no heartie affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out: and sending for them, entertained them with wordes of Court; promising to become their especiall friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, He must be faine to deale precisely with the *Achæans*, and, as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, bee quickly brought to conforme themselues vnto the dutie of obedient Subiects. By such perswasions, He drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would haue beene needfull in a businesse of more importance, the King, by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new Fauorites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthie, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patræ* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The Garrison yeelded it vp for feare, at his first comming: whereof hee was glad; for that hee had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the *Dymæans*, as hee presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrie the last Winter, hee had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vndertooke to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be cõtented to do, He willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand, That he would render vnto them freely all prisoners which hee had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrein inuasion; and that they should hold their libertie entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countrie: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before ouer-hastie to beleeue such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitour, and one that was set on worke for no other ende, than to breed a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him Prisoner into *Ætolia*. But hee perceiued their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himselfe; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) maruailing what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsailor, thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his sonne together, had such deuices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good; And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out; For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati* (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside and giuen him to vnderstand, that it would

be very præjudiciall to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the deuotion of the *Macedonian*; And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very carefull in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lie; deuised by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage hee sent for the two *Arati*; and bad *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already conuicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; Hee added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; and therein hauing made it knowne what yee are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leaue you to your selues. Olde *Aratus* grauely admonished the King; That whensoeuer hee heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth; He should forbeare a while to giue credit, vntill he had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and hee should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with *Amphidamus*; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himselfe Authour of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilest *Apelles* delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befalne him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Arati*: which when hee found no better than a meere deuice against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The vnrestfull temper of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe; began (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. Hee betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, hee had prepared a snare for the *Arati*; so fayling of them, he thinkes it wisedome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtile workemanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithful men, and such as would not bee corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captaine of the *Targuetiers*, and *Megaleas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily wonne to bee at *Apelles* his disposition. This Politician therefore studied how to remooue the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumniation and priuie detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* hee vsed more fineneſſe; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such Art he thought to haue remoued him, as wee say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sunne.* In the meane season *Aratus* retired himselfe; and sought to auoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilest *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne, wherewith he should haue beene furnished by the *Achæans*. This made the King vn-

vnderstand his owne errour; which he wisely sought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the *Achæans* to rejourne their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sicyon* the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his sonne: perswading them to forget what was past; & laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthy men, Hee easily obtained what hee would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand; with great store of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in *Peloponnesus*, he should receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to prouide shipping, that so hee might inuade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; euen by the ministery of those whom hee most hated. Wherefore hee entred into conspiracie with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himselfe and them by oath, to crosse and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of abilitie to doe any thing without them, should make him speake them faire; and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilest he was a childe; and therefore these wise men perswaded themselues, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their owne misgouernement of his affaires, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needes goe to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the prouisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two staid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readines: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would haue bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Ætolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischiefe would haue fallen as soone after it did, vpon themselues. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leaue the *Achæans*, with some part of his and their Mercinaries. He himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of *Cephallenia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselues of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he besieged the Towne of *Palæa*, that had been very seruiceable to the Enemie against him and his Confederates; and might bee very vse-full to him, if hee could get it. Whilest hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fifteene ships of warre from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts saue one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he ouerthrew two hundred foote thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the Targettiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But hee, remembring his couenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbeare to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slaine; not of the worst souldiers, but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this; but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was easier vnto the Towne-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed, and vncertaine what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard vpon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The *Messenians* alleadged, that *Lycurgus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the Etesian windes which then blew, seruing fitly for his Nauigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easily carrie him thither, so would they detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him spend the

Summer

Summer to small purpose. But *Aratus* gaue better counsaile, and preuailed. Hee shewed how vnfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* ouer-run all *Thessalie* againe, and some part of *Macedon*, whilest the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small aduentures. Rather, he said, that the time now serued well to carry the warre into *Aetolia*; since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on rouing, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*; hee was not strong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King sets saile for *Aetolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which diuided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. Hee marched vp into the in-land Countrie: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retrait; Hee passed on to *Thermum*; which was the Receptacle of the *Aetolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aetolians* vse to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them carelesse in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had ouercome the bad way, there was nothing else to doe than to take spoile: whereof hee found such plentie, that hee thought the paines of his iournie well recompenced. So hee loaded his Armie: and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the *Aetolians*; in remembrance of the like their courtesie, shewed vpon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Monsieur du Gourgues* the French Captaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would doe, hee beleeued before; and therefore was not taken vnawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but hee had laide a Counter-ambush for them of his *Illyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set vpon the backes of the *Ætolians*, whilest they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemie, he returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, Hee safely carried all that hee had gotten aboord his Fleet. Once the *Aetolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euery way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came, because they could not choose: but their heauie lookes argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It grieued them to thinke, that they should bee able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. The sorrow and indignation, which they could ill dissemble in their faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselues with drinke, into open riot. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reuiling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder;

order; and they, to giue him froward anſweres: inſomuch as they ſaid at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a miſchiefe as hee deſerued. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megaleas*, yea and to caſt him into priſon? Why, ſaid the King, It was euen I. This reſolute anſwere, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both ſad and angrie; ſeeing himſelfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after, *Megaleas* was called forth to his anſwere, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no leſſe touching *Leontius*, that ſtood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accuſed. In concluſion, the preſumptions againſt him were ſo ſtrong, and his anſweres thereto ſo weake; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twentie Talents: *Crinon* being remanded backe to priſon; and *Leontius* becomming Bayle for *Megaleas*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip diſpatched well a great deale of buſineſſe this yeere. For as ſoone as he was at *Corinth*, he tooke in hand an Expedition againſt the *Lacademonians*. Theſe and the *Eleans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponneſus*, whileſt the King was abſent. The *Achæans* had oppoſed them as well as they could; with ill ſucceſſe: yet ſo, as they hindered them from doing ſuch harme as elſe they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, hee ouer-ran the Countrie about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleeue that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waſte in the fields: and hauing beaten the enemie in ſome skirmiſhes, carried backe with him to *Corinth* a rich bootie of Cattell, ſlaues, and other Countrie-ſpoile. At *Corinth* hee found attending him, Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* & *Chians*: that requeſted him to ſet *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace vnto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale firſt with the *Ætolians*; who, if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not finde him vnreaſonable. The *Ætolians* had ſped ill that yeere: neither ſaw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Armie that they had ſent forth to waſt *Theſſalie* and *Macedon*, found ſuch oppoſition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane ſeaſon they had beene grieuouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the center of their owne Countrie. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was vp in armes againſt them, and their weake Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of theſe their Peloponneſian friends ſhould bee able to hold out; ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keepe the feild, but had alreadie ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each, to ſeeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirtie dayes with the King, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadours, to entreat his preſence at a Diet of their Nation, that ſhould bee held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that hee ſhould finde them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand; *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to haue terrified the King, by raiſing ſedition againſt him in the Armie. But this deuice ſorted to no good effect. The ſouldiours were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the Kings friends; who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the bootie, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelfe in a noiſe, and breaking open of dores; without further harme done. This was enough to informe the king (who eaſily pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were very falſe. Yea the ſouldiours themſelues, repenting of their inſolence, deſired to haue the Authors of the tumult

ſought

ſought out, and puniſhed according to their deſerts. The King made ſhew as if he had not cared to make ſuch inquiſition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were ſore afraid, leſt the matter would ſoone come out of it ſelfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they ſent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Archetect of their treaſon; requeſting him ſpeedily to repaire to *Corinth*, where hee might ſtand betweene them and the kings diſpleaſure. *Apelles* had not all this while beene wanting to the buſineſſe, vndertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was hee growne into ſuch credit, that all the Kings officers in *Macedon* and *Theſſalie* addreſſed themſelues vnto him; and receiued from him their diſpatch in euery buſineſſe. Likewiſe the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occaſion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*; making ſlight mention (onely for faſhion ſake) of the king: who ſeemed no better than the Miniſter and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleaſure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in ſetting himſelfe out vnto the people: but in mannaging the kings affaires, he made it his ſpeciall care, that monie, and all things needfull for the publicke ſeruice, ſhould be wanting. Yea he enforced the king, for very neede, to ſell his owne Plate and houſhold veſſels: thinking to reſolue theſe and all other difficulties, by onely ſaying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by mee, and all ſhall be as you would wiſh.* Hereto if the king would giue aſſent; then had this Politician obtained his hearts deſire. Now taking his iournie from *Chalcis* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to the Citie of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: hee was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captaines and ſouldiours; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entering the Citie with a goodly traine; he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride; and had vehement ſuſpition of his falſhood. Wherfore one was ſent to tell him, that he ſhould waite a while, or come another time; for the king was not now at leiſure to be ſpoken with. It was a pretie thing, that ſuch a check as this made all his attendants forſake him, as a man in diſgrace; in ſuch ſort that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him ſaue his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchſafed him now and then ſome ſlender graces: but in conſultations, or other matters of priuacie, he vſed him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to looke vnto himſelfe, and runne away betimes. Hereupon the King ſent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponneſus*, with all the Targettiers, as it were to doe ſome peece of ſeruice, but indeed of purpoſe to apprehend *Leontius* in the abſence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, diſpatched away a meſſenger preſently to his Targettiers, to ſignifie what was befallen him: and they foorthwith ſent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made requeſt, That if any other thing were obiected againſt him, hee might not be called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they ſaid that they were readie to make a purſe for his diſcharge. This affection of the ſouldiours, made *Philip* more haſtie than elſe he would haue beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote vnto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the king with opprobrious wordes; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was euen readie to ſinke vnder the burden of his owne pouertie. By this the king vnderſtood more perfectly the falſhood, not onely of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whoſe cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him ſo poore. Wherefore hee ſent one to purſue *Megaleas*, that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his ſonne, and another that was inward with him, to priſon; wherein all of them ſhortly ended their liues. *Megaleas* alſo, neither daring to ſtand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was wearie of his owne life; and ſlew himſelfe about the ſame time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accompliſhing what they liſted in the Nonage of *Philip*: ſo finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their o-

uerthrow;

ouerthrow; they grew very deſirous to make an end of it. Neuertheleſſe being a turbulent Nation, and readie to lay hold vpon all aduantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Magaleus*, together with ſome indignation thereupon conceiued by the Kings Targettiers; they began to hope anew, that theſe troubles would be long laſting, and therevpon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing ſorie. For being in good hope throughly to tame this vnquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the warre ſhould reſt vpon themſelues. Wherfore he willed his Confederates, to lay aſide all thought of peace, and to prepare for war againſt the yeere following; wherein hee hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian ſouldiors, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homeward, he called into iudgement one *Ptolemie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treaſons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and ſuffered death. Theſe were the ſame *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his impriſonment: yet now they thinke the man worthie to die, that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vſe to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* wan ſome bordering Townes; from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accuſtomed to make rodes into his kingdome: when hee had thus prouided for ſafetie of his owne; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embaſſadours from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolemie* King of *Ægypt*, and from the Citie of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former ſollicitation about the Peace. This faſhion had beene taken vp in matters of *Greece*, euer ſince the Kings that raigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to ſet the whole Countrie at libertie: No ſooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppreſſed, and ſubdued by force of war, but preſently there were found interceſſours, who pitying the effuſion of Greekiſh bloud, would importune the ſtronger to relinquiſh his aduantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of neede, the Princes and States abroad ſought to binde vnto them thoſe people, that were howſoeuer weake in numbers, yet very good ſouldiours. But hereby it came to paſſe, that the more froward ſort, eſpecially the *Ætolians*, whoſe whole Nation was addicted to falſhood and robberie, durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well aſſured, that if they had the worſt, *The loue of Greece* would be ſufficient to redeeme their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treatie of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponneſus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and ſtanding in feare to bee more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earneſtly than before, to make an end of the warre as ſoone as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwere to the Embaſſadours, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not occaſion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the preſent either afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the *Ætolians*, if they had a deſire to liue in reſt, muſt firſt be dealt withall, to ſignifie plainly their determination, whereto himſelfe would returne ſuch anſwere as he ſhould thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increaſe the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middeſt of this Negotiation, that he was aduertiſed by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victorie *Hannibal* had obtained againſt the *Romans* in the batttaile at *Thraſymene*. Theſe letters he communicated vnto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to ſit ſtill, as an idle beholder of the Italian warre. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded ſhortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleaſure diſpute about finiſhing war betweene themſelues,

selues, without being molested by the Barbarians. For which once either the *Romans*, or the *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other; it was not to bee doubted, that they would forthwith looke Eastward, and seeke by all meanes to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrie should be at peace within it selfe: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunitie; now fitly seruing, to enlarge his dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italie*. Such aduice could the *Ætolians* then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatning them at hand: but being soone after wearie of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselues by pillage, they were so farre from obseruing and following their owne good counsel, that they inuited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themselues and the whole Countrie, (but themselues before any other part of the Countrie) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That euery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

§. III.

PHILIP, *at the perswasion of* DEMETRIVS PHARIVS, *enters into League with* HANNIBAL, *against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betweene* HANNIBAL *and* PHILIP.

THis being agreed vpon: the *Greekes* betooke themselues to quiet courses of life; and *Philip*, to prepare for the businesse of *Italie*, about which hee consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of *Canna*: after which hee ioyned in League with *Hannibal*, as hath beene shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to bee auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise beene farre more expedient for *Philip*, to haue supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mightie. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equall termes; and thereby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The issue of the counsaile which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon Conditions that might easily be broken: haue beene related in another place as belonging vnto the second Punick warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betweene Him and *Carthage*: which may seeme not vnworthie to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed; though it had beene ouer-long to haue beene inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

THE OATH AND COVENANTS BETWEENE *HANNIBAL*, GENERALL OF THE CARTHAGINIANS; and *XENOPHANES*, Embassador of PHILIP King of *Macedon*.

THIS is the League ratified by oath, which HANNIBAL *the Generall, and with him* MAGO, MYRCAL, *and* BARMOCAL, *as also the Senatours of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with* XENOPHANES *the sonne of* CLEOMACHVS *Athenian, whom King* PHILIP *the sonne of* DEMETRIVS *hath sent vnto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before* Iupiter, *and* Iuno, *and* Apollo: *before* † The god of the Carthaginians, Hercules, *and* Iolaus, † *Dæmon.* *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before* The Gods *accompanying Armes, the* Sun, *the* Moone, *and the* Earth; *before* Riuers, *and* Meddowes, *and* Waters; *before all the* Gods *that haue power ouer Carthage; before all the* Gods, *that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the* Gods, *that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League.* HANNIBAL the Generall *hath said, and all the Senatours that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie*: Be *it agreed betweene You and Vs, that this Oath stand for friendship and louing affection, that Wee become friends, familiar, and brethren, Vpon Couenant,* that *the safetie of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of* HANNIBAL the Generall *and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Prouinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes, and of the Vticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiors and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold friendship in Italie, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom We shall hold friend-*

ſhip or make Alliance hereafter in this Region; be preſerued by King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and ſuch of the Greekes as are their Aſſociates. In like manner ſhall King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Aſſociates, bee ſaued and preſerued by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Aſſociates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italie, Gaule and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or ſhall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italie. VVee ſhall not take counſaile one againſt the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. Withall readineſſe and good will, without deceit or ſubtiltie, We ſhall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting thoſe Kings, Townes, and Hauens, with which We haue alreadie league and friendſhip. Wee alſo ſhall be enemies to the enemies of King PHILIP, excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which VVee haue alreadie league and friendſhip. The war that VVe haue with the Romans, haue Ye alſo with them, vntill the Gods ſhall giue vs a new and happie end. Ye ſhall aide Vs with thoſe things whereof VVee haue neede, and ſhall doe according to the Couenants betweene Vs. But if the Gods ſhall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre againſt the Romans and their Aſſociates; then if the Romans offer friendſhip, VVe ſhall make friendſhip in ſuch wiſe that Ye ſhall be partakers of the ſame friendſhip, With Condition, That they ſhall not haue power to make war vpon you: Neither ſhall the Romans bee Lords ouer the Corcyræans, nor ouer thoſe of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They ſhall alſo render vnto DEMETRIVS PHARIVS all thoſe that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after ſuch peace made) ſhall make war vpon Ye or Vs; We will ſuccour one another in that warre, as either ſhall haue neede. The ſame ſhall be obſerued in warre made by any other, excepting thoſe Kings,

Kings, Cities, and States, with whom Wee hold alreadie league and friendſhip. To this League *if VVe or Ye ſhall thinke fit to adde or detract, ſuch addition or detraction ſhall be made by our common conſent.*

§. IIII.

How PHILIP *yeelded to his naturall vices being therein ſoothed by* DEMETRIVS PHARIVS. *His deſire to tyrannize vpon the free States his Aſſociates: With the troubles, into which hee thereby fell, whileſt he bore a part in the ſecond Puniske warre. He poiſoneth* ARATVS: *and growes hatefull to the Achæans.*

HItherto *Philip* had carried himſelfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wiſdome, he might haue offered his friendſhip to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppreſſed, than to the *Carthaginians* who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatneſſe of minde, with a deſire to ſecure and increaſe his owne eſtate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this buſineſſe he was guided (as hath beene ſaid) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himſelfe to his deſires: and thereby ſhortly gouerned him, euen as he lifted. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed ſuch as they ſeemed. He was luſtfull, bloudie, and tyrannicall: deſirous of power to doe what hee lifted, and not otherwiſe lifting to doe what hee ought, than ſo farre foorth, as by making a faire ſhew he might breede in men ſuch a good opinion of him, as ſhould helpe to ſerue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before he ſhould buſie himſelfe in *Italie*, hee thought it requiſite in good policie, to bring the *Greekes* that were his Aſſociates vnder a more abſolute forme of ſubiection. Hereunto *Apelles* had aduiſed him before: and hee had liked reaſonably well of the courſe. But *Apelles* was a boiſterous Counſellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himſelfe deepely wronged if he might not wholy haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunitie at better times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obſerue the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, thoſe affections which himſelfe did onely ſeeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and more in credit: ſo as, without any manner of contention, hee ſupplanted *Aratus*: which the violence of *Apelles* could neuer doe.

There aroſe about theſe times a very hote Faction among the *Meſſenians*, betweene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as happens often after a forrein warre) vnto domeſticall obiects: than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In proceſſe of no long time, the contention among them grew ſo violent, that *Philip* was entreated to compound the differences. Hee was glad of this: reſoluing ſo to end the matter, that they ſhould not hencefoorth ſtriue any more about their Gouernment: for that he would aſſume it wholly to himſelfe. At his comming thither, hee found *Aratus* buſie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne ſecret purpoſe. Wherfore he conſulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with ſuch of the *Meſſenians* as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to ſtand thus diſputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the inſolence of the vnruly Rabble: Contrariwiſe, in talking with the heades of the popular

pular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselues to be oppress'd by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselues from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gouernours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Oratours, that were, they said, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the People tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seemes, that it would be easie to worrie the sheepe, when the Dogges their guardians were slaine. But his falshood and double dealing was immediatly found out. Neyther did the yonger *Aratus* forbeare, to tell him of it in publike, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angrie at this. But hauing alreadie done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should neede the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. Hee led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was ouer *Messene*. There he pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place to his owne vse; for that it was of notable strength, and would serue to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadell of *Corinth*, which hee had alreadie, commaunded the entrance into that Countrie. Whilest hee was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrailes of the beast deliuered into his hands, as was the manner; He shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, hee should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue soothed him a little; were it onely for desire to make amends, for the angrie words newly spoken by his sonne. But as *Aratus* stood doubtfull what to answere, *Demetrius Pharius* gaue this verdict: *If thou bee a Southsayer, thou maist goe thy wayes, and let slippe this good aduantage*; *If thou be a King, thou must not neglect the oportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus he spake, resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* vnto the two hornes of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needes heare the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing vpon *Ithome*, Hee must lose all the other Castles that hee held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his souldiers, and keepe men in dutie, as hee had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice *Philip* yeelded at the present: but not without some dislike, thencefoorth growing betweene Him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beseemed them, in contradicting his will. Neyther was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discouered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceiued, that in resorting to his house, He had beene dishoneſt with his sonnes wife. Hee therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despight of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countriman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to beare him companie. In this journie He found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That vnhoneſt counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But He would needes haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his will, Hee seized vpon their Towne of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; hauing no good colour of

these

theſe doings: but thinking himſelfe ſtrong enough to doe what hee liſted, and not ſeeing whence they ſhould procure friends to helpe them. Thus in ſtead of ſettling the country, as his intended Voyage into *Italie* required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench; vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whileſt he was thus labouring to bind the hands that ſhould haue fought for him in *Italie*: *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into thoſe parts; who not onely maintained the *Epirots* againſt him, but procured the *Ætolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre; the occurrents whereof wee haue related before, in place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leiſure ſerued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former deſire, of oppreſſing the libertie of the *Meſſenians*; but made another journie into their Countrie, with hope to deceiue them, as before. They vnderſtood him better now than before; and therefore were not haſtie to truſt him too farre. When he ſaw that his cunning would not ſerue, Hee went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, inuaded them with open warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, becauſe none of his Confederates were deſirous to helpe him in ſuch an enterpriſe. In this attempt vpon *Meſſene* he loſt *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counſailor, and Flatterer, not his peruerter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worſe that he ſped, the more angrie he waxed againſt thoſe, that ſeemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the Miniſterie of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poyſoned old *Aratus*; and ſhortly after that, hee poyſoned alſo the yonger *Aratus*: hoping that theſe things would neuer haue beene knowne, becauſe they were done ſecretly, and the poyſons themſelues were more ſure, than manifeſt in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed vnto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Proceſſions, to bee celebrated euery yeere twice, with a Prieſt ordained vnto him for that purpoſe; as was accuſtomed vnto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to bee tranſlated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are ſaid to haue beene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to haue beene true; ſince the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increaſe of Idolatrie. *chap. 3. §. 12.*

The louing memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and ſingular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achæans* a marueilous diſlike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſaile for themſelues. At the preſent, the murder was not generally knowne or beleeued: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his help that had cõmitted it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great darers, and ſhameleſſe robbers. With theſe the *Romans* had made a League: whereof the Conditions were ſoone diuulged, eſpecially that maine point, concerning the diuiſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make; namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould haue the country and townes; but the *Romans* the ſpoile, and carrie away the people to ſell for ſlaues. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make ſtreight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their vnciuill diſpoſition; were much the more auerſe from them, when they perceiued how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Grèekes* account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauocke of the Country. The ſame conſideration moued alſo the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſtand off awhile, before they would declare themſelues for the *Ætolians*; whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late warre. The induſtrie therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, ſufficed to retaine them: eſpecially at ſuch time, as their owne neceſſitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himſelfe the *Dymæans*, by an ineſtimable benefit: recouering their Towne, after it had beene taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoeuer they might bee found, that had beene carried away

Captiue, and ſold abroad for ſlaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences paſt; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen men to vnderſtand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which cauſed him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſſe. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not aſhamed; He tooke *Polycratia* the wife of the yonger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerue to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make warre vpon him the ſecond time: for of that which happened in this their firſt Inuaſion, I holde it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of PHILOPŒMEN *Generall of the Achæans: and* MACHANIDAS, *Tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battaile betweene them, wherein* MACHANIDAS *is ſlaine.*

IT happens often, that the deceaſe of one eminent man diſcouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood vp *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and careleſſe of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a yong man, and hauing no command; did eſpeciall ſeruice to *Antigonus* at the battaile of *Sellaſia* againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence-forward vntill now he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldome or neuer at peace betweene themſelues; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelfe ſo ſtrictly, trauailing with all the Cities of the Confederacie to haue his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as alſo he ſo diligently trained them vp in all exerciſe of ſeruice, that hee made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their forces. Being after choſen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no leſſe care to reforme their militarie diſcipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparrell, houſholdſtuffe, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to proue the better Souldiours; and ſuteable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afarre off: that were vſefull in skirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for Surpriſes, or ſudden and haſtie Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had beene moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handie ſtrokes, they were good for nothing: ſo as they were wholly driuen to relie vpon the courage of their Mercinaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arme themſelues more weightily, to vſe a larger kind of ſhield, with good ſwords, and ſtrong pikes, fit for ſeruice at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files ſo deepe as had beene accuſtomed, but extending the Front, that he might vſe the ſeruice of many hands.

Eight Moneths were ſpent of that yeere, in which hee firſt was Prætor of the *Achæans*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* cauſed him to make triall, how his Souldiers had profited by his diſcipline. This *Machanidas* was the ſucceſſor vnto *Lycurgus*; a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a ſtrong Armie of Mercinaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for *Sparta*; but to hold the

the Citie in obedience to himſelfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were fauourers of libertie; but to ſtrengthen himſelfe by friendſhip of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people alſo of *Lacedæmon*, through their inueterate hatred vnto the *Argiues*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*; were in like ſort (all or moſt of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very vnwiſely. For in ſeeking to take reuenge vpon thoſe, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; they hindred themſelues thereby from recouering the Maſtrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his owne ſecuritie, and no ſmall hope of good that would follow, ſuffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but made him alwayes ready to fall vpon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whileſt they were enforced, by greater neceſſitie, to turne face another way. Thus had hee often done, eſpecially in the abſence of *Philip*: whoſe ſudden comming into thoſe parts, or ſome other oppoſition made againſt him, had vſually made him faile of his attempts. At the preſent He was ſtronger in men, than were the *Achæans*; and thought his owne men better Souldiours than were theirs.

Whileſt *Philip* therefore was buſied elſe-where, hee entred the Countrie of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * *Lordſhip of Peloponneſus*, as hauing ſtronger friendes, and weaker oppoſition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was readie to entertaine him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought betweene them a great battaile. The Tyrant had brought into the fielde vpon Cartes a great many of Engines; wherewith to beate vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in diſorder. To preuent this danger, *Philopœmen* ſent foorth his light armature a good way before him; ſo as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To ſecond theſe, from the one and the other ſide came in continuall ſupplie; till at length all the Mercinaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawne vp to the fight: being ſo far aduanced, each before their owne *Phalanx*, that it could no otherwiſe be diſcerned which preſſed forward, or which recoyled, than by riſing of the duſt. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made vnſeruiceable, by the interpoſition of his owne men; in ſuch manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in moſt of the battailes fought in theſe our times. The Mercinaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their aduantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obſerueth) by ſurmounting their oppoſites in degree of courage; wherein vſually the hired ſouldiers of Tyrants exceed thoſe that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which liue oppreſſed by Tyrannie, ſince the one, by doing their beſt in fight, haue hope to acquire ſomewhat beneficiall to themſelues, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to aſſure their owne ſeruitude: ſo the Mercinaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruites of his proſperitie, haue good cauſe to maintaine his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that ſerue vnder a free State, haue no other motiue to doe manfully, than their bare ſtipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victorie: many Companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are preſently caſt; and therefore ſuch good fellowes will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him ſtand in neede of more ſuch helpers: becauſe that after it he doth wrong to more, as hauing more ſubjects; and therefore ſtands in feare of more, that ſhould ſeeke to take reuenge vpon him. The ſtipendaries therefore of the *Achæans*, being forced to giue ground, were vrged ſo violently in their retrait by thoſe of *Machanidas*, that ſhortly they betooke themſelues to flight; and could not bee ſtaid by any perſwaſions of *Philopœmen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the *Achæans*. This diſaſter had beene ſufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had hee not wiſely obſerued the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that errour which might reſtore

* *Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 11. Plut in vita Philopœm.*

Polyb. ibid.

restore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries gaue chace vnto those that fled: leauing behind him in good order of battaile his *Lacedæmonians*; whom hee thought sufficient to deale with the *Achæans*, that were alreadie disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight; *Philopœmen* aduanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that stood before him. There lay betweene them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* aduentured ouer it, as thinking themselues better souldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a manner alreadie lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaile; and had no sooner the foremost of them recouered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first rankes being broken, all the rest began to shrinke: so as *Philopœmen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Machanidas* had done. Hee suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chace: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked very heauily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustie Troupe of Horse about him Hee made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in disorder; and to set vpon their backes, as they were carelessely pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then beganne euerie one to looke, which way he might shift for himselfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discouered by his purple Cassocke, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therefore leauing the charge of the bridge vnto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaile on the *Lacedæmonians* side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercinaries, probable it is that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should haue need.

§. VI.

PHILIP *hauing peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagona, Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the Galatians.*

BY this victorie the *Achæans* learned to thinke well of themselues. Neither needed they indeed after awhile (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselues in matter of war inferiour to any, that should haue brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the *Macedonian*, He made no great vse of them: But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, He studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very neerely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achæans* would haue done him seruice; they must, by helping him to oppresse others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with themselues. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a King, was ſcarce yet a Noble-man, otherwiſe than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetærus* his Vncle: who being guelded, by reaſon of a miſhap which hee had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to bee the more eſteemed: as great men in thoſe times repoſed much confidence in Eunuches, whoſe affections could not be obliged vnto wiues or children. He was entertained into the familie of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the firſt*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Maſter, that betooke himſelfe to *Lyſimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyſimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in truſt with his monie and accompts. But when at length hee ſtood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudie Tyrant: Hee fled into *Aſia*, where he ſeized vpon the Towne of *Pergamus*, and nine thouſand talents belonging to *Lyſimachus*. The towne and monie, together with his owne ſeruice, He offered vnto *Seleucus the firſt*, that then was readie to giue *Lyſimachus* battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleucus* hauing ſlaine *Lyſimachus*, died ſhortly after himſelfe, before he made vſe of *Philetærus* or his monie. So this Eunuch ſtill retained *Pergamus* with the Countrie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an abſolute King. Hee had two brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to haue been a poore Carter; and the yonger perhaps was not much better; before ſuch time as they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdome to the elder of theſe, or to the ſonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the diſſenſion, betweene *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the ſonnes of *the ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a battaile with *Hierax*, neere vnto *Sardes*; and wan the victorie. At which time, to animate his men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerued vnder his Enemie, he vſed a pretie deuice. He wrote the word * VICTORIE vpon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come off: and when the hote liuer of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He publiſhed this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainely fore-ſhewing that the gods would bee aſſiſtant in that Battaile.

* *Iul. Front. Strat. L. 1. C. 11.*

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemie to *Seleucus*: who neuer durſt attempt to recouer from him, by warre, the Territorie that hee had gotten and held. Finally, when hee had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a ſurfet of ouermuch drinke; and left his Kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom wee now entreat, that was ſonne vnto *Attalus* the yongeſt brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an vndertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no leſſe valiant. By his owne proper forces He reſtored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grieuouſly moleſted by *Achæus*: who ſetting vp himſelfe as King againſt *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his owne Citie of *Pergamus*: but by helpe of the *Tectoſagæ*, a Nation of the *Gaules*, whom hee called ouer out of *Thrace*, He recouered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gaules* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters; or interpoſed themſelues, without inuitation, and found themſelues worke in quarrels of their owne making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his warre againſt *Byzantium*. Whereunto when hee had condeſcended; they neuertheleſſe within a while after inuaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained againſt them a great victorie; and vſed it with great crueltie, ſparing neither age nor ſexe. But the ſwarme of them increaſing; they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont*: where, in ſeating themſelues, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuertheleſſe, preſuming afterwards vpon their ſtrength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the ſharpe exaction whereof, they had no more reſpect vnto *Attalus* than to any that had worſe deſerued of them. By this they compelled him to fight againſt them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themſelues within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following,

ing, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppresse the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill vp the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posteritie of such, as had saued themselues and their Prouinces, in the slothful reigne of the *Persians*; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his Macedonian followers. The *Cappadocians* were verie ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister vnto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Countrie was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, espying his time while the *Macedonians* were at ciuill warres among themselues; recouered his dominion, and passed it ouer to his off-spring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the Persian Empire; and are said to haue issued from the royall house of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* deriued themselues from *Pylæmenes*, a King that assisted *Priamus* at the warre of *Troy*. These, applying themselues vnto the times, were alwayes conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therfore, hauing other employment, they were the lesse molested. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrie; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of *Prusias*, whom wee haue alreadie sometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Towne of Cios taken by PHILIP, *at the instance of* PRVSIAS *King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions,* PHILIP *growes hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred vpon by* ATTALVS *King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.*

PRVSIAS as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatnesse he suspected. He therefore strengthned himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrarie side, entred into a strict Confederacie with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greekes*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* warre, and was deuising with *Antiochus* about sharing betweene them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomie Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a yong child his heire; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into *Asia*, there to winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and bestow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iust matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby hee mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadours came to him whilest hee lay at the siege, from the *Rhodians*, and diuers other States: entreating him to forsake the Enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answeres: making shew as if he would condiscend to their request; when he intended nothing lesse. At length hee got the Towne: where, euen in presence of the Embassadours, of whose sollicitation he had seemed so regardfull, Hee omitted no part of crueltie. Hereby hee rendred himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his Fact was detested of the *Rhodians*: who had made vehement intercession for the poore *Ciani*; and were aduertised by Embassadours of purpose sent vnto them from *Philip*, That, howsoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as soone as he listed: yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodians*, Hee was contented to giue

giue it ouer. And by this his clemencie the Embaſſadours ſaid, that he would manifeſt vnto the World, what ſlanderous tongues they were; which noyſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſions. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Towne of *Cios*, and, after a cruell ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaues of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great deſpight, no leſſe were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moued, with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his owne eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a ſtrong Partie in *Greece*. He had alreadie, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchaſing with much liberalitie the loue of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpetters of other mens vertue, hauing loſt their owne. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* he had cauſe to preſume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mightie at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Ægyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, Hee eaſily drew into a ſtreight Alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceiued againſt *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all in the readie aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open warre. It had been vnſeaſonable to procraſtinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemie tended; ſince his deſire to faſten vpon *Aſia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſſe manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not farre from *Chios*, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherin though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne ſhip on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* tooke his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the Wracks vpon the ſhore: Yet foraſmuch as He had ſuffered farre greater loſſe of ſhips and men, than had the Enemie: and ſince He durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victorie was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and wanne ſome Townes in *Caria*: whether onely in a brauerie, and to deſpight his oppoſites; or whether vpon any hopefull deſire of conqueſt; it is vncertaine. The ſtratageme, by which he wonne *Prinaſſus*, is worthie of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the Earth ſo ſtonie, that it reſiſted his worke, He neuertheleſſe commanded the Pyoners to make a noyſe vnder ground; and ſecretly in the night-time Hee rayſed great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the worke went marueilouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Townesmen, that by his vnder-myning, two acres of their wall ſtood onely vpon woodden props: to which if he gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they ſhould expect no mercie. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe vp thoſe heapes which they ſaw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherfore they ſuffered themſelues to be outfaced; and gaue vp the Towne as loſt, which the Enemie had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelfe in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte backe into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell against PHILIP. *The Athenians, vpon slight cause, proclaime warre against* PHILIP; *moued thereto by* ATTALVS; *whom they flatter.* PHILIP *winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptorie answere to the Roman Embassadour. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.*

THese *Asiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet serued well to make a noyse in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a desire of making warre in *Macedon*, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to doe. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Easterne Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greekes*, which lay betweene them and the Lordship of *Asia*. These *Greekes* were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As for the *Macedonian*, though length of time, and continuall dealings in *Greece* euer since the Reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturals: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because He was originally forsooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had been most beholding vnto him, were neuertheleſſe wearie of him, by reason of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of *Greece* would not long detaine the *Roman* Armies: especially since the diuisions of the Country were such, that euerie pettie Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without much regarding the generalitie. But the poore Commonaltie of *Rome* had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were alreadie quite exhausted, by that grieuous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had giuen by Loane to the Republike all their monie: neither had they as yet receiued, neither did they receiue vntill fifteene or sixteene yeeres after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of paiment also which was alreadie made, being not in present monie, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to rest awhile; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to heare, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent Embassadors to sollicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemie, that sollicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant shortly to hold warre with the *Romans* vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong either of himselfe, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, especially with the helpe of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to prediſpose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therfore could not thriue by intermeddling in the affaires of those, that were more mightie than himselfe. He was too vnskilfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needes be seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he deserued to haue them: for he offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in miserie, and had done him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to haue strained his forces to the vtmost in making warre vpon them; or, in desisting from that injurious course, to haue made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most naturall,

naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnleſſe they think themſelues iuſtly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that he might wel be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Couenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby ſuch articles of peace can be held inuiolable, ſaue onely **by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſitie*: which whileſt it bindes one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparent that he ſhall bee a loſer who ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long onely) bee preſumed, that there ſhall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* neuer hearkened after *Philip*: for neceſſitie made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*, then was this Riuer of *Styx* dried vp: and then could they ſweare as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne ſelues, euen by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Sopater* into *Africke*, and the preſent warre againſt *Attalus*; were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

* *Sir Fr. Bacon de Sap. veterum.*

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Territorie, tooke ſtate vpon them neuertheleſſe, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of *Initiation*, (wherein were deliuered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous ſuperſtition, vainly ſaide to bee auaileable vnto felicitie after this life) diſcouered themſelues by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that were initiated. Herevpon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meere errour, not thinking to haue therein done amiſſe; yet, as it had beene for ſome hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrymen at home tooke this in ill part; and ſought to reuenge it as a publike injurie, by warre vpon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* ſome *Macedonians* to helpe them, they entred into *Attica*: who waſted it with fire and ſword; and carried thence away with them a great bootie. This indignitie ſtirred vp the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had abilitie to performe. All which at the preſent they could doe, was to ſend Embaſſadours to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happie ſucceſſe againſt *Philip*, and entreating him to viſit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; becauſe he vnderſtood, that the *Roman* Embaſſadours, houering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpoſe to bee there at the ſame time. So he went thither, accompanied, beſides his owne followers, with ſome of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, hee found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and He being no leſſe glad, when he heard of their purpoſe to renew the warre. The *Athenians* came foorth of their Citie, all the Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and Citizens, with their wiues and children, in as ſolemne a pompe as they could deuiſe, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himſelfe they omitted no point of obſeruance, which their flatterie could ſuggeſt. At his firſt comming into the Citie they called the people to Aſſembly: where they deſired him to honour them with his preſence, and let them heare him ſpeake. But he excuſed himſelfe; ſaying, That with an euill grace he ſhould recount vnto them thoſe many benefits, by which he ſtudied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he ſhould deliuer in writing, what he would haue to be propounded. He did ſo. The points of his Declaration were; firſt, what he had willingly done for their ſake: then, what had lately paſſed betweene him and *Philip*: laſtly, an exhortation vnto them, to declare themſelues againſt the *Macedonian*, whileſt he with the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*, were willing and readie to take their part: which if they now refuſed to doe, He proteſted, that afterwards it would bee vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as

Hee to desire it. As for other matters; they loaded him with immoderate honours: and ordained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the bodie of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if Hee were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus beganne a great noyse of warre, wherein little was left vnto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all vpon them. But while these were vainly mis-spending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their partie: that contrarie to their olde manner were glad to bee at quiet: *Philip* wanne the Townes of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellespont*. Likewise passing ouer the *Hellespont*, Hee layd siege vnto *Abydus*; and wanne it, though Hee was faine to stay there long. The Towne held out, rather vpon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, then any great ability to defend it selfe against so mightie an Enemie. But the *Rhodians* sent thither onely one Quadrireme Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre too weake an aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embassadours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much vpon them.

These Embassadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent vnto *Ptolemie Epiphanes* King of *Ægypt*, to acquaint him with their victorie against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thanke him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that warre; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should neede it against *Philip*. This *Ægyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopator* had done before him) Hee beganne a very young boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, That out of *Ægypt* they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miseries of Warre had made all their owne Prouinces vnable to relecue them. This message could not but bee welcome to the *Ægyptian*: since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselues against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason bee hoped, that Hee, or his Councell for him, should offer to supplie the *Romans* with Corne: since this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leisure, and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius* the yongest of them should steppe aside, and visit *Philip*, to trie if he could make him leaue the siege of *Abydus*; which else He was like to carry. *Æmylius*, comming to *Philip*, telles him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, vpon whom Hee made warre, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Towne of *Abydus*, which Hee was now besieging, had a kind of dependancie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made warre vpon him: and that He did onely requite them with the like. *Doe you also* (sayd *Æmylius*) *requite these poore* ABYDENI *with such terrible Warre, for any the like Invasion by them first made vpon you?* The King was angry to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore Hee roundly made answere to *Æmylius*; *It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (aboue all,) your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus præsumptuous. But I would wish yee to remember the League that yee haue made with mee, and to keepe it: If yee doe otherwise, I will make yee vnderstand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than the Roman.* So Hee dismissed the Embassadour; and had the Towne immediatly yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to haue died euery one of them, and set their Towne on fire; binding themselues hereto

by

by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them vpon reaſonable Conditions. But having in deſperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, loſt the greateſt number of their Youth: it was thought meete by the Gouernours and Ancients of the Citie to change this reſolution; and take ſuch peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Siluer to *Philip*: about which whileſt they were buſie, the memorie of their oath wrought ſo effectually in the yonger ſort; that, by exhortation of their Prieſts, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themſelues. Hereof the King had ſo little compaſſion, that He ſaid, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leiſure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Towne; or hazard themſelues in interrupting the violence of thoſe mad fooles.

§. IX.

The Romans decree warre againſt PHILIP, *and ſend one of their Conſuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederats. How poore the Athenians were at this time, both in qualitie and eſtate.*

THis calamitie of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romanes* vnto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerely reſembled; though *Rome* was not alike intereſſed in the quarrell. But to helpe themſelues with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, euen the Citie of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* ſhould winne, then reſted there no more to doe, than that he ſhould preſently embarke himſelfe for *Italie*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in fiue moneths, but in the ſhort ſpace of fiue dayes ſayling. Thus *P. Sulpicius* the Conſul tolde the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon *Philip*; which at his firſt propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alleadged; to ſhew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vndertake: as alſo the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to ſhew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countrey. By ſuch arguments was the Commonaltie of *Rome* induced to beleeue, that this warre with the *Macedonian* was both juſt and neceſſary. So it was decreed: and immediatly the ſame Conſul haſted away towards *Macedon*, hauing that Prouince allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readineſſe, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people muſt bee acquainted with. Great thankes were giuen to the *Athenian* Embaſſadours, of their conſtancie (as was ſayd) in not changing their faith at ſuch time as they ſtood in danger of being beſieged. And indeed great thankes were due to them, though not vpon the ſame occaſion. For the people of *Rome* had no cauſe to thinke it a benefit vnto themſelues, that any *Greeke* Towne, refuſing to ſue vnto the *Macedonian* for peace, requeſted their helpe againſt him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conqueſt of the Eaſterne parts; had reaſon to giue thankes vnto thoſe, that miniſtred the occaſion. Since therefore it was an vntrue ſuggeſtion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and ſince neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in thoſe quarters, deſired the *Romanes* to giue them protection: theſe buſi-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and conſequently with *Philip*, a matter of *May-game*, (as was ſhewed before) ſent Embaſſadours into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolemie* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; muſt be accepted as cauſe of the warre, and Authours of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheleſſe as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpicius* the Conſul were ſuch, as might haue argued *Athens* to bee the leaſt part of his care. Hee ſailed not about *Peloponneſus*, but tooke the readie

way to *Macedon*; and landing about the Riuer of *Apſus*, betweene *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there beganne the warre. Soone vpon his comming the *Athenian* Embaſſadours were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whileſt he was ſo farre from them. They bemoaned themſelues as men beſieged, and intreated him to deliuer them. For which cauſe He ſent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces Hee retained with him, for the proſequution of a greater deſigne. The *Athenians* were not indeed beſieged: onely ſome Rouers from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*; and ſome bands of aduenturers out of *Corinth*, vſed to take their ſhippes and ſpoile their fields, becauſe they had declared themſelues againſt King *Philip*, that was Lord of theſe two Townes. The Robberies done by theſe Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From ſuch detriment the arriuall of *Claudius*, and ſhortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, eaſily preſerued them. As for the *Athenians* themſelues; they that had been wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the Conqueſts of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make warre vpon the great *Perſian* King; and to hold ſo much of *Greece* in ſubiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the reſt; had now no more than three ſhippes, and thoſe open ones, not much better then long Boates. Yet thought they not themſelues a whit the worſe men; but ſtood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Anceſtors, as if it had been ſtill their owne.

§. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Eubœa, taken and ſackt by the Romans and their Aſſociates, that lay in Gariſon at Athens. PHILIP *attempteth to take Athens by Surpriſe: waſteth the Countrey about: and makes a iourney into Peloponneſus. Of* NABIS *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife.* PHILIP *offers to make Warre againſt* NABIS *for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he ſpoyleth againe: and prouides againſt his Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Diuers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the warre.*

PHILIP, returning home from *Abydus*, heard newes of the *Roman* Conſul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he ſtirred forth to giue him entertainement; or perhaps before hee had well reſolued, whether it were beſt awhile to ſit ſtill, and trie what might bee done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make oppoſition, and reſiſt theſe Inuaders with all his forces: Hee receiued aduertiſement from *Chalcis* of a grieuous miſhap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no ſuch worke at *Athens* as they had expected, or as was anſwerable to the fame that went abroad; purpoſed to doe ſomewhat that might quicken the Warre, and make his owne imployment better. Hee grew ſoone weary of ſitting as a Scarre-Crowe, to ſaue the *Athenians* grounds from ſpoyle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a buſineſſe of more importance. The Towne of *Chalcis* was negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiours therein, for that there was no enemie at hand; and more negligently by the Townſmen, who repoſed themſelues vpon their Garriſon. Hereof *Claudius* hauing aduertiſement, ſailed thither by night for feare of being diſcried; and, arriuing there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He vſed no mercie, but ſlue all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it, (vnleſſe hee ſhould haue left the heartleſſe *Athenians* to their owne defence) Hee ſet it on fire; conſuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all prouiſions for Warre, which were plenteouſly filled. Neither were Hee and his Aſſociats

contented

contented with the great abundance of spoyle which they carried about their ships, and with inlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrew and brake in pieces the Statuas vnto him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit were like to bee ioyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about some twenty miles thence; whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all haste to take reuenge. Hee thought to haue taken the *Athenians*, with their trustie Friends, busie at worke in ransaking the Towne, and loading themselues with spoyle: but they were gone before his comming. Fiue thousand light-armed-foote hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at *Chalcis* onely a few to burie the dead, Hee marched thence away speedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-Post that stood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not descried him afarre off, and swiftly carried word of his approch to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne asleepe, as feareless of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarme; and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation vsuall in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselues till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by Sea, and had no cause of haste) yet hauing in the Towne some mercinarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approch. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. He therfore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight he gaue singular proofe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the Citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the very gate. But he retired without harme taken; for that they which were vpon the Towres ouer the gate, could not vse their casting weapons against him, without indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the Citie. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments besides, neere adioyning vnto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time, to preuent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet hee had not done. So he departed thence to *Corinth*: and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thither to them vnexpected.

The *Achæans* were deuising vpon warre: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being started vp in the roome of *Machanidas*, did greater mischiefe then any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his Mercinaries; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him; and one that in his naturall condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexteritie was no greater in spoyling the men, than hers in fleecing their wiues; whom she would neuer suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their *iewels* and *apparell*. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to bee made liuely representing her; *Liu. lib 32.*

Excerpt. è Polyb. li. 13.

and apparrelled it with such costly garments as shee vsed to weare. But it was indeede an *Engine*, seruing to torment men. Hereof he made vse, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose monie hee was desirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this Counterfait *Apega* stood, and there vse all his Art of perswasion, to get what hee desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speede, but was answered with excuses: then tooke he the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife *Apega* (who sate by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So hee led him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nayles, the like whereof were also sticking in the 10 brests, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Gouernment. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romanes*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former Warre. Of *Philopœmens* vertue hee stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a farre worse Captaine, was their Prætor; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercinaries were discharged; *Philopœmen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his 20 beloued Occupation of Warre: then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had set downe, what proportion of Souldiours euery Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselues with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thankes they accepted of this kinde offer. But then hee told them, That, whilest he made warre vpon *Lacedæmon*, Hee ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some 30 Companies into the Ile of *Eubœa*; that so he might securely pursue the warre against *Nabis*. Immediatly they found out his deuice; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the *Romans*: Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against *Nabis*; hee brake vp the Assemblie, with euery mans good liking; whereas in former times, Hee had been thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieued the King to haue thus failed in his purpose with the *Achæans*. Neuertheless, he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Co-* 40 *rinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had been doing what harme he might vnto the Countrie. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Eleusine*, the Hauen of *Pyræus*, and euen the Citie of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselues into euery of these places; that hee could no more then wreak his anger vpon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So Hee destroyed all the workes of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe been masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did hee onely pull all downe: but caused his men to 50 breake the very stones, that they might be vnseruiceable to the reparation. His losse at *Chalcis* being thus reuenged vpon *Athens*, Hee went home into *Macedon*: and there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infest

feſt him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage; requelling them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman Conſul encamped vpon the Riuer of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Armie to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* tooke ſundrie Caſtles and Townes; vſing ſuch extremitie of ſword and fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Towne which he wanne by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, vnleſſe they knew themſelues able to holde out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoile, He was charged in Rere, vpon the paſſage of a Brooke, by *Athenagoras* a Macedonian Captaine: but the *Romans* had the better; and killing many of theſe enemies, tooke priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their bootie, with which they arriued in ſafetie at their Campe. The ſucceſſe of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet ſerued to draw into the Roman friendſhip, thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the ſonne of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*; *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*; and *Bato*, the ſonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance vnto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That hee would ſhortly make vſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Countrie lay betweene the *Ætolians* and *Theſſalie*, might bee perhaps auaileable with the *Ætolians*, to ſtirre them vp againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholy ſet vpon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadours from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt: and ſaide, That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of peace betweene his Maſter and the *Ætolians*: ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelues without good cauſe, to be caried away after other mens fancies. Hee prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made ſhew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended onely to defence of the *Ætolians*: and yet notwithſtanding had beene angrie, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer neede of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection vpon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore vnto the *Greekes*. For euen after the ſame ſort had they lent their helpe to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards deliuered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by Carthaginian Tyrants: but now both *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, were ſubiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alleadged many examples, adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who, if they drew ſuch Maſters into *Greece*, muſt not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to conſult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went euery yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was beſt for them, whileſt as yet they might, and whileſt one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occaſion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly bee reconciled: and with whom they had three yeeres agoe made the peace which ſtil continued; although the ſame *Romans* were then againſt it, who ſought to breake it now. It would haue troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good anſwere to theſe obiections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunitie, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeake next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embaſſadour, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few dayes paſt, made war vpon the gods themſelues, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a pitifull rehearſall of their

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owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might haue his will, *Ætolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feele the same that *Attica* had felt; yea that *Athens* it selfe, together with *Minerua*, *Iupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the wals and the Roman armes had not defended them. Then spake the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken armes, went roundly to the point in hand. They sayd, that they had of late made warre in the *Ætolians* behalfe, and that the *Ætolians* had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Ætolians* must excuse themselues, by alleaging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to giue them aid conuenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemie, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their warre and victorie, vnlesse they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceiued, that they which were so vehement, in offering their helpe ere it was desired, were themselues carried vnto the war by more earnest motiues, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue beene the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor shifted them off awhile with a dilatorie answere: though hee told his Countrymen, That by reseruing themselues, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answere was, first, in generall termes; That ouer-much haste was an enemie to good counsell: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But comming neerer to the matter in hand, He passed a Decree, *That the Prætor might at any time call an Assemblie of the States, and therein conclude vpon this businesse; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding*: whereas otherwise it was vnlawfull to treat of such affaires, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of PHILIP *with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians inuade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* ATTALVS *and the Roman Fleet.*

PHILIP was glad to heare, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their sollicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keepe the Streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardanians*; hauing with him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was iudged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how young soeuer, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at least beleeue, that he was not weakely attended. And this may haue been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet vnder *Heraclides*, would serue to keepe *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harme by sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his journie Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the countrey of the *Dassaretij*, a people in the vtmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the mountaines of *Candauia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North vntill they ioyne in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Westerne parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth

of

of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the ſtrength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to ſend foorth ſome of his light-armed Mercinaries, and ſome part of his horſe, to entertaine them with skirmiſh. Theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, and driuen backe into their Campe. Now although it was ſo, that the King was vnwilling to hazard all at firſt vpon a Caſt, and therefore ſent for *Perſeus* with his Companies, to increaſe his owne forces: yet being no leſſe vnwilling to loſe too much in reputation; He made ſhew a day after, as if he would haue fought. He had found the aduantage of a place fit for ambuſh, wherein he beſtowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and ſo gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captaines, to prouoke out the *Romans* to fight; inſtructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themſelues reſpectiuely, as opportunitie ſhould fall out. The *Romans* had no miſtruſt of any ambuſh; hauing fought vpon the ſame ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue ſuſtained ſome notable detriment, if the Kings directions had beene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him ſo hotly, that they draue him to an haſtie flight, and purſued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not ſtaying to let them runne into the danger, diſcouered themſelues before it was time; and thereby made fruſtrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conſul heereby gathered, that the King had ſome deſire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which hee therefore preſented the ſecond time; leading forth his Armie, and ſetting it in order, with Elephants in front: a kind of helpe which the *Romans* had neuer vſed before, but had taken theſe of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was ſcarce aboue foureſcore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italie*, to affright the *Romans*, who had neuer ſeene any of thoſe beaſts before. But now the ſame *Romans* (whileſt poſſibly ſome were yet aliue, which had knowne that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greekes* haue none. *Philip* had patience to let the Conſul braue him at his Trenches: wherein hee did wiſely: for the *Roman* had greater neede to fight, than Hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to loſe time: neither could hee without great danger, lying ſo neere the Enemie, that was ſtrong in horſe, ſend his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he remoued eight miles off: preſuming that *Philip* would not aduenture to meete him on euen ground; and ſo the more boldly he ſuffered his Forragers to ouer-runne the Countrie. The King was nothing ſorry of this; but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleaſure: euen till their preſumption, and his owne ſuppoſed feare, ſhould make them careleſſe. When this was come to paſſe, hee tooke all his horſe, and light-armed-foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There he ſtayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt hee ſent abroad the Countrie, to fall vpon the ſtraglers: willing them to put all to the ſword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the handes of them that were ſent abroad to ſcowre the fields, lighted all or moſt of them vpon the King and his companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themſelues, raiſed a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends foorth all his horſe, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they ſaw it needfull: He himſelfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horſe diuided themſelues, accordingly as they met with aduertiſements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philips* Troupes, that were canuaſſing the field, tooke their taske where they found it. But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himſelfe. They had the diſaduantage: as comming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was readie for them.

So

So they were beaten away: as their fellowes alſo might haue beene, if the King had well bethought himſelfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with ſuch an harueſt, he was too greedie about a poore gleaning: the Roman Legions appeared in ſight: which emboldened their horſe to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the *Macedonians* to looke to their owne ſafety. They ranne which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are ſeldome heedfull of that which may befall themſelues) to eſcape the Enemie, they declined the faireſt way; ſo as they were plunged in Mariſhes and Bogges, wherein many of them were loſt. The Kings horſe was ſlaine vnder him: and there had hee beene caſt away, if a louing ſubiect of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horſe; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foote was ouertaken, and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improuident raſhneſſe; and the Conſul, with as much dulneſſe, for his dayes ſeruice. A little longer ſtay would haue deliuered the King from theſe enemies without any blowe: ſince when all the fields about them were waſted, they muſt needes haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other ſide it was not thought vnlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had ſet vpon his Campe, at ſuch time as he fled thither, halfe amazed vvith feare of being either ſlaine or taken, they might haue vvonne it. But that noble Hiſtorian, *Liuie*, (as is commonly his maner) hath iudiciouſly obſerued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay ſafe in his Campe; and could not bee ſo aſtoniſhed with the loſſe of two or three hundred Horſe, that it ſhould therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himſelfe; He was aduertiſed, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the paſſage thereinto open, after *Perſeus* was called away from cuſtodie of the Streights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe ſomewhat betimes; that he might ſet the *Romans* going the ſooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troubleſome neighbours. In conſideration of this, *Philip* was deſirous to cleere himſelfe of the *Romans*, as ſoone as he might. And to that purpoſe he ſent vnto the Conſul; requeſting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in ſtead of ſo doing, hee marched away by night; and left fires in his Campe to beguile the Enemie, as if hee had not ſtirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when hee heard of the Kings departure, was not ſlow to follow him. He ouertooke the *Macedonians* in a place of ſtrength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddie ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was moſt open. In making of ſuch places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little vſe; being a ſquare battaile of pikes, not fit for euerie ground. The Archers of *Crete* were iudged, and were indeed, more ſeruiceable in that caſe. But they were few; and their arrowes were of ſmall force againſt the Roman ſhield. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of ſtones. But to no purpoſe. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (ſuch as it was) layd open vnto the Conſul ſome poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by ſtrong hand, partly yeelded for feare. But the ſpoyle of theſe, and of the fields adioyning, was not ſufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* vvas come backe, vvithdrevv themſelues apace out of the Countrey. The King ſent *Athenagoras* to vvaite vpon them home; vvhileſt he himſelfe vvent againſt the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reſerued himſelfe and his Nation vnto the euent of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and againe: as alſo that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen vpon *Macedon*; grew no leſſe buſie on the ſudden, than before hee had beene vviſe. He perſwaded his Nation to take their time: and ſo, not ſtaying to proclaime warre, ioyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made inuaſion vpon *Theſſalie*. They tooke and cruelly ſacked a few Townes: whereby they

grew

grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to haue taken their Campe; if *Aminander*, more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountaynous Countrie.

About the same time; the *Roman* Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean* Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Ile of *Eubœa*; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen to *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were giuen to the *Romans*; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindred; either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

§. XII.

VILLIVS *the Roman Consul wastes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italie. An Embassie of the Romans to Carthage*, MASANISSA, *and* VERMINA. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and* T. QVINTIVS FLAMINIVS *is sent against him.*

THus the time ranne away: and *P. Villius*, a new Consul, tooke charge of the warre in *Macedon*. Hee was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiors: whereof two thousand, hauing serued long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themselues much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at *Cannæ*: as may seeme by their complaint, of hauing beene long absent from *Italie*; whither faine they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the Historie of his yeere is lost: whereof the misse is not great; since hee did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we find in *Liuie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Liuie* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Authour; we may reasonably beleeue, that *Villius* his yeere was idle. *Liui. l. 32.*

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* Warre, the *Romans* found more trouble than could haue bin expected with the *Gaules*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had beene able to force; was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted, but saued her selfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that staied behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the *Gaules*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadours to the *Carthaginians*: giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behoued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made warre in *Italie*. Herevnto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seeme otherwise to haue sauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitiue slaues belonging vnto the *Romans*, there were some reported to walke vp and down in *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to bee restored backe to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadours that were sent on this errand; had further charge to treat with *Masanissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Masanissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure Hee might doe them; by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serue in their Warre against

against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of *King*: and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemie, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answere, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corne to *Rome*; and the like vnto the Armie that was in *Macedon*. King *Masanissa* would haue lent vnto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* Horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadours, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*: they laid siege vnto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile: and the fruit of the Victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwardes should haue the managing of warre among those *Gaules*. So was there good leisure to thinke vpon the businesse of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully prouiding to giue contentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsailour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselfe the *Achæans*, by rendring vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a journie (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Prouince; whose comming was expected; and he very shortly arriued at the Armie.

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The Romans beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. QVINTIVS *winnes a passage against* PHILIP. *Thessalie wasted by* PHILIP, *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine.* PHILIP *deliuers Argos to* NABIS *the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.*

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This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the Warre might be ended by com-

compoſition, vpon ſome reaſonable termes. He therefore ſo dealt with ſome of the *Epirots*, (among whom hee had many friends) that Hee and the Conſul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conſul would haue him to ſet all Townes of *Greece* at libertie; and to make amends for the injuries, which hee had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to thoſe whom he had ſubdued of late: but vnto ſuch, as had been long ſubiect vnto him and his Anceſtors, He thought it againſt all reaſon, that he ſhould relinquiſh his claime and dominion ouer them. Hee alſo ſaid, That as farre foorth as it ſhould appeare that he had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatſoeuer, He could well be pleaſed to make ſuch amends, as might ſeeme conuenient in the iudgement of ſome free State, that had not been intereſſed in thoſe quarrels. But herewithall *Quintius* was not ſatisfied. There needed (hee ſayd) no iudgement or compromiſe; foraſmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwaies beene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they ſhould come to particulars: and when the Conſul was required to name thoſe Townes, that he would haue to be ſet at libertie; the firſt that hee named were the *Theſſalians*. Theſe had been Subiects (though conditionall) vnto the *Macedonian* Kings, euer ſince the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as ſoone as *Flaminius* had named the *Theſſalians*; the King in a rage demanded, what ſharper Condition Hee would haue layd vpon him, had he been but vanquiſhed. And herewithall abruptly he flang away; refuſing to heare any more of ſuch diſcourſe.

After this the Conſul ſtroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to haue preuailed againſt the difficulties of that paſſage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himſelfe, and could not reſolue what courſe to take: there came to him an Heardſman, ſent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that fauoured the *Romans*, who hauing long kept beaſts in thoſe Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore vndertooke to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they ſhould haue aduantage of the Enemie. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was faſt bound: and, being promiſed great reward, in caſe he made good his word; had ſuch Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They trauailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and reſted in the day-time, for feare of being diſcouered. When they had recouered the hill-toppes, and were aboue the *Macedonians*, (though vndiſcouered by them, becauſe at their backs) they raiſed a great ſmoke; whereby they gaue notice of their ſucceſſe vnto the Conſul. Some skirmiſhes, whileſt theſe were on their iournie, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning hee ſaw the ſmoke ariſe more and more plainely, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were ſent: He preſſed as neere as he could vnto the Enemies Campe; and aſſailed them in their ſtrength. Hee preuailed as little as in former times; vntill the ſhoutings of thoſe that ranne downe the Hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, aſtoniſhed ſo the *Macedonians*, that they betooke themſelues to flight. The King, vpon firſt apprehenſion of the danger, made all ſpeed away to ſaue himſelf. Yet anon conſidering, that the difficulty of the paſſage muſt needes hinder the *Romans* from purſuing him: He made a ſtand at the end of fiue miles; and gathered there together his broken troupes, of whom hee found wanting no more than two thouſand men. The greateſt loſſe was of his Campe and prouiſions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* beganne to ſtand in feare, leſt being driuen from a place of ſuch aduantage, they ſhould hardly make good their partie againſt the Enemie, vpon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himſelfe much better perſwaded. Wherefore he cauſed the *Theſſalians*, as many of them as in his haſtie retrait he could viſit, to forſake their Townes and Countrie; carrying away with them as much as they were able, and ſpoyling all the reſt. But all of them could not be perſwaded,

swaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better doe, for that hee could not stay to vse any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it very grieuously, that he was driuen to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, which had euer been well affected vnto him: so that a little hinderance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose; and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were euen in a readinesse to inuade *Thessalie*; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their seuerall Countries. When therefore they heard for certaintie, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romanes*: they foreslowed not the occasion; but made all speede, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his comming, that He, in gleaning after their harueſt, could not finde enough to maintaine his Armie. Thus were the poore *Thessalians*, of whose libertie the *Romans* a few daies since had made shew to bee very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselues, or whom to auoide. *T. Quintius* wan *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yeelded vnto him. *Rhage* he besieged: and hauing made a faire breach, yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian Garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recollected his spirits, houered about *Tempe* with his Armie; thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing wel-neere spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to preuaile at *Rhage*; brake vp his siege, and departed out of *Thessalie*. Hee had appointed his shippes of burden to meete him at *Anticyra*, an Hauen towne of *Phocis*, on the Gulfe of *Corinth*: which Countrie being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently inuaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conueniently seated betweene *Thessalie* and other Regions, wherein he had businesse, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in *Phocis* he wan by assault: many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this warre, ioyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They wan two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward layd siege vnto *Cenchree*, an Hauen and Arcenal of the *Corinthians* on their Easterne Sea. This enterprise did somewhat helpe forward the *Achæans*, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip*: since it might come to passe, that *Corinth* it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendred vnto their Nation, by fauour of the *Romans*.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the *Achæans* to preferre the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had beene long accustomed. For this King had so many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whileſt being intangled in a dangerous warre, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poysoning of *Aratus* their old Gouernour: His false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as *a necessary euill*, euen whileſt they were vnable to bee without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, so as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well subsist, as hauing him to friend: then did they onely thinke how *euill* he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that he was become no longer *necessary*. It angred him to perceiue how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers, to take away the life of * *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterprise, and being detected, he

* *Plut. in vita Philopœm. Iustin. l. 29.*

he did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was throughly drie before, and prepared to burne. *Philopœmen* wrought so with the *Achæans*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to with-draw themselues from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadæs*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristænus* chosen Prætor, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the *Romans*.

These newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadours were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*; making promise, that they should haue *Corinth* restored vnto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sicyon*, to deliberate and resolue in this weighty case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Achæans*, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadours of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this busines, admonishing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassadour, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the *Achæans* to vnderstand, That hee, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel; who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preseruation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sence of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which he, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baites, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this war. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, they forthwith entred into society: with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, vntill the Senate and People had approued it) they forbore to decree any society at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadours from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymæans*, and *Argiues*, hauing done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honestie thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argiues* had so little thanke; that all the rest of the *Achæans* may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a solemne day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discouered it selfe so plainely, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Philocles*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*; whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude readie to ioyne with him, Hee easily compelled the *Achæan* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gaue him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie, whilest as yet with his honour he might seeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly bee chosen; who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to prædispose things vnto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay

then

then called *the Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Gulfe of Ziton*, in the *Ægæan* Sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; an Embaſſadour of *Attalus*, the Admirall of *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his owne Captaines, and *Cyclia-das*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achaia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore: though fearing (as he ſaid) none but *the immortall Gods*: yet miſdoubting ſome treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the *Romans* were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliuer vp to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegado's; likewiſe whatſoeuer hee held of theirs in *Illyria*; and whatſoeuer about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolemie* then King of *Ægypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and ſpoyled in the late warre betweene them. The *Rhodians* would haue againe the Countrie of *Peræa*, lying ouer againſt their Iland; as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons, out of diuers Townes about the *Helleſpont*, and other Hauens of their friends. The *Achæans* deſired reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not vniuſtly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their conſent. The *Ætolians* tooke vpon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leauing it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatſoeuer hee held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they here-withall content: but inſolently declaimed againſt him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſalie*; corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the Victors, by deſtroying, when he was vanquiſhed, thoſe Townes which elſe they might haue gotten. To anſwer theſe malapert *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to row neerer the ſhore. But they began to plie him afreſh: telling him, that he muſt obey his betters; vnleſſe he were able to defend himſelfe by force of Armes. He anſwered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with ſundry ſcoffes; and eſpecially with one, which made the *Roman* Conſul vnderſtand, what manner of companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For hee ſaid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewiſe the beſt of the *Greekes*; deſiring them to abrogate a vvicked Lavv, vvhich permitted them *to take ſpoile from ſpoile*: yet could he get no better an anſwere, than *that they would ſooner take Ætolia out of Ætolia*. *Titus* wondred what might bee the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by ſending voluntaries to ſerue on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoyle both the one and the other. As for the libertie of *Greece*, He ſaid it was ſtrange that the *Ætolians* ſhould be ſo carefull thereof, ſince diuers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeede no *Grecians*: werefore hee would faine know, whether the *Romanes* would giue him leaue to make ſlaues of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greekes*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the *Ætolians* well rattled vp; touching whom he began to vnderſtand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of ſetting all *Greece* at libertie, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beſeeme the greatneſſe of the *Romans*; though hee would alſo conſider, vvhat might beſeeme his ovvne dignitie. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petrie Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume, vnder countenance of the *Romans*, to take vpon them, as if by their great might he ſhould be hereunto compelled: it vvas, he ſaid, a ſtrange and ridiculous inſolence. The *Achæans* he charged vvith much ingratitude; reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their ovvne; vvherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, vvith more then humane honors. Neuertheleſſe he ſaid, that he vvould render *Argos* vnto them: but, as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate vvith *Titus* himſelfe. Thus he addreſſed himſelfe vvholly to the *Roman* Generall; vnto vvhom if he could giue ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late vvarre, (he ſaid) vvas onely defenſiue; they hauing been the offerers: or if he gaue them any occaſion,

Excerpt. è Polyb. li. 17.

it was onely in helping *Prusias*, his sonne-in-law; neither did hee see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than hee at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of *Venus*, hee had cut downe the Groue, and pleasant walkes thereabouts: what could hee doe more, than send Gardiners thither with yong plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus he iested the matter out: but offered neuertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to giue backe the Region of *Perœa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and he ill prouided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. *For your being so ill prouided of Counsaile*, said TITVS, *you may euen thanke your selfe; as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the waightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolue. But it was beleeued, that he thereby sought to abbridge the *Ætolians* of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that hee desired conference in priuate with the *Roman* Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That hee would giue the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Ætolians*, that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsoeuer they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associats heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which hee now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, hee would suffer himselfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they mette early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection harken vnto good offers of peace; and immediatly conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendred; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadours to *Rome*, where hee would referre himselfe to the courtesie of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintius* would haue it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected byending of the warre. So hee easily preuailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resoluedly either in Warre or peace. Further, he willed them to send their seuerall Embassadours to *Rome*: which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their preiudice. Among the rest hee perswaded King *Aminander*, to make a iourney to *Rome* in person: knowing wel, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadours, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons vvhich they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadours of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; vvhich was more desirous of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in vndertaking to set *Greece* at libertie. But this (they said) could neuer be effected; vnlesse especiall care were taken, that the King should bee dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they vvere so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrey, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seruilitie;

litie; that the Senate agreed to haue it euen ſo as they deſired. When therfore the Embaſſadours of *Philip* were brought in, and began to haue made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middeſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *whether their Maſter would yeeld vp Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias*: Heereto they made anſwere, That, concerning thoſe places, the King had giuen them no direction or Commiſſion what to ſay, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer harken to *Philips* deſire of peace; wherein they ſaid hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embaſſadours haue truely ſaide, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treatie required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any Claime to either of theſe Townes? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right; (though their right were no better, than that, hauing ſtolne it from One *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine vnto an Other) *Philip* had alreadie condeſcended to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue beene alleadged, euen againſt the *Greekes* in excuſe of the King, by ſome of *T. Quintius* his friends; that ſo hee might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a Succeſſor had beene decreed vnto him. But ſince Hee was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor Hee himſelfe, after the returne of the Embaſſadours into *Greece*, cared to giue eare vnto any talke of peace.

Philip, ſeeing that his *Achæans* had forſaken him, and ioyned with their common enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himſelfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated moſt. There were not many yeeres paſt, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne ſtrength, had beene almoſt ſtrong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force conſiſted in a manner wholly in his Mercinaries: for he was a Tyrant; though ſtiling himſelfe King. Yet he ſorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore ſeemed vnto *Philip* one likely to ſtand him in great ſtead, if he could be won. To this purpoſe it was thought meet, that the Towne of *Argos*, which could not otherwiſe be eaſily defended, ſhould bee conſigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that ſuch a benefit would ſerue to tie him faſt vnto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Maſters purpoſe to make a ſtreight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giuing ſome daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his ſonnes. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made ſome ſcruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*; vnleſſe by decree of the citizens themſelues He might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argiues*: but found them ſo auerſe; that, in open aſſemblie of the people, they deteſted the verie name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occaſion to rob and fleece them. So hee willed *Philocles*, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which he was readie to receiue. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Armie into it by night; and gaue him poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argiues*: who for very loue had forſaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himſelfe Maſter of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderſtanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the firſt tumult. Wherefore they were all baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. The reſt of the chiefe Citizens that ſtayed behinde, were commaunded to bring foorth, out of hand, all their Gold and Siluer. Alſo a great impoſition of money was laid vpon all thoſe, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were diſmiſſed without more adoe. But if any ſtood long vpon the matter: or played the theeues, in purloyning their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, beſides loſſe of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely ſuch, as might ſerue to make him gracious with the raſcall multitude: abro-

gating

gating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath beene an olde custome of Tyrants, to assure themselues of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, Hee sent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to joyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he tooke the paines to crosse ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cauill touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent vnto the *Romans* sixe hundred of his Mercinaries of *Crete*: as also hee agreed with the *Achaans*, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the finall conclusion of peace betweene them vntill the Warre of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIIII.

The battaile at Cynoscephalæ, wherein PHILIP *was vanquished by* T. QVINTIVS.

TITVS QVINTIVS, as soone as he vnderstood that he was appointed to haue Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwardes wholly to relie vpon himselfe.

Plut. in vita T. Q. Flam.

Titus had in his Armie about sixe and twentie thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessalie*; and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to haue met vnawares, neere vnto the Citie of *Pheræ*: where the vant-courriers on both sides discouered each other; and sent word thereof vnto their seuerall Captaines. But neither of them were ouerhastie, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their seuerall Campes, with little aduantage vnto either side. The Countrie about *Pheræ* was thicke set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it vnproper for seruice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remoue back vnto *Scotusa* in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully serued with all necessaries. *Titus* conceiued aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it only to waste the Countrie. There lay betweene them a great ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuertheless they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discouerers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the *Ætolians* had not beene desperate, the *Romans* their fellowes had beene driuen backe into their Campe. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* preuailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine to bring foorth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the newes

came

came to him thicke and tumultuouſly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could vſe an occaſion, the like whereof he ſhould not often find. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp thoſe hils, which, for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ*. As ſoone as hee was on the hil-top; it did him good to ſee that they of his owne light armature were buſie in fight, almoſt at the verie Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled ſo farre. He had alſo libertie to chooſe his ground, as might ſerue beſt his aduantage: foraſmuch as the *Romans* were quite driuen from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie he could make no great vſe: the roughneſſe of the place among thoſe *Dogs heads*, as they were called, ſeruing nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Neuertheleſſe hee found conuenient roome, wherein to marſhall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the reſt; embattailing them as they might. Whileſt hee was doing this: Hee perceiued that his Horſemen and light armature beganne to ſhrinke; as being falne vpon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He ſets forward to helpe them: and they no leſſe haſtily draw vnto him for ſuccour; hauing the *Romans* not farre behinde them.

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded thoſe of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Heere *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great ſquare battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to thoſe which are now vſed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vſed, as are ours; was not to bee reſiſted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it ſelfe held together vndiſſolued. The *Macedonians* were embattailed in very cloſe order: ſo that two of them ſtood oppoſite to one of the *Romans*; as alſo the pikes of the firſt ranke, had their points aduanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherfore it is no maruel, if the *Romans* gaue backe: euery one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer vnto the next of them, than the length of a doozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that ſtill the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obſerued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuenneſſe of the ground, to put themſelues in order: ſo as either they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or elſe (which was worſe) vpon deſire either of beholding the paſtime, or of ſeeming to bee partakers in the worke, ranne fooliſhly along by the ſide of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their diſorder Hee made great and preſent vſe. Hee cauſed the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, againſt theſe ill ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increaſe the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to diſpute what ſhould bee done in ſuch a caſe, than well aduiſed what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeede if they ſhould haue done their beſt, it could not haue ſerued; ſince the ground whereon they ſtood, made their weapons vnuſefull. For let it be ſuppoſed, that *Philip* hauing ſixe and twentie thouſand in his Armie (as he is ſaid to haue beene equall to the Enemie in number) had foure thouſand Horſe, foure thouſand Targettiers, and foure thouſand light-armed: ſo ſhall there remaine fourteene thouſand Pikes; whereof hee himſelfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing vſually ſixeteene in File, muſt, when it conſiſted of ſeuen thouſand, haue well neere foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would ſerue, to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or ſeuen and thirtie Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to euery man of them three foote of ground: this Front muſt haue occupied twelue hundred Foote, or two hundred and forty paces; that

Excerpt. è Polyb. Lib. 17.

that is, very neere a quarter of a mile in length. Such a ſpace of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that muſt of neceſſitie diſioyne this cloſe battaile of the *Phalanx*; was not euery where to be found. Here at *Cynoſcephalæ Philip* had ſo much roome, as would onely ſuffice for the one halfe of his men: the reſt were faine to ſtand ſtill and looke about them; being hindred from putting themſelues in order, by the roughneſſe of the *Dogges heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming vp vnto them; nor found any difficultie in maſtring thoſe enemies, whoſe feet were in a manner bound by the diſcommoditie of the place. The very firſt impreſſion of the Elephants, cauſed them to giue backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to betake themſelues vnto flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, ſeeing the victorie on that part aſſured, left the proſequution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Enſignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by ſome two thouſand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainely helpfull to making of the Victorie complete. Hee conſidered that *Philip*, in purſuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was runne on ſo farre; as that himſelfe with his fellowes, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten aboue the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand: and making downe the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindmoſt rankes of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed ſaue the firſt fiue, were accuſtomed, when the battailes came to joyning, to carrie their Pikes vpright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thruſt on their foremen: and ſo were they doing at the preſent. This was another great inconuenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*, That it ſerued neither for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though it were ſo, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Meſopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in ſuch order, that all the foure ſides of it were as ſo many Fronts looking ſundry wayes, becauſe hee expected that he ſhould be encompaſſed round: yet it is to bee vnderſtood, that herein he altered the vſuall forme; as alſo at the ſame time he embattailed his men in looſe order, that ſo with eaſe they might turne their weapons, which way need ſhould require. Like wiſe it is to be conſidered, That *Alexanders* men being thus diſpoſed, were fit onely to keep their owne ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemie, vnleſſe their hindmoſt rankes could haue marched backwards. But in this preſent caſe of *Philip*, there was no ſuch prouiſion for reſiſtance. Therefore his men, being otherwiſe vnable to helpe themſelues, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The King himſelfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euery where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyſe behind him, and turning a little aſide with a troupe of Horſe, to ſee how all went: when he beheld his men caſting downe their weapons, and the *Romans* at his backe on the higher ground; Hee preſently betooke himſelfe to flight. Neither ſtaid hee afterwards in any place (except onely a ſmall while about *Tempe*, there to collect ſuch as were diſperſed in this ouerthrow) vntill hee was gotten into his owne Kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Armie in this battaile, about ſeuen hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thouſand were ſlaine; and fiue thouſand taken Priſoners.

§. XV.

§. XV.

T. QVINTIVS falleth out with the Ætolians; and grantes truce vnto PHILIP, with conditions, vpon which the peace is ratified. Libertie proclaimed vnto the Greeks. The Romans quarrell with ANTIOCHVS.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vanted themselues; and desired to haue it noised through all *Greece*, That the victorie at *Cynoscephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by sacking the *Macedonian* Campe, whilest the *Romans* were busied in the chace. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vaine glory, and at their rauenous condition; purposed to teach them better maners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselues. He also well perceiued, That by vsing them with any extraordinarie fauor, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than euer they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not foorth yet awhile.

After the battaile *Titus* made haste vnto *Larissa*, a Citie of *Thessalie*: which he presently tooke. Before his comming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduersitie, he forgot not to prouide for the safetie of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceiue, that hee gaue them as alreadie lost. Wherefore wee finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Towne of *Leucas* bordering vpon *Acarnania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleete: and verie soone after, all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* euer true to *Philip*; gaue vp themselues vnto the *Romans*, hearing of the victorie at *Cynoscephalæ*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Perœa*, a Region of the Continent ouer against their Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treatie of peace with *Philip*. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greekes*: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the *Romans*; but with an Armie of their owne, and some helpe which they borrowed of the *Achæans* and other their friends, gaue battaile to *Dinocrates* the Kings Leiutenant, wherein they had the victorie, and consequently recouered the whole Prouince. It angred *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to inuade his Kingdome; wasting and spoyling, as if all had beene abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all haste, of sixe thousand foot and fiue hundred horse: wherewith comming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprise Hee had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisedome to yeeld vnto necessitie; and therefore sent in all haste *Limnæus* and *Demosthenes*, with *Cycliadas* the banished *Achæan*, in whom hee reposed much confidence, Embassadours vnto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in priuate, with *Titus* and some of his Roman Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seemes that they had Commission, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion; as *Philip* himselfe in few dayes after did. There was granted vnto them a Truce for fifteene dayes: in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the *Roman* General. In the meane season manie

nie ſuſpitious rumors went of *Titus*; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greekes* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſtie, where profit led them a wrong way, iudged alike of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent letters vnto his Aſſociates; willing them to haue their Agents readie by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treatie ſhould be held. There when they were all aſſembled, they entred into conſultation before the Kings arriuall, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for euery Eſtate in particular. The poore King *Aminander* beſought them all, and eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would think vpon him; and conſidering his weaknes which he confeſſed, make ſuch prouiſion, that after the *Romanes* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander* one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* for ſo much as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates to aduiſe vpon their owne good, and had willed them to deliuer their mindes freely: added, That in the maine of the purpoſe which hee had in hand, hee was vtterly deceiued: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their libertie. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the warre, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the faire promiſes made by *Titus* himſelfe vnto the *Greeks*, than the chacing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Aetolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtomes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeeke the vtter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made warre with them; vntill by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſitie, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And heereof he alleaged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victorie, to generous mindes, was onely an inducement vnto moderation: As concerning the publike benefit of *Greece*: it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the Kingdome of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it ſhould bee vtterly deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerued as a barre, to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other ſauage Nations, which would ſoone ouer-flow the whole Continent of *Greece*, if this kingdome were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto thoſe demands, wherewith he had preſſed him in the former Treatie; then was there no reaſon to denie him peace. As for the *Aetolians*: if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould bee at their owne pleaſure, to take counſaile apart for themſelues as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Aetolians*, to ſay, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greekes*, no leſſe than hee had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leaue his babling; ſaying, That himſelfe would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he neuer ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not haue it in his power to moleſt the *Greekes*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* vſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had beene required at his hands; offering yet further to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, inſulting ouer him, ſaid it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length giue vp to the *Ætolians* a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him ſpeake, whether he would, or not. His anſwere was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelfe, ſaid it ſhould be otherwiſe; Theſe were *Theſſalian* Townes, and ſhould all bee free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refuſed to commit it ſelfe to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore ſhould now bee giuen to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out that it was too great an iniurie, thus to defraud them of the Townes that had ſometime belonged

belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Couenant betweene them and the *Romans*, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the *Romans* to haue nothing ſaue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had beene ſuch a Condition in the former warre: but it ceaſed to be of any validitie, as ſoone as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderſtand; asking them whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the Townes in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be deliuered into ſubiection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were verie much delighted, with theſe angry paſſages betweene the *Roman* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon to feare any hard meaſure; ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in behalfe of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to giue them libertie, though they had ſtood out againſt him, euen till very feare made them open their gates. Whereforethey oppoſed not themſelues; but gaue their conſent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cauſe that mooued *Titus* to grant peace ſo readily to the *Macedonian*, beſides that laudable cuſtome by him before alleadged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his comming with an Armie from *Syria*, and drawing neere toward *Europe*. Hee had alſo perhaps yet a greater motiue; euen the conſideration that his ſucceſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre ſhould happen to be protracted. And hee was in the right: For when his letters, together with Embaſſadours from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came vnto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who, (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the peace; alleadging friuolous matter of their owne ſuſpition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betweene the Embaſſadors of *Philip*, offering to ſtand to whatſoeuer was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide; and the importunitie of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as ſoone as the Armie was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senatours hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſemblie of the People; by whoſe ſouereigne authoritie it was concluded, That Peace ſhould be granted vnto the King. So tenne Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome* ouer into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had beene Conſuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, That *Titus* ſhould goe through with the buſineſſe of Peace. Theſe would very faine haue retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, vntill the ſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſettled. But finally *Titus* preuailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendered vnto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greeke* Townes which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next **Iſthmian Games*, He ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greeke* Townes which he held, and conſigne them oner to the *Romans*: That hee ſhould deliuer vp vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewiſe all his ſhippes of warre, reſeruing to himſelfe onely fiue of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinarie greatneſſe, wherein ſixteene men laboured at euery oare: Further, that hee would pay a thouſand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres next following, by euen portions. Hereto **Liuie* addes, That he was forbidden to make warre out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I finde not that he obſerued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Foure hundred talents hee had alreadie deliuered vnto *Titus*, together with his yonger ſonne *Demetrius*, to remaine as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at ſuch time as hee lately ſent his Embaſſadours to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the money, and his ſonne, ſhould be reſtored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as

* *è Polyb. excerpt. Legat. 9.*

* *Liu. l. 33.*

part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as yong *Demetrius*, who together with those foure hundred Talents was giuen for hostage, remained still in custodie of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargaine which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: giuing him to vnderstand what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greekes*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Cians*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip* to gratifie this *Bithynian* his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertie, and permitted to enioy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly materiall; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they had not leisure to examine the conformitie of *Prusias* to their will.

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargaine which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Onely the *Ætolians* found themselues agrieued that they were vtterly neglected; which was to the rest no smal part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to fauour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselues. There were some among them wel-affected to the *Romans*: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue an hand in the execution, yet neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselues vndiscouered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durst not take armes against them, yet such of them as they found straggling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrie. This was detected within awhile, and many of the dead bodies found. Herevpon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for fiue hundred souldiers, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him fiue hundred Talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. Hee sends Embassadours to the *Achæans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserued. Herewithall he fals to wasting their Countrie; and besiegeth two such Townes of theirs, as did seeme to bee most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadours of the *Achæans* and *Athenians*, (especially of the *Achæans* who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet besought him rather to grant peace vnto the *Bœotians*) preuailed so farre with him; that he was pacified with thirtie Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offendors.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some among them reioycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would proue a worse neighbour. The *Ætolians* would haue beene glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keepe in their owne handes all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greekes*, conceiue, that this *Macedonian* Warre serued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumors when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace vvere neuer without great solemnitie and concourse: *Titus* in that great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Generall, hauing vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did wil to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their owne Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*,

Eubœans, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magnetians*, *Thessalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The suddennesse of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their owne eares. The *Greeks* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thanks; which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had welneere smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of all the *Greekes*, was like to bee much more auaileable vnto the *Romans* in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in their Proclamation. Vpon confidence heereof, no sooner were these *Isthmian* games at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hagesianax* and *Lysias* King *Antiochus* his Embassadours: whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vexe them with warre: as also to restore whatsoeuer he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomie* or *Philip*. Moreouer they willed him by these his Embassadours, that he should not passe ouer his Armie into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the *Greekes*; to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gaue vnto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wisedome to offend ouer-much, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed vnto the *Thessalians*; all saue the Towne of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the same which had beene abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treatie with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatorie answere, and rejected vnto the Senate: for how soeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as it were in despight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeede (though the *Romans* yet awhile kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Commonwealth, enjoyed their libertie in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were giuen one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and vpon *Aminander* were bestowed those Castles, which hee had gotten from *Philip* during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their owne Caruers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victorie; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*, to his sonne and successour King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubœans*, should be suffered to enjoy their libertie. *Orestis*, a little Prouince of the Kingdome of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yeelded vnto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free estate by it selfe.

These businesses being dispatcht; it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to auoid the war with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadours were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to picke matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to prædispose them vnto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadours and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS *the great, and his adherents.*

§. I.

What Kings, of the races of SELEVCVS *and* PTOLEMIE, *raigned in Asia and Ægypt before Antiochus the great.*

Polyb. lib. 2.

SELEVCVS NICATOR, the first of his race, King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twentie and fourth *Olympiad*. Hee was trecherously slaine by *Ptolemie Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; hauing (as is saide) beene warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatall place of his death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath beene preserued, or any mischance auoided, by the predictions of such Deuilish Oracles. Rather I beleeue, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, haue beene ante-dated by their Priests or by others; which deuised them after the euent.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearely beloued of his Father: who surrendred vp vnto him his owne wife *Stratonica*, when hee vnderstood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolemie Ceraunus* had great cause to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not bee vnreuenged by this his Successor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps onely with faire words; containing himselfe within *Asia*, and letting *Ceraunus* enioy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe* with the bloud of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his Fathers life; yet out of modestie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should haue vrged him. Afterwards he had warres with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captaines of the *Gaules*, were set vpon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great battaile: wherein though otherwise the Enemies had all aduantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he wonne the Victorie. Hee tooke in hand an enterprise against *Ptolemie Philadelphus*: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he soone gaue it ouer. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldean* dedicated his Historie of the Kings of *Assyria*; the same, which hath since beene excellently falsified by the Frier *Annius*. He left behind him one sonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married vnto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeere of *the Kingdome of the Greekes*; when he had raigned nineteene yeeres.

Gentbrard. lib. 2. Iust. Mart. in Paran.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos* or *the god*, had this vaine and impious title giuen vnto him, by flatterie of the *Milesians*; whom hee deliuered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with *Ptolemie Phi-*

Philadelphus King of *Ægypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemie*.

Of theſe two Kings, and of this Ladie *Berenice*, Saint *Hierome* and other Interpreters haue vnderſtood that Prophecie of DANIEL: *The Kings daughter of the South, ſhall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement*; and that which followeth. *Dan.c.11.v.6.*

Ptolemie Philadelphus was a great louer of Peace and Learning; and (ſetting apart his inceſtuous marriage with his owne ſiſter *Arſinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howſoeuer, the worthieſt of all that race. It was Hee, that built and furniſhed with Bookes, that famous Librarie in *Alexandria*: which to adorne, and to honour the more, Hee ſent vnto *Eleazar* then high Prieſt of the *Iewes*, for the Bookes of *Moſes* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the *Iewes*, had formerly bin very great: for He had ſet at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in ſlauerie throughout all *Ægypt*; and hee had ſent vnto the * Temple of God in *Hieruſalem* very rich Preſents. Wherefore *Eleazar* yeelding to the Kings deſire, preſented him with an *Hebrew* coppie: which *Ptolemie* cauſed to be tranſlated into *Greeke*, by ſeuentie two of the moſt graue and learned perſons, that could bee found among all the Tribes. In this number of the ſeuentie two Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seuantie*; *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Sirach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to haue beene one: who that he liued in this Age, it ſeemes to me very ſufficiently prooued by *Ianſenius*, in his Preface vnto *Eccleſiaſticus*. The whole paſſage of this buſineſſe between *Philadelphus* and the High Prieſt, was written (as h *Ioſephus* affirmes) by *Ariſtæus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeeres *Ptolemie Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein hee ioyntly reigned with his Father. Hee was exceedingly beloued of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end hee grew more voluptuous, than hee had beene in his former yeeres: in which time he boaſted, that hee alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this had beene referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue ſtood with reaſon: otherwiſe, the Gowt, with which hee was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne errour. He was the firſt of the Kings, deriued from *Alexanders* Succeſſors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as alſo his Off-ſpring was the laſt among thoſe Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

* *Aug. de Ciu. Dei. L.18.c.42.*

h *Ioſan.l.12.c.2* Concerning that Booke which now goes vnder the name of *Ariſtæus*; many learned men, and among the reſt *Lodouicus Viues*, hold ſuſpition that it is counterfeit, and the inuention of ſome later Author. Surely if it were to be ſuſpected in the time of *Viues*; it may be now much more iuſtly ſuſpected: ſince a new Edition of it is come foorth, *purged from faults* (as the Papiſts terme thoſe bookes, wherein they haue changed what they pleaſe) and ſet foorth by *Middendorpius* at Colen. An. Dom. 1578.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at ſuch time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolemie*. After his ſecond marriage, hee vſed his firſt wife with no better regard, than if ſhee had beene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet aduentured not to ſeeke reuenge; vntill her own ſonne *Seleucus Callinicus* was of abilitie to bee King. This was two or three yeeres after the death of *Ptolemie Philadelphus*: at what time ſhee poyſoned her huſband *Theos*; and by permiſſion of *Seleucus* her ſonne, murdered *Berenice*, together with a ſonne that ſhe had borne to *Antiochus*. *Iuſtine* reports, that *Berenice* ſaued herſelfe, together with the yong Prince her child, awhile in the Sanctuarie at *Daphne*: and that not only ſome Cities of *Aſia* prepared to ſuccour her, but her brother *Ptolemie Euergetes*, King of *Ægypt*, came to reſcue her with an Armie; though too late, for ſhe was ſlaine before.

With ſuch cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, ſucceeding vnto his Father that had fifteene yeeres beene King, beganne his Reigne. His ſubjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they diſcouered in his firſt entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Eſtate would haue beene much endangered, if *Ptolemie Euergetes*, who came againſt him, had not beene drawne backe into his owne Countrie, by ſome Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes againſt *Ptolemie*, in defence of their owne King: but rather they ſided with the *Ægyptian*; who tooke *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as ſhee had well deſerued. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this inuaſion, by occaſion of thoſe domeſticall troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Ægypt*; went about a dangerous

Iuſt.L.27.

gerous piece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne ſubiects, becauſe of their bad affection towards him; when as it had beene much better, by well deſeruing, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet hee prepared: in furniſhing and manning whereof hee was at ſuch charges, that hee ſcarce left himſelfe any other hope, if that ſhould miſcarrie. Heerein hee embarqued himſelfe; and, putting to Sea, met with ſuch a tempeſt, as deuoured all ſaue himſelfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly eſcaped. This calamity, hauing left him nothing elſe in a manner than his naked body, turned neuertheleſſe to his great good; as anon after it ſeemed. For when his Subiects vnderſtood, in what ſort the Gods (as they conceiued it) had puniſhed him for his offences: they had commiſeration of his Eſtate; and, preſuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their ſeruice with great alacritie. This reuiued him, and filled him with ſuch ſpirit; as thinking himſelfe well enough able to deale with the *Ægyptian*, he made ready a mightie Armie for that purpoſe. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. He was vanquiſhed by *Ptolemie* in a great battaile: whence he eſcaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late ſhipwracke. Hafting therefore backe to *Antioch*, and fearing that the Enemie would ſoone bee at his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Aſia*, praying him to bring ſuccour with all ſpeed; and promiſing, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Aſia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeeres olde, yet extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of ſuch an occaſion to make himſelfe great. He leuied a mighty Armie of the *Gaules*; wherewith he ſet forwards to helpe his brother; or rather to get what hee could for himſelfe. Hereof *Ptolemie* being aduertiſed: and hauing no deſire to put himſelfe in danger more than needed; tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeeres. No ſooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Ægyptian* warre, but his brother *Antiochus* came vpon him; and needs would fight with him, as knowing himſelfe to haue the better Armie. So *Seleucus* was vanquiſhed againe; and ſaued himſelfe, with ſo few about him, that he was verily ſuppoſed to haue periſht in the battaile. Thus did Gods juſtice take reuenge of thoſe murders, by which the Crowne was purchaſed; and ſettled (as might haue beene thought) on the head of this bloudie King. *Antiochus* was glad to heare of his brothers death; as if thereby hee had purchaſed his hearts deſire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercinaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them againſt *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, in hope to get honour by making a Conqueſt in the beginning of his Reigne: theſe perfidious *Barbarians* tooke counſaile againſt him; and deuiſed how to ſtrippe him of all that hee had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall houſe to make head againſt them; it would be in their power, to doe what ſhould beſt bee pleaſing to themſelues, in the lower *Aſia*. Wherefore they laide hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ranſome himſelfe with money, as if hee had beene their lawfull Priſoner. Neither were they ſo contented; but made him enter into ſuch Compoſition with them, as tended little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to trie his fortune againſt his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the ſeaſon fit for himſelfe, to make his profit of their diſcord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great maruaile; ſince he had great reaſon to ſtand in no leſſe feare of the *Gaules* his owne ſouldiers, than of the enemie with whom hee had to deale. After this, *Eumenes* wanne much in *Aſia*; whileſt *Antiochus* went againſt his brother. In the ſecond battaile, fought betweene the brethren, *Seleucus* had the vpper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or *the Hawke*, (which ſurname was giuen him, becauſe he ſought his prey vpon euery one, without care whether hee were prouoked or not) ſoared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne *Gaules*. Hauing fetcht a great compaſſe through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him vp. Hee was entertained very louingly in outward ſhew; but with a meaning to betray him.

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This hee ſoone perceiued: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length hee reſolued to beſtowe himſelfe vpon *Ptolemie*; his owne conſcience telling him, what euill hee had meant vnto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelitie can find no ſure harbour. *Ptolemie* well vnderſtood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore hee layd him vp in cloſe priſon: whence, though by meanes of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of theeues, by whom he was murdered. Neare about the ſame time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled againſt him, during his warres with his brother. He therefore made a iourney againſt *Arſaces* founder of the *Parthian* kingdome: wherein his euill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered ſo cloſely to him, that he was taken priſoner. *Arſaces* dealt friendly with him, and diſmiſſed him, hauing euery way giuen him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horſe, and ſo ended his vnhappie reigne of twenty yeeres. Hee had to wife *Laodice*, the ſiſter of *Andromachus*, one of his moſt truſtie Captaines: which was father vnto that *Achæus*, who making his aduantage of this affinitie, became ſhortly after (as he ſtiled himſelfe) a king; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in thoſe parts. By *Laodice* hee had two ſonnes; *Seleucus* the third, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres: in which time he made warre vpon *Attalus* the firſt, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weake of bodie through ſickneſſe, and in want of monie, He could not keepe his men of warre in good order: and finally he was ſlaine by treaſon of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was reuenged by *Achæus*, who ſlue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which he ruled very wiſely, and faithfully awhile; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Childe.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great ANTIOCHVS *his reigne. Of* PTOLEMIE EVERGETES, *and* PHILOPATOR, *Kings of Ægypt. Warre betweene* ANTIOCHVS *and* PHILOPATOR. *The rebellion of* MOLO: *an Expedition of* ANTIOCHVS *againſt him. The recontinuance of* ANTIOCHVS *his Ægyptian warre: with the paſſages betweene the two Kings: the victory of* PTOLEMIE, *and Peace concluded. Of* ACHAEVS, *and his rebellion; his greatneſſe, and his fall.* ANTIOCHVS *his Expedition againſt the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* ALEXANDER.

ANTIOCHVS was ſcarcely fifteene yeeres olde, when hee began his reigne, which laſted ſixe and thirty yeeres. In his Minoritie, Hee was wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful ſeruants. This vilde qualitie in a Counſailour of ſuch great place, how harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himſelfe; the ſucceſſe of things will ſhortly diſcouer.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemie Euergetes* King of *Ægypt* died; and left his heire *Ptolemie Philopator*, a yong Boy likewiſe, as hath elſwhere beene remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieued *Aratus* and the *Achæans*: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and louingly entertained him, when he was chaced out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. Hee annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the laſt good King of the race.

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The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was giuen him by the *Ægyptians*; not so much for the great spoiles which hee brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recouered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered *Ægypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to haue made war vpon the *Iewes*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meere couetousnesse of mony, refused to pay vnto him his yeerely tribute of twenty talents: but hee was pacified by the wisedome of *Iosephus* a *Iew*, vnto whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes that belonged vnto him, in those parts of *Syria* which hee held. For *Cœlosyria*, with *Palæstina* and all those parts of the Countrie that lay neerest vnto *Ægypt*, were held by the *Ægyptian*; either as hauing fallen to the share of *Ptolemie* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battaile at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and vnhappie reigne of *Seleucus Callinicas*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded be S. *Hierome*. This *Ptolemie Euergetes* reigned six and twentie yeeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirtie and ninth *Olympiad*. It may seeme by that, which we find in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there saith, that he came into *Ægypt* in the eight and thirtieth yeere, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirtie yeeres, were the yeeres of *Iesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Iewes* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsailer, and in a manner the Protectour of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the *Ægyptian*; for the recouery of *Cœlosyria* and the Countries adioyning. This counsaile was verie vnseasonably giuen; when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrie. Neuertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stifly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captaines that were faithful; whileft He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe, a King. No man durst gainsay the resolution of *Hermias*; who therfore sent *Xenætas* an *Achæan*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whileft in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the Kings Expedition into *Cœlosyria*. The King hauing marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so ouer the Desarts into the Vallie of *Marsyas*, betweene the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that serued vnder *Ptolemie*. So hee consumed the time there awhile to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenætas*, his Captaine, was destroyed with his whole Armie; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrie, as farre as vnto *Babylon*.

Xenætas, whileft he was yet on his iourney, and drew neere to the Riuer of *Tygris*; receiued many aduertisements, by such as fledde ouer vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against the King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt left his followers would leaue him in time of neceſſitie. *Xenætas* therefore making shew, as if hee had prepared to passe the Riuer by Boats in face of his Enemie; left in the night time such as he thought meete to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment: but hearing that *Xenætas* could not so bee stopped, He himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourney towards *Media*; leauing all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne

souldiours:

ſouldiours: or whether thereby to deceiue his Enemie; the great folly of *Xenætas* made his ſtratageme proſperous. For *Xenætas*, hauing borne himſelfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias* by whom he was aduanced vnto this charge; did now preſume, that all ſhould giue way to his authoritie, without putting him to much trouble of vſing the ſword. Wherefore he ſuffered his men to feaſt, with the prouiſions which they found ready in the forſaken Campe: or rather hee commanded them ſo doe, by making Proclamation, That they ſhould cheriſh vp themſelues againſt the iourney, which hee intended to take next day, in purſuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the ſame purpoſe he buſied himſelfe, in tranſporting the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other ſide of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could eaſily returne the ſame night. Wherefore vnderſtanding what good rule the Kings men kept: hee made ſuch haſte backe vnto them, that he came vpon them early in the morning; whileſt they were yet heauie with the wine and other good cheare, that they had ſpent at ſupper. So *Xenætas* and a very few about him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the reſt were ſlaughtered, without making reſiſtance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewiſe the Campe on the other ſide of *Tygris*, was eaſily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to ſaue their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebell marched vnto *Seleucia*, which he preſently tooke: and, maſtering within a little while the Prouince of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrie downe to the Red-Sea, or *Bay of Perſia*, He haſted vnto *Suſa*; where at his firſt comming hee wan the Citie: but failing to take the Caſtle that was exceeding ſtrong, returned backe to *Seleucia*, there to giue order concerning this buſineſſe.

The report of theſe things comming to *Antiochus*, whileſt he lay (as is ſaid before) in the Vale of *Marſyas*; filled him with great ſorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counſaile what to doe in this needfull caſe; and was well aduiſed by *Epigenes* the beſt man of warre hee had about him, to let alone this Enterpriſe of *Cœloſyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more neede required them. This counſaile was put in execution with all conuenient haſte. Yet was *Epigenes* diſmiſſed by the way, and ſoone after ſlaine, by the practice of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counſaile giuen, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourney againſt *Molo*, the name and preſence of the King was more auailable, than any oddes which hee had of the Rebel in ſtrength. *Molo* diſtruſted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good ſucceſſe, nor any other conſideration, would ſerue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his perſon. Wherefore he thought it ſafeſt for him, to aſſaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was diſcouered by ſome that fled ouer from him to the King. This cauſed him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by ſome errour, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in ſight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which hee had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was he deceiued in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Enſignes: but all the left wing of the Enemie, which was oppoſite vnto the King, changed ſide forthwith as ſoone as euer they had ſight of the Kings perſon; and were ready to doe him ſeruice againſt *Molo*. This was enough to haue wonne the Victorie: but *Molo* ſhortned the worke, by killing himſelfe; as did alſo diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne ſwords.

After this Victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married vnto *Antiochus* awhile before, had brought foorth a ſonne. Fortune ſeemed bountifull vnto the King: and therefore he purpoſed to make what vſe hee could, of her friendly diſpoſition while it laſted: Being now in the Eaſterne parts of his kingdome, Hee iudged it conuenient to viſit his Frontiers, were it onely to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counſailer *Hermias* gaue aſſent: not ſo much reſpecting the Kings honour;

as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe, For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made hee no doubt of becomming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Gouernment. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; hauing the greatest part of his kingdome, situate betweene the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearefull; and therfore yeelded vnto whatsoeuer Conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truely, how odious hee was vnto the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly vnto the Kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleeued this, hauing long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring, for feare of him, to vtter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to haue vsed so much Art, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoeuer hee seemed gracious whilest hee was aliue: yet they that for feare had been most obsequious to him, whilest hee was in case to doe them hurt, were as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as hee had deserued, when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children lying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wiues and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which hee tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to haue inuaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and studie to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew all; and vpbraiding him with such infidelitie, as any offender might know to be vnpardonable. By these meanes he emboldened the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recouer *Cœlosyria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong Citie neere vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with brybes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the great* who founded it, gaue the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemie Euergetes* hauing lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, haue changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœlosyria* in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now growne sorrie, that he had vsed so much faith and diligence, in seruice of an vnthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercinarie, he began to haue regard vnto his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthie of these two Kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whilest he was deuising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull then himselfe. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession,

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not onely of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good fleete of the *Ægyptian* Kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a iourney into *Ægypt* it selfe. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safetie of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the warre: and neuertheless, at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse, Embassadours from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Aetolians*; according to the vsuall courtesie of the *Greekes*, desiring to take vp the quarrell. These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilest this Treatie lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the warre: wherein these two Counsailours perswaded themselues reasonably, that the victory would bee their owne; if they could get, for monie, a sufficient number of the *Greekes* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard onely what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Gouernours of *Ægypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier beliefe, not onely for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadours, comming from *Memphis*, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being all deceiued, by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his fellow. *Antiochus* therefore hauing wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Towne called *Dura*, which he could not winne: and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on; granted vnto the *Egyptian* a Truce for foure moneths, with promise that he would be ready to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should bee offered. It was not his meaning to bee so courteous, as he would faine haue seemed, but onely to lull his enemies asleepe, whilest he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason dayly grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Aegyptian* would haue vsed, Hee vsed himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeere better serued, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeelde vnto him, since *Ptolemie* prouided not for their defence. Neuertheless, he gaue audience to the Embassadours, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Aegypt*: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. He said, that it was agreed betweene *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be giuen in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at *Ipsus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargaine. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had wonne *Cœlosyria*, and the Prouinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recouer his Prouince of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the Riuer of *Euphrates*. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needes haue *Achæus* comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seeke to ioyne him in Confederacie with his owne Souereigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation hee was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a very puissant Armie, was comming vp against him out of *Ægypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemie, he was encountred on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him

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the yeere before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence neuertheleſſe he draue them: and, proceeding onward in his iournie, wan ſo many places, that he greatly increaſed his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forſooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithſtanding, the *Ægyptian* had the courage to meete his Enemie in the field. The battaile was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Ægyptians* or *Aſiatiques* were the better Souldiers (for that the ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in Mercinaries, chiefly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gaules*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arſinoe* his ſiſter and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other ſide: each of them reheartſing the braue deedes of their Anceſtors; as not hauing of their owne, wherby to valew themſelues. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as alſo his, being of *Aſia*, had they beene fewer would haue beaten thoſe of *Africke*. Wherefore by the aduantage of theſe beaſts, Hee draue the enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein hee fought himſelfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whoſe valour he brake the Groſſe of his Enemies battaile, and wan the victorie; whileſt *Antiochus* was heedleſly following vpon thoſe, whom hee had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field aboue ſeuentie thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe: whereof though he loſt ſcarce ten thouſand foote, and not foure hundred horſe; yet the fame of his ouerthrow tooke from him all thoſe places which he had lately wonne. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: Hee began to ſtand in feare, leſt *Ptolemie* and *Achæus*, ſetting vpon him both at once, ſhould put him in danger of his whole Eſtate. This cauſed him to ſend Embaſſadors vnto the *Ægyptian* to treat of peace: which was readily graunted; it being much againſt the nature of *Ptolemie*, to vexe himſelfe thus with the tedious buſines of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing ſtaied three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Ægypt* clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his ſubiects, and of all thoſe that were acquainted with his voluptuous and ſlothfull condition.

Achæus was not compriſed in the League betweene theſe two Kings: or if hee had beene included therein; yet would not the *Ægyptian* haue taken the paines, of making a ſecond Expedition for his ſake. The beſt was, that he thought himſelfe ſtrong enough, if fortune were not too much againſt him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was hee confident without great reaſon: For beſides his many victories, whereby hee had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this ſide of *Taurus*, Hee had alſo good ſucceſſe againſt *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a ſtrong Armie. Neither was hee, as *Molo* the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwiſe, and carryed beyond himſelfe by apprehending the vantage of ſome opportunitie: but Couſin german to the King, as hath beene ſhewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the ſame *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was alſo called *Laodice*, as was her ſiſter the *Queene*, *Antiochus* his wife. Theſe things had added maieſtie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to reſpect him, euen as one to whome a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolemie* of *Ægypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquiſhed in the battaile at *Raphia*; and had thereby loſt all his gettings in *Syria*. But all theſe hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: For the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrel betweene his ſonnes-in-law, had no reaſon to take part againſt the more honourable. As for the *Ægyptian*: Hee was not onely ſlothfull; but hindred by a rebellion of his owne ſubiects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Ægypt*, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to ſerue in the late Expedition; began to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour

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to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refuſed to ſuffer as much as formerly they had done: ſince they leſſe eſteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercinarie *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in ſtreight ſubiection. Thus brake out a warre betweene the King and his ſubiects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemie* thereby waſted much of his ſtrength, and much of his time, that might haue beene ſpent, as hee thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in ſuccouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no ſooner made his peace with the *Ægyptian*, than hee turned all his care to the preparation of warre againſt *Achæus*. To this purpoſe he entred into League with *Attalus*; that ſo hee might diſtract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all ſides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were ſuch, that within a-while he had pent vp *Achæus* into the Citie of *Sardes*; where he held him about two yeeres beſieged. The Citie was very ſtrong, and well victualled: ſo as there appeared not, when the ſecond yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the firſt yeeres ſiege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Caſtle it ſelfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable, as alſo the Towne-wall adioyning to the Caſtle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner ſituated vpon ſteepe Rocks, and hardly acceſſible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carkaſes of Horſes, and other beaſts, yea, and ſometimes of men, vſed to be throwne. Now it was obſerued by *Lagoras*, that the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reaſon of their food which was there neuer wanting, vſed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rockes, and to pitch vpon the walls; where they reſted without any diſturbance. Obſeruing this often, he reaſoned with himſelfe, and concluded, that thoſe parts of the Wall were left vnguarded, as beeing thought vnapproachable. Heereof hee informed the King: who approoued his iudgement, and gaue vnto him the leading of ſuch men, as hee deſired for the accompliſhing of the enterprize. The ſucceſſe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and, though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe Rockes, and (whileſt a generall aſſault was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was, at other times vngarded, then vnthought vpon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians*, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Cræſus* thought himſelfe ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a loſſe many ages paſt; and therefore out of memorie. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtle: which not onely ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries; and manned with a ſufficient number, of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrained to waſte much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the vſuall tedioufneſſe of expectation; his buſineſſe called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they ſtill incroched. But hee thought it not ſafe, to let *Achæus* breake looſe againe. On the other ſide there were ſome Agents of *Ptolemie* the *Ægyptian*, and good friends vnto *Achæus*; that made it their whole ſtudie, how to deliuer this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more: but preſumed, that when he ſhould appeare in the Countries vnder *Taurus*, he would ſoone haue an Armie at commaund, and be ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrie, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rockes, whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he ſhould receiue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Achæus*; to doe his beſt for performance of their deſire. He vndertooke the buſineſſe: and gaue ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote vnto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a truſtie meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found meanes to conueigh into the Caſtle. The faith of theſe Negotiators

tiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote vnto him in priuie characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none ſaue he and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained deuice of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger; he was a truſtie fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto the ſide. But the Contents of the Epiſtle, which were, That hee ſhould bee confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had wonne vnto the buſineſſe, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom he had the commaund of thoſe *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked vp the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Neuertheleſſe other way to eſcape hee ſaw none, than by putting himſelfe to ſome aduenture. When the meſſenger had therefore paſſed often to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himſelfe ſhould come ſpeake with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſaue onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrimen, * ſome few excepted, haue beene, and ſtill are) falſe knaues. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as [k] *Polybius* obſerues it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the ſafetie of him whoſe deliuerance they vndertooke, nor touching the diſcharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get moſt with leaſt adoe and danger to themſelues. Briefly they concluded, That firſt of all they would equally ſhare betweene them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Achæus* vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with preſent monie, and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſſe of ſuch a ſeruice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſſe glad; than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readineſſe on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get vp into the Caſtle, and conueigh *Achæus* thence: Hee firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeake with the King, who gaue him very priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the aſſurance of his liberall promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptolemie* whom he had long ſerued; He accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Caſtle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſſe in hand. But he diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch grauitie; that there appeared no reaſon of diſtruſting either his faith or judgement. Hee was an old Souldiour, had long been a Captaine vnder *Ptolemie*, and did not thruſt himſelfe into this buſineſſe; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. He had alſo taken a ſafe courſe, in winning (as it ſeemed) that other Countriman of his, who kept a Fort that ſtood in their way; and thereby had already ſundry times giuen ſafe paſſage and repaſſage vnto *Arianus*. But againſt all theſe comfortable hopes, the importance of ſo great an aduenture ſtirred vp ſome diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wiſely, and ſaid, That hee would yet ſtay in the Caſtle a little longer: but that he meant to ſend away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee receiued better aduertiſement, concerning the likelihood of the enterpriſe, then would hee iſſue forth himſelfe. Hereby he tooke order, not to commit himſelfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But, as *Polybius* well notes, he did not conſider that he playd the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to ſay, That hee had to doe with one, whoſe knauery could not be auoided by circumſpection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layd their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then ſhould he eaſily be taken by the ambuſh prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then ſhould *Arianus* be appointed to leade the way, as one that of late had troden it oft; and *Bolis* following behinde, ſhould haue an eye vpon *Achæus*, to preuent him not onely from eſcaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwiſe killing himſelfe: to the end that beeing taken aliue, Hee might bee to *Antiochus* the more welcome Preſent.

* Among theſe few I doe not except one, calling himſelfe *Eudæmon Iohn Andrew*, a *Cretan*: who in one of his late ſhameleſſe libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Countrey, with all the good & worthy men of whom he could learne the names, hath, by inſerting my name, twice belied me; in calling me a Puritan, & one that haue been dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an honour to bee ill ſpoken of by ſo diligent a ſupporter of Treaſons, and Architect of Lies: in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of Creticiſme no leſſe voluminous, than he in multiplicitie of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were alwayes Lyers, euill beaſts, and ſlow bellies.

[k] *Polyb. hiſt. lib.* 8.

sent. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified hee the matter to his wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as hee could, appointed foure of his especiall friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the *Greeke* tongue; speaking and answering, as neede should require, for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuising vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *Though he were of Crete, and prone to surmise any thing to the mischiefe of another*: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himselfe were there. The way was very vneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in diuers places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occasion, they were all of them very officious toward *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolis* to vnderstand, that hee was the man: and so by their vnseasonable dutie, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in waite; *Bolis* whistled, and presently clasped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that hee should not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who sate vp watching in his Pauilion, expecting the euent. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the King, that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was hee before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, Hee condemned *Achæus* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pittie towards this vnhappie man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the raritie of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it bee so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischieuous knaues against one Traitour, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that *Spanish* Prouerbe, *A vn traydor dos alleuosos*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gaue vp the place and themselues vnto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some yeeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition against the *Parthians*, and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings; and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Prouinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Gouernment ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*: vnder whose posteritie they continued vntil the Reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to bee slaine by the *Gaules*; did stirre vp *Arsaces*, a Noble man of the Countrie, to seeke reuenge of iniuries done, and animate him to rebell. So he slue the Kings Lieutenant; made himselfe King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battaile, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wanne reputation as a lawfull King; and by good gouernment of his Countrie, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his subiects, that his name was continued vnto his Successors; like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Ægypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the *Seleucida* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* Dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an Armie, that they durst not meet him in plaine field; but kept themselues in Woods, or places of strength, and defended

fended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights betweene their Mountaines; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might either get aboue the Enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did he often imploy against them his light armature: wherewith hee caused them to dislodge, and giue way vnto his *Phalanx*; vpon which they durst not aduenture themselues in open ground. *Arsaces*, the second of the name, (for his Father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though hee was confident in the fidelitie of his owne subiects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an inuader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Desarts, would haue caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to giue ouer the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out; He caused the Wels and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemie must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoyled. By which meanes, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could no preuaile, Hee withdrew himselfe out of the way; suffering the Enemie to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrie: wherein, without some victory obtained, hee could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arsaces* was nothing strongly prouided for the warre. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania*; where hee wanne *Tambrace*, the chiefe Citie of that Prouince. This indignitie, and many other losses, caused *Arsaces* at length, when he had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to aduenture a battaile. The issue thereof was such, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Arsaces* craued Peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subiect.

The next Expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but hauing gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battaile by the Riuer *Arius*, where he had the victory. But the victorie was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which he gaue of his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to haue demeaned him more couragiously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His Horse was slaine vnder him; and he himselfe receiued a wound in his mouth, whereby hee lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himselfe backe into the further parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the Warre, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadours passed betweene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrie of his was vniustly vsurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That he had wonne it from the children of the Vsurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, saue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should joyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Prouinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his Father as Embassadour in this Treatie of Peace, was not a little auaileable vnto a good Conclusion: For *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to giue him in marriage one of his owne daughters: and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the Kingdome; causing him neuertheless to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey ouer *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagasenus*, King of the *Indians*, the societie that had been betweene their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained

mained ſubject vnto the *Macedonians*, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his Warre againſt *Antigonus*, rayſed part of his forces out of their Countrie. But when *Antigonus* after his victorie turned Weſtward, and was ouer-buſied in a great ciuill Warre: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, ſtirre vp his Countrimen to Rebellion; making himſelfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Protector of their libertie. This Office and Title he ſoone changed, though not without ſome contention, into the Name and Maieſtie of a King. Finally hee got vnto himſelfe, (hauing an Armie of ſixe hundred thouſand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had beene *Alexanders*. In this Eſtate he had well confirmed himſelfe, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could find leiſure to call him to account. Neither did He faint, or humble himſelfe, at the comming of *Seleucus*: but met him in field, as readie to defend his owne; ſo ſtrongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented, to make both peace and affinitie with him, taking only a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdomes, was continued by ſome Offices of loue betweene their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whoſe number of Elephants were increaſed thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fiftie: as alſo he was promiſed, to haue ſome treaſure ſent after him; which hee left one to receiue. Thus parted theſe two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generations, any buſineſſe worthie of remembrance with the Weſterne Countries. The poſteritie of *Sandrocottus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, ſent Embaſſadours with Preſents, and an Epiſtle written in *Greeke*: wherein, among other things, Hee ſaide, That He had command ouer ſixe hundred Kings. There is alſo found, ſcattered in ſundrie Authors, the mention of ſome which held that kingdome, in diuers Ages, euen vnto the time of *Conſtantine the great*: being all peraduenture of the ſame race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophagaſenus* carried himſelfe as the worthier perſon, receiuing Preſents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with ſuch reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher *Aſia*, but on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, humbled themſelues vnto him, and called him *The Great*: ſaw an end of his owne Greatneſſe within few yeeres enſuing, by preſuming to ſtand vpon points with the *Romans*; whoſe Greatneſſe was the ſame in deed, that his was onely in ſeeming.

§. III.

The lewd Reigne of PTOLEMIE PHILOPATOR *in Ægypt: with the tragicall ende of his fauourites, when hee was dead.* ANTIOCHVS *prepares to warre on the young child* PTOLEMIE EPIPHANES, *the ſonne of* PHILOPATOR. *His irreſolution in preparing for diuers warres at once. His Voyage toward the Helleſpont. Hee ſeekes to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly ſhew to him; intending neuertheleſſe to haue warre with him. His doings about the Helleſpont; which the Romans made the firſt ground of their quarrell to him.*

THis Expedition being finiſhed; *Antiochus* had leiſure to repoſe himſelfe awhile, and ſtudie which way to conuert the terror of his puiſſance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolemie Philopator* died: leauing his ſonne *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his ſucceſſor in the kingdome; vnlikely by him to bee well defended, againſt a neighbour ſo mightie and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* ſurnamed *Philopator*, that is to ſay, *a louer of his Father*, is thought to haue had that ſurname giuen him in meere deriſion; as hauing made away both his Father and Mother. His yong yeeres, being newly paſt his childhood when he beganne to reigne, *Iuſtin. l. 30.*

may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beastlinesse of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any mischiefe, whereof he could be accused. Hauing wonne the battaile at *Raphia*, He gaue himselfe ouer to sensuality; & was wholy gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had aduentured herselfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him vndertaken and performed with honor. The Lieutenant-ships of his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatsoeuer; were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and of *Oenanthe* a filthie Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrie, till *Philopator* died: who hauing reigned seuenteene yeeres, left none other sonne than *Ptolemie Epiphanes* a childe of fiue yeeres old, begotten on *Arsinoe* that was his sister and wife. After the Kings death; *Agathocles* beganne to take vpon him, as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Gouernour of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinarie forces in pay, not all borne in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Ægypt* with *Ptolemie the first*, and would not bee accounted *Ægyptians*; as neither would the Kings themselues) and bringing foorth vnto them his sister *Agathoclea*, with the yong King in her armes; beganne a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the child into the armes of his sister, but vnto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdome did now relie. He besought them therefore that they would bee faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterously went about to set the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall hee produced before them a witnesse, that should justifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting of teares: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly hee was hated. And so brake vp the Assembly: Hee that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly beene his manner, by vsing his authoritie, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. Hee haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; & cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and vtter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceiued extreme hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also mooued with feare of harme; which, in way of requitall, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernment, as afterwards hee proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the prouision of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motiues wrought with the people: so by the remedie which *Agathocles* vsed, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred vnto vprore. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore souldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But whilest the whippes were brought foorth, and all things euen in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought vnto the Minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leauing *Moeragenes* the Souldior alone by himselfe, and the dores open. Hee perceiuing this, naked as

he

he was, conueighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the *Macedonians*; of whom hee found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the *Turkes Ianizars*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus been vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse adoe than the Souldiours, though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd *Oenanthe* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, by his permission which hee easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked vp and downe the streetes; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of justice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Ægypt*, serued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*; who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same delire, to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopator* in the Punick Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the *Romans*. Vnto them therefore the *Ægyptians* addressed themselues, and craued helpe against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into couenant to diuide betweene them, all that belonged vnto this *Orphan*; whose Father had beene Confederate with them both. So * *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Ægypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; Hee was very soone found busied, with warre at his owne doores. Also *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Ægyptian*, was sent into *Greece* to rayse an Armie of Mercinaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Ægypt*, I doe not find: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that Hee was sent thither onely one of the three Embassadours, ° in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*, as hath beene shewed before. As for *Scopas*; He shortly after went vp into *Syria* with his Armie: where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, He subdued the *Iewes*; who seeme to haue yeelded themselues a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiuing helpe from *Egypt*. But it was not long, ere all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeere following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same yeere that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoscephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recouered all that had beene lost. Among the rest, the *Iewes* with great willingnesse returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

* *Iustin. l. 30.*

° *Liu. lib. 31.*

Vid. Ioseph. ant. Iud. l. 12. c. 3.

The Land of *Ægypt* this great King did forbeare to inuade; and gaue it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either hoping, as may seeme, that the Countrie would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarrie; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Westerne parts of *Asia*, whilest *Philip* was held ouer-laboured by the *Romans*. It appeares that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greekes*, promised to affoord him great aduantage, if he should bring his Armie to the *Hellespont*. On the other side, the state of *Ægypt* being such as hath beene declared, seemed easie to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore hee tooke what hee could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Iewes* among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Ægyptian*) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting *Ægypt* alone, He was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embassadors,

ſadours, and deſiſted from that enterpriſe. Hauing thus farre gratified the *Romans*; He ſends Embaſſadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpaſſed, That theſe his Embaſſadours were louingly entertained at *Rome*; and diſmiſſed, with a Decree and anſwere of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this anſwere of the *Romans* was not ſincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not as yet made an end with *Philip:* neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not ſtanding much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to giue good words for the preſent. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and ſhortly prepares to winne ſome Townes elſewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolemie*; yet withall hee ſends an Armie Weſtward, intending to make what profit hee can of the diſtractions in *Greece*. Likewiſe it is conſiderable, as an argument of his much irreſolution, How notwithſtanding his attempts vpon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemie*, and another to *Eumenes* the ſonne of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: ſeeking each of their friendſhips, at one and the ſame time, when he ſought to make each of them a ſpoile. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable deſire of repugnancies; which is a diſeaſe of great, and ouer-ſwelling fortunes. Howſoeuer it was, He ſent an Armie to *Sardes* by Land, vnder two of his owne ſonnes: willing them there to ſtay for him; whileſt he himſelfe with a Fleete of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other veſſels, intended to paſſe along by the Coaſts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in ſuch places as held for the *Ægyptian*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhodians*, that, whileſt the war of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They ſent vnto him a proud Embaſſage: wherby they gaue him to vnderſtand, That if he paſſed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in *Cilicia*, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but becauſe hee ſhould not ioyne with *Philip* their enemie, and helpe him againſt the *Romans*. It was inſolently done of them, neither ſeemed it otherwiſe, to preſcribe ſuch limits vnto the King: yet he tempered himſelfe, and without any ſhew of indignation gaue a gentle anſwere; partly himſelfe to their Embaſſadours; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embaſſadours which he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire, to renew the ancient Confederacies betweene his Anceſtors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, leſt his comming ſhould tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his verie good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainement and anſwer by them newly giuen to his Embaſſadours.

The *Rhodians* appeare to haue been a cunning people, and ſuch as could foreſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed betweene his Embaſſadours and the Senate, mooued them not a whit; when they were informed ſhortly after, that the *Macedonian* warre was ended at the battaile of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not bee contented to ſit ſtill; vnleſſe the Townes on the South Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolemie* their friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to bee at quiet. Herein alſo they did well; for that they had euer been greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of neceſſitie, gaue what aid they could vnto all the ſubiects of the *Aegyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the ſonne of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the warre that followed, betweene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: Hee excuſed himſelfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make warre vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally preuaile.

uaile. Wherefore he said, That by abstayning from this affinitie, it should be in his power to ioyne with the *Romans*, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if hee leaned to *Antiochus*: as he must be partaker in his ouerthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbour, if he happened to win the victorie.

Antiochus himselfe wintered about *Ephesus*: where hee tooke such order as hee thought conuenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* to obedience; that had vsurped their libertie, and obstinately strouc to maintaine it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring hee sailed vnto the *Hellespont*: where hauing won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, hee passed ouer into *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence went hee to *Lysimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* warre. The *Ætolians* obiected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the Conference before *T. Quintius*, that hee had oppressed *Lysimachia*, by thrusting thereinto a Garrison. Hereunto *Philip* made answere, that his Garrison did not oppresse the Towne, but saue it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answere was good and substanciall, though it were not accepted as such; might appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lysimachia* at his comming thither. For the Towne was vtterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people, carried away into slauerie. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it reedified: as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countrie thereabout. Likewise hee was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants; and to repleniſh the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*: he tooke a iournie in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie; leauing the other halfe to repaire the Citie. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the conuenient situation, and former glory of *Lysimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition hee shall dearely pay: and as after that victorie against *Lysimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadlie wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensue very speedily, after the reconqueſt of the same Countrie, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

§. IIII.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with ANTIOCHVS, *during their warre with* PHILIP: *after which they quarrell with him. The doings of* HANNIBAL *at Carthage: whence hee is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight vnto the King* ANTIOCHVS. *The Aetolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Achæans, with* NABIS *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece.* T. QVINTIVS *his Triumph. Peace denied to* ANTIOCHVS *by the Romans.*

FOr the *Romans*, though they were vnable to smother their desire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was alreadie taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It

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was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speake for him; *because* the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus*, at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Inuasion from the Kingdome of *Pergamus*: also verie shortly after he sent Embassadours to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whilest as yet they were busied with *Philip*; and therfore had reason to answere his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients vnto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worse, but more plaine, meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsailors sent from *Rome*, requited (as hath beene * shewed before) with a commination of warre, this kings gratulation of their victorie; as also his long-professed amitie, and desire to continue in the same.

* *Cb. 4. §. vlt.*

These ten Counsailors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, hee was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themselues to make progresse through diuers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* vnmindfull of the busines: wherein lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* of purpose, to deale with the King about those controuersies, that were betweene him and *Ptolemie*. What other priuate instructions *Cornelius* had; wee may coniecture by the mannaging of this his Embassage. For comming to *Selymbria*: and there vnderstanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, hauing beene sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*, He hastned thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsailours) from *Bargille*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesianax* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadours present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few dayes *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene Him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolemie* those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That hee must also giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could bee more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured so much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that hee should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally Hee demaunded of him, vpon what reason hee was come ouer with so great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cause of his iournie there was none probable, than a purpose to make war vpon the *Romans*. To this the King made answere, That hee wondered why the *Romans* should so trouble themselues, with thinking vpon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith He praied them to let him alone; euen as He, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in *Italie* what they thought good. As for his comming ouer into *Europe*: they saw well enough what businesse had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recouerie of Townes to him belonging, in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title vnto that Countrie, He deriued it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victorie against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie betweene

betweene him and the other Kings, had beene ſtill of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Ægyptians*; but had beene ſeized on by them, or by others from whom they receiued them, at ſuch time as his Anceſtors, being Lords of thoſe Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of buſines, from looking vnto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to ſtand in feare of him, as if hee intended ought againſt them from *Lyſimachia*; ſince it was his purpoſe to beſtow this Citie vpon one of his ſonnes, that ſhould reigne therein: nor yet to be grieued with his proceedings in *Aſia*; either againſt the free Cities, or againſt the King of *Ægypt*; ſince it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himſelfe, and to ioyne ere long with *Ptolemie*, not onely in friendſhip, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needes heare further, what the Embaſſadours of *Smyrna* and of *Lampſacus*, whom he had there with him, could ſay for themſelues. The Embaſſadors of *Lampſacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they ſeemed to accuſe the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them holde their peace; foraſmuch as he had not choſen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held ſome few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, hauing not laide their complaints in ſuch ſort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet hauing purpoſe to depart wel ſatisfied, and thereby to corroborate the preſent peace; were doubtfull how to order the matter, in ſuch wiſe as they might neither too rudely, like boiſterous *Gallo-Greekes*, pretend only the goodneſſe of their ſwordes; nor yet ouer-modeſtly, to retaine among the *Greekes* an opinion of their iuſtice, forbeare the occaſion of making themſelues great. The King on the other ſide was wearie of theſe tedious gheſts; that would take none anſwere, and yet ſcarce knew what to ſay. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolemie* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were deſirous to haſten into *Ægypt*: *Antiochus*, to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdome; and *L. Cornelius*, to preuent him thereof, and ſet the Countrie in good order. *Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome* Embaſſadour, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemie*: which gaue him occaſion to take leaue, and prepare for his *Ægyptian* voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embaſſadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the King foorthwith made readie, to be in *Ægypt* with the firſt. To his ſonne *Seleucus* hee committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-ſee the building of *Lyſimachia*: but all his Sea-forces Hee tooke along with him, and ſailed vnto *Epheſus*. Thence hee ſent Embaſſadours to *T. Quintius*: whom he requeſted to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after ſuch ſort, as might ſtand with honeſtie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that *Ptolemie* was aliue. This made him beare another way from *Ægypt*: and afterwards a tempeſt, with a grieuous ſhipwracke, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue ſafely recouered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: ſecure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* warre.

But the *Romans* had not ſo done with him. During the Treatie at *Lyſimachia*, (at leaſtwiſe not long before or after it) one of their Embaſſadours that had beene ſent vnto the *Macedonian* gaue him counſaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to reſt contented with the Peace which was granted vnto him by the *Romans*, but to deſire ſocietie with them, whereby they ſhould bee bound to haue the ſame friends and enemies. And this he aduiſed him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; leſt otherwiſe he might ſeeme, to haue awaited ſome fit occaſion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainely, did not meane to be ſatisfied with weake excuſes. In like manner ſome of the *Greekes* were ſollicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That conſtantly and faithfully they ſhould abide in the friendſhip of the People of *Rome*. It was needleſſe to ſay plainly

ly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answere made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to haue well vnderstood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victorie, as they had beene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had beene wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpbrayding withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not onely for their Victorie ouer *Philip*; but euen for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the *Roman* gaue gentle answeres: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vtter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriuing at *Carthage*, gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the *Roman* Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. Hee had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Ciuill administration; and giuen them an ouerthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they vse this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that whoso offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though hee was superiour vnto them during that yeere: yet had it not beene their manner to beare much regard vnto such an annual Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must be accomptable to them, if ought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Quæstors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him: the proud Quæstor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduerse Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to bee chosen into the Order of Iudges: in contemplation whereof, hee was filled alreadie with the spirit of his future Greatnesse. But he had not to doe with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursiuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique assemblie of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vndutiful stubbornnesse of this Quæstor had beene; but how vnsufferable the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceiued that all the Citizens were attentiue and fauourable; He foorthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had beene passed, before he passed ouer *Iberus*: it would not perhaps haue beene in the power of *Hanno*, to haue brought him vnto necessitie of reforming another grieuance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were faine to leuie by Taxation layed vpon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting money in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray eyther that, or diuers other needefull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes whatsoeuer; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof he made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the valew of their owne Estate. But as

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the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: ſo they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, ſince the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him ſtript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authoritie, both at once; euen when they thought themſelues to haue been in full poſſeſſion of the vanquiſhed *Carthage*. Wherefore they ſent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew ſtrong againe, and *Hannibal* would ſhortly be in armes. Queſtionleſſe, if oppreſſing the Citie by iniuſtice, and robbing the Treaſurie, were the onely way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: theſe enemies to the *Barchines* might well crie out, That hauing done their beſt alreadie to keepe all in quiet, they ſaw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alleadge, than their owne inuentions: they ſaid, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wilde beaſt, which would neuer be tamed: That ſecret meſſages paſt betweene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that hee was wont to complaine of idleneſſe, as if it were harmefull to *Carthage*; with what elſe to like effect they could imagine. Theſe accuſations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addreſſing their letters craftily, euery one to the beſt of his owne friends at *Rome*, and ſuch as were Senators; they wrought ſo well, that neither publike notice of their Conſpiracie was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authoritie of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpoſe. Onely *P. Scipio* is ſaid to haue admoniſhed the *Fathers*, that they ſhould not thus diſhonourably ſubſcribe, and become Seconds to the accuſers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppreſſe, by ſuborning or countenancing falſe witneſſes againſt him, the Man, againſt whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor vſed their Victorie in ſuch baſe manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all ſo great-minded as *Scipio*: they wiſhed for ſome ſuch aduantage againſt *Hannibal*; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embaſſadours they ſent ouer to *Carthage*, *C. Seruilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whoſe very names import ſufficient cauſe of bad affection to *Hannibal*. Theſe hauing paſt the Sea, were entertained by thoſe that had procured their comming; and, being by them inſtructed how to carrie themſelues, gaue out, That they were ſent to end ſome controuerſies, betweene the *Carthaginians* and *Maſaniſſa*. But *Hannibal* had kept ſuch good eſpiall vpon the *Romans*, that hee knew their meaning well enough: againſt which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to ſay, That hee eſcaped them by flight: but in the actions of ſo famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearſe the particularities. Hauing openly ſhewed himſelfe, as was his manner, in the place of Aſſembly, Hee went foorth of the Towne when it beganne to wexe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though ſuch as he might well truſt. Hee had appointed Horſes to be in a readineſſe at a certaine place: whence riding all night, Hee came to a Towre of his owne by the Sea-ſide. There had hee a Ship furniſhed with all things needfull; as hauing long expected the neceſſitie of ſome ſuch journey. So He bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrie, more than his owne. Paſſing ouer to the Ile of *Cercina*; he found there in the Hauen ſome Merchants ſhips of *Carthage*. They ſaluted him reſpectiuely: and the chiefe among them beganne to enquire, whither hee was bound. He ſaid, Hee went Embaſſadour to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Iland to make a ſacrifice; whereto Hee inuited all the Merchants, and Maſters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would needs hold his Feaſt vpon the ſhore; where, becauſe there wanted couert, He made them bring thither all their ſailes and yards to be vſed in ſtead of Tents. They did ſo; and feaſted with him till it was late at night: at which time hee left them there aſleepe; and putting to Sea, held on his courſe to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, Hee was ſure not to bee purſued. For the Merchants did neither make haſte to ſend any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embaſſadour: neither could they, without ſome loſſe of time, ſuch of them as

made moſt ſpeed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being buſied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miſſe of ſo great a perſon was diuerſly conſtrued. Some gheſſed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came newes where he had been ſeene: and then the *Roman* Embaſſadours, hauing none other errand thither, accuſed him (with an euill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely diſcouered the miſchiefe by them intended againſt him, and the malice of their Senate; miſſing the while their purpoſe, and cauſing men to vnderſtand, that Hee fled not thus without great reaſon.

Hannibal, comming to *Tyre*, the Mother-Citie of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whoſe great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reaſon of affinitie betweene their Cities, thought themſelues to haue intereſt. Thence went hee to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, viſited his ſonne in *Daphne*: who friendly welcommed him, and ſent him vnto his Father at *Epheſus*, that exceedingly reioyced at his comming.

As *Antiochus* had cauſe to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: ſo had the *Romans* no great cauſe to bee therefore ſorrie; otherwiſe than as they had much diſgraced themſelues, by diſcouery of their impotent malice, in chacing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not prooue alike eaſie vnto this great Commander, to make ſtout Souldiours of baſe *Aſiatiques*; as it had been by his trayning and diſcipline, to make very ſeruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, and other Natious, that were hardie though vnexperienced. Or were it ſuppoſed, that one mans worth, eſpecially being ſo extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall conſiderable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baſeneſſe of his Flatterers, and a thouſand other ſuch vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a deſolate and baniſhed man, than had been the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in thoſe Actions wherein hee had the high Command, and was ſeconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely helpe to ennoble the *Roman* Victorie: or if it further ſerued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him leſſe carefull to auoid the warre; then ſhould it further ſerue, to juſtifie the *Romans* in their quarrell. And it ſeemes indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is ſaid before, hauing newly ſent Embaſſadours to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Armes; vnleſſe by meere violence hee were thereto enforced. Onely the *Ætolians* were greatly ſuſpected, as a turbulent people, deſirous of innouation, and therefore practiſing with this Great King; whom they wiſhed to ſee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeaſe them; they had of late been anſwered with gentle words by one of the ten Counſailours, That the Senate would grant them whatſoeuer with reaſon they ſhould aske. But this promiſe was too large, and vnaduiſed. For when their Embaſſadours came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them leaſt. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themſelues: otherwiſe than by ſpeaking ſuch words, as might haſten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very ſhame; who had no deſire to be thence gone.

The dayly talke at *Rome* was of warre with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leaue the Countrey. For the *Ætolians* were wont to vpbraid the reſt of the *Greekes*, with the vaine libertie which the *Romans* had proclaimed, ſaying, That theſe their Deliuerers had layd heauier fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than thoſe of the *Macedonian*: likewiſe, That it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greeks* their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cauſe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no de-

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laie, in accompliſhment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of *Greece* were at libertie, and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it ſelfe. As for *Antiochus*; He made it his dayly ſuit, That the Peace betweene him and *Rome*, ſuch as it was, might be confirmed, and ſtrengthened by a League of more aſſurance. Neuertheleſſe *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to ſeize vpon *Greece*, as ſoone as hee and his Armie were thence departed: And in this regard, He retained ſtill in his owne hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withſtand the dangerous Inuaſion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suteable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the tenne Embaſſadours, that had been ſent ouer to aſſiſt him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they ſaid, would queſtionleſſe fall vpon *Greece*: wherein he ſhould finde not onely the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, readie to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe ſomewhat againſt theſe their ſuſpected enemies: eſpecially againſt *Nabis*, who could worſt make reſiſtance; whileſt *Antiochus* was farre away in *Syria*, and not intentiue to his buſineſſe. Theſe reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar; but found ſuch credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, againſt which time it was expected that *Antiochus* ſhould be ready to take his great enterpriſe in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African* deſired, and obtained, a ſecond Conſulſhip, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, againſt the King and his *Hannibal*. For the preſent, the buſineſſe with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would bee a faire colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alſo hee knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be ſorry; though for his owne part, hee wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendſhip with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is alreadie ſhewed, whileſt hee had Warre with *Philip*: and had further beene contented for the *Romans* ſake to bee at peace with the *Achæans*; neither ſince that time had hee done any thing, whereby hee ſhould draw vpon himſelfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a deteſtable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*; as one, that beſides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great miſchiefe. *Titus* therefore had a plauſible Theme, whereon to diſcourſe before the Embaſſages of all the Confederate Cities; Which hee cauſed to meete for that purpoſe at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the warre with *Philip*, not onely the *Greekes*, but the *Romans* themſelues, had each their motiues apart (which hee there briefly rehearſed) that ſhould ſtirre them vp, and cauſe them to be earneſt. But in this which hee now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other intereſt, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in ſetting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in ſome ſort maimed, or incompleat, whileſt the noble Citie of *Argos* was left in ſubjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the *Greekes*, duly to conſider, whether they thought the deliuerance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be vndertaken; or whether otherwiſe to auoid all further trouble, they could bee well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greekes* themſelues. The *Athenian* Embaſſadour made anſwere hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as he could deuiſe. He gaue thankes to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Propoſition: wherein vnrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poore Aſſociates, they had already of late extended vnto the *Greekes*. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, ſuch notable vertue and high deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imaginations to foretell, what harme theſe their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulnes rather would haue required an acknowledge-

ment, of the benefits and pleasures already receiued. Euery one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* rose vp, and told the *Athenians* their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their Citie had beene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recouerie of the libertie generall: from which honour they were now so farre fallen, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into seruitude. Then spake Hee against the *Achæans*, Clients that had been a long time vnto the *Macedonian*; and souldiors of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These, Hee said, had gotten *Corinth*, and must now haue warre be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes been friends vnto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did hee thus containe himselfe, but obiected vnto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; hauing been alwayes wont to professe, That *Greece* could neuer bee at libertie, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesses wherewith to finde themselues occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrie? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake; to carrie their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed bee free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the *Aetolians* themselues did promise, and would vndertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at vnitie. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common libertie wrought so much with these *Aetolians*; as did their owne rauenous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselues, that worse would vse it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grieuance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been couenanted, That the *Romans* should enioy the spoile of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefes by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the *Achæans*, crie out vpon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Ætolian* theeues be enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that *Antiochus* his Embassadours did presently after lie hard vpon him, to drawe the peace to some good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answere: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsailours which had beene sent vnto him from *Rome*, to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* warre; it was very soone ended. For *Titus* vsed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Nauie, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were inuited to the seruice: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether it were to get fauour of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who set out ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Ætolians*: rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions,

ſitions, than in hope to ſpeed, their helpe was required; whereof they excuſed themſelues as well as they thought beſt. Thus are the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; hauing remooued the *Ætolians* from that degree of fauour: like as they themſelues hereafter (though not in all haſte) ſhall be ſupplanted of the ſame *Lacedæmonians*, againſt whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argiues* more bold then wiſe, began a conſpiracie againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates vnto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew neare, they were all detected and ſlaine: excepting a very few, that eſcaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, cauſed the Armie to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no ſtirre within the Walles: the execution done vpon the firſt mouers, hauing terrified all the reſt of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to aſſaile *Nabis* in the head of his ſtrength at *Lacedæmon*, than to conſume time about other places; eſpecially at *Argos*: for the freedom wherof ſince the Warre was made, pittie it were, that the calamities of the warre ſhould thereon fall moſt heauily.

Nabis had in readineſſe an Armie of fifteene thouſand, wherewith to defend himſelfe againſt theſe Inuaders. Fiue thouſand of them were Mercinaries: the reſt, of his owne Countrie; but ſuch as were of all others the worſt, as manumiſed ſlaues, malefactors and baſe peaſants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens hee ſtood in doubt; and ſince he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Aſſemblie: and compaſſing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themſelues; they might, he ſaid, hope the better to withſtand the common Enemie. But foraſmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occaſions, to raiſe tumults, and worke dangerous treaſon: it ſeemed vnto him the ſafeſt, and (withall) the mildeſt courſe, to arreſt beforehand, and put in ward, all thoſe whom he found moſt reaſon to ſuſpect. So ſhould he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preſerue not onely the Citie and his owne perſon from danger, but them alſo from the puniſhment, which elſe they might haue incurred. Hereupon hee cites and apprehends about foureſcore of them; whom hee leads away to priſon, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he ſure that they neither ſhould offend, nor yet breake looſe. As for the death of them, if it ſhould happen to be noiſed abroad: what could it elſe doe than terrifie the people; who muſt thereby vnderſtand, that it was a mortall crime to be ſuſpected? And to the ſame purpoſe his cruelty extended it ſelfe vnto ſome poore wretches: whom he accuſed of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. Theſe were openly whipt through all the ſtreetes, and ſlaine. Hauing thus affrighted the Citizens; He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. Hee welcommed them with a ſallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiours of the Towne had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſſe. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but ouer-ran the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleet at the ſame time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, layd ſiege vnto *Gytheum*, the onely or principall Hauen-towne that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treaſon. There were two Gouernours within the Towne equall in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithfull, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, he himſelfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thither to *Gytheum*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermoſt, and awaite what either Time or his Maſter might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the ſonne-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Gouernment

with a thousand Souldiours Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argines*: it beeing (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue *Gytheum*: which he thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke vpon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassador to *Titus*: requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speake with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe: prouing, that hee suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could obiect vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alleadged, they ought to make warre vpon him; since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoeuer, had not hindered them, in time of their more neede of him, from entring into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. Hee charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inuasion should be alleadged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to ioyne with *Philip*; when he was their enemie, not onely in League, but also in affinitie: and that his Fleete had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the *Greekes* his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may seeme to haue beene obiected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very friuolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargaine of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to haue beene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Aristanus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, verie well perceiued: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbeare to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate; and had neuer done them wrong; framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate; and to settle his fortunes, whilest he might doe it without hazzard: alleadging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great securitie, honour, and happines, as priuate men. Thus they discoursed vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*; and requested them, to deliuer vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the Citie of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meete. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grieuous. Hee would not suffer the *Lacedæmonian* to haue ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies; nor war, either in that Iland or elsewhere; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne Lands; not to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome iniunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be payd out of hand, and fiftie talents yeerely, for eight yeeres next ensuing. For obseruance of these Couenants he demanded fiue hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be

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the Tyrants owne ſonne. If it had beene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, becauſe it was not grounded vpon iuſtice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which hee himſelfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reaſonable, to diſpenſe a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the ſtate of their beſt friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyrannie: then ſhould this enterpriſe, when once it was taken in hand, haue beene proſecuted vnto the very vtmoſt. As for this middle courſe which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themſelues by the ſpoile of one that had not offended them: nor pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who iudged it euer after a great blemiſh to the noble acts of *Titus*: ſo did it miniſter vnto the *Ætolians*, and to ſuch as curiouſly pried into the faults of thoſe which tooke vpon them to bee Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subiect of malicious diſcourſe. For ſince *Philip*, a King, and deſcended of many famous Kings, might not bee ſuffered by theſe Maſterly *Romans*, to hold any one of thoſe Countries or Townes in *Greece*, that had belonged vnto his Anceſtors: it was thought very ſtrange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the moſt famous Citie among all the *Greekes*, was by the ſame *Romans* left in poſſeſſion of a Tyrant, that had vſurped it but yeſterday: and Hee therein rooted by their authoritie, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other ſide thought himſelfe vnmercifully dealt withall, by the ſelfe-ſame *Romans*, whoſe amitie he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinitie of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the Citie of *Argos* into his hands. But falſly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falſly was he dealt with by thoſe, to whom he did betake himſelfe. Among theſe Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleaſed him; ſaue onely that for the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe; hauing among them *Ageſipolis* the naturall King of *Sparta*, that being a yong childe was driuen out by *Lycurgus*, the firſt of the Tyrants) there was made no prouiſion, to haue them reſtored vnto their Citie and Eſtates; but onely leaue required for as many of their wiues, as would be ſo contented, to liue abroad with them in baniſhment. Wherefore hee forbore to giue conſent vnto theſe demands: and ſuſtained an aſſault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would ſoone be wearie. But his fearefull nature ſhortly ouercame the reſolution, which the ſenſe of theſe iniuries had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had beene propounded, Hee deliuered the hoſtages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, Hee thought the *Romans* more wicked than himſelfe; and was readie vpon the firſt aduantage, to doe them all miſchiefe that he could.

The *Argiues* had heard newes that *Lacedæmon* was euen at point of being taken: This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to ſet vpon the Garriſon; which was much weakened, by the remoouе of the three thouſand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly ſhould ſet their handes to the getting of it; which no ſooner they did than they obtained it. Preſently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where hee was joyfully welcommed. Hee was deſeruedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laied hold without ſtaying for him: and that hee might the better entitle himſelfe thereto, he cauſed the libertie of the *Argiues* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean* games; as ratifying it by his authoritie. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more ſtrengthened, than the *Argiues* themſelues were ſecured from danger of relapſe, into the ſame extremities out of which they had newly eſcaped.

After this, *Titus* found little buſines or none wherewith to ſet on worke his Armie in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to ſend another Embaſſage to *Rome*, deſiring peace and friendſhip of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholy

ly disposed vnto quiet; *Scipio* the *African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The vnsincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Ætolians*, were held as considerations worthie of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perswading all the *Greekes* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselues the Patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrie, was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leauing the Nation vnto it selfe, til occasion should be ripe, and call them ouer againe. Wherfore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted vnto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsaile; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly hee gaue vp *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to doe the like (which verie soone hee did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be knowne, what liers the *Ætolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retaine those places. With joyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had bin sold into their Countrie by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happie end: and by leauing the Countrie before his departure was vrged, left therein behind him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by jelousie and suspition of any euill meaning. At his comming to the Citie, Hee had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had vntill that day beheld. Three dayes together the shew of his pompe continued: as being set out with the spoiles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthie of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rude Masse vnwrought; some, in diuers sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of sundrie kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanship. Among these were tenne shieldes, all of Siluer; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteene Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the *Roman* Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slaueric in *Greece*.

Not long after his Triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very fauourable answeres, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *T. Quintius*, and the tenne that had beene his Counsailors; because their businesse was said to bee somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadours wondred. They said vnto *Titus* and his Associates, That they could not discerne wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betweene the Victor and the vanquished; betweene those, that hauing warred together, were vpon equall termes of aduantage; or betweene those that had liued alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the

the impoſition of ſome Couenants, that elſe might ſeeme vnreaſonable. Where Warre had been made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vſuall to demaund and make reſtitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or loſt; accordingly as both parts could agree. But betweene thoſe which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of eſtabliſhing friendſhip to bee propoſed: ſince it was reaſonable, that each part ſhould hold their owne; and neyther carrie it ſelfe as ſuperiour vnto the other, in preſcribing ought that might bee troubleſome. Now of this laſt kind, was the League and friendſhip that had beene ſo long in concluſion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being ſo: they held it ſtrange, that the *Romans* ſhould thus inſiſt on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to preſcribe vnto the King, what Cities of *Aſia* he ſhould ſet at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garriſons into them, as the Senate ſhould thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* anſwered, That ſince they went ſo diſtinctly to worke, Hee would alſo doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choice whether to accept: Eyther that it ſhould bee lawfull for the *Romans*, to take part in *Aſia* with any that would ſeeke their friendſhip; Or, if King *Antiochus* miſliked this, and would haue them forbeare to meddle in *Aſia*, that then Hee ſhould abandon whatſoeuer hee had gotten in *Europe*. This was plaine dealing; but no reaſonable nor pertinent anſwere, to that which the Kings Embaſſadours had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abſtaine from *Aſia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in *Europe*: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, or any other *Aſiatiques*, whom they were pleaſed to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make warre with a King that ſought their loue, and had neuer done them injurie. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great ſhame be ſo baſe, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Lyſimachia*, whereon of late he had bin at ſo much coſt; in building it vp euen from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants, that had all beene diſperſed, or captiue to the *Barbarians*. And ſo much the Embaſſadours with great indignation alleadged: ſaying, that *Antiochus* deſired friendſhip of the *Romans*; but ſo, as it might ſtand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke vpon them as if their cauſe were farre the ſuperiour. For it was, they ſaid, their purpoſe, to ſet at libertie thoſe Townes, which the King would oppreſſe and hold in ſubiection: eſpecially ſince thoſe Townes were of *Greekiſh* bloud and language; and fell in that regard vnder the patronage, which *Rome* had affoorded vnto all *Greece* beſides. By this colour they might ſoone haue left *Antiochus* King of not many ſubiects on the hither ſide of *Euphrates*. Neyther did they forbeare to ſay, That, vnleſſe he would quit what hee held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not onely to protect thoſe which relied vpon them in *Aſia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might bee vnderſtood) with ſuch as were his ſubiects. Wherefore they vrged his Embaſſadours to come to a point, and tel them plainly which of theſe two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleaſing anſwere, which the Embaſſadours could not hereto make; little wanted of giuing preſently defiance to the King. But they ſuffered themſelues to bee entreated, and were contented once againe to ſend ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had beene alreadie with the King at *Lyſimachia*; by whom they might receiue a finall anſwere, whether theſe demands made by *Quintius* and his Aſſociates would bee accepted, yea, or no. By this reſpite of time, and the fruitleſſe Treaties enſuing, *Antiochus* got the leiſure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the *Romans*, all that while, no diſpoſition to let him liue in peace.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. PORCIVS CATO. *Iniuries done by* MASANISSA *to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for iustice in vaine.*

THE *Insubrians*, *Boijans*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the *Romans* in *Italie*, euen from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill such time as they themselues were vtterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the height of their Empire. These Nations, hauing serued vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath beene alreadie shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the *Gaules* or *Ligurians* did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were readie to second them. How the *Romans* first preuailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina* now called *Lumbardie*; it hath beene long since rehearsed, betweene the first and second *Punick* Warres. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrie, by meanes of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the reconquest would haue beene more difficult or tedious vnto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not beene distracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, hauing an eye to the danger at their backes. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of bodie; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but foorthwith readie to fight againe. Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor besieged. They were also very poore; and had little or nothing that might giue contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoile their Land. In these respects they serued excellently well, to traine vp the *Roman* Souldiors to hardnesse and militarie patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a little. Their quarrell to *Rome*, grew partly from their loue vnto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territorie of their borderers, that were subiect vnto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begunne, seemes to haue beene grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vsing their aduantage, or taking reuenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the *West-Indians*: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, vse commonly this answere, *It hath still beene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.*

ch.2.§.8. of this Booke.

Diuers ouerthrowes, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gaue vnto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they receiued. Often they sought peace, when they found themselues in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrie was a good place of exercise vnto the *Romans*, so out of their own Countrie they did little harme:

not

not ſending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, becauſe they knew not how to make warre, ſaue on their owne ground.

The Countrie of *Spaine*, as it was the firſt part of the Continent out of *Italie* that became ſubiect vnto the *Romans*: ſo was it the laſt of all their Prouinces, which was wholly and throughly by them ſubdued. It is likened in figure by ſome Geographers vnto an Oxe-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the propertie of that Oxe-hide, which *Calanus* the *Indian* ſhewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any ſide of it, the further parts would riſe from the ground. And thus was it with *Spaine*. Seldome did it happen, that thoſe parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay furtheſt, were not vp in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hardie Nation, and eaſily ſtirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted alſo (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themſelues: and beeing diuided into many ſmall Signories, that had little other communion than of language, they ſeldome or neuer prouided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such priuate reſpects made them often to fall aſunder; when many had vnited themſelues together, for chacing out of the *Romans*. And theſe were the cauſes of their often ouerthrowes: as deſire of libertie, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cauſe of their often taking armes.

The *Carthaginians* had beene accuſtomed, to make euacuation of this Chollerick *Spaniſh* humour; by employing, as Mercinaries in their warres abroad, thoſe that were moſt likely to bee vnquiet at home. They had alſo taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrie, and vſed them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they rayſed vpon the whole Countrie; as being farre better huſbands, and of more dexteritie than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwiſe the *Romans*, vſing the ſeruice of their owne Legions, and of their ſure friends the *Latines*, had little buſineſſe for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were faine to haue much buſineſſe with them. *Spaine* was too farre diſtant, and withall too great, for them to ſend ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the courſe that they tooke in *Italie*. Wherefore it remained, that they ſhould alwayes maintaine ſuch Armies in the Countrie, as might ſerue to hold it in obedience perforce; and ſuch heedfull Captaines, as might bee ſtill readie to oppoſe the *Barbarians* in their firſt Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrie; though ſeldome in peace.

Very ſoone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raiſed warre in *Spaine* againſt the *Romans*, euen vpon the ſame generall ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spaniſh* warres following. It was thought vnreaſonable, that the *Spaniards* ſhould one while helpe the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; baſely forgetting to helpe themſelues againſt thoſe that were ſtrangers, yet vſurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of warre in thoſe parts, ſuppreſſed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with ſubiection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which laſted fiue yeeres. This Victorie of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the warre: yet left it ſtill remaining the cauſe of the warre; which after fiue yeeres brake out againe. The *Spaniards* fought a battaile with the *Roman* Proconſul, whom they ſlew; and had a great Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie ſucceſſe of their Warres in *Greece*, made the *Romans* thinke it enough to ſend thither two Prætors, and with each of them ſome two Legions. Theſe did ſomewhat: yet not ſo much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Conſul the yeere following, and ſent into that Prouince; found at his comming little leſſe to doe, than the reconquering of all *Spaine*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one minde: ſome were faithfull to *Rome*; and ſome were idle beholders of the paines

that

that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great Victorie vpon the chiefe of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrie, and put him to much new trouble. Whilest hee was about to make a journie against those that were as yet vnsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were euen readie to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heauily, that many of them slew themselues for very griefe. Hearing of this, and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietnesse, which they neuer had disturbed but vnto their owne great losse, He praied them to deuise what course might be taken, for holding them assured vnto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counsaile in a matter of this nature. Hauing therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kind of Subiect; He gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industrie finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Armie of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their Countrimen: excusing the indignitie, such as it seemed, with a iest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victorie, hee could pay them with the Enemies monie. Finally Hee brought the Warre to so good end, that in long time after, though *Spaine* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by causing some Mynes of Iron and Siluer to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well bee then termed The Occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other vseful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. Hee was very skilful in the *Roman* Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not vnprofitable in any businesse either priuate or publike. Many Bookes he wrote: wherof the principal were, of the *Roman* antiquities, and of husbandrie. In matter of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie hee was, and exceeding temperate: so as he liued in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sinceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited singular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the *African*, and some other worthie men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse rigid, and more gallant in behauiour. Otherwise, Hee was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that hee could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he neuer were out of his Element. He loued businesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that euen vnto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselfe, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore and sixe yeeres, He pleaded in his own defence: and foure yeeres after, he accused *Sergius Galba* vnto the People. So beganne the Nobilitie of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grandchild *M. Cato* the *Vtican*: one, that being of like vertue and feruencie had all his good purposes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie seldome free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two euery yeere were sent ouer Commaunders into *Spaine* (that was diuided into

two

two euery yeere were sent ouer Commanders into *Spaine* (that was diuided into two Gouernments) did rarely faile of such worke; as might affoord the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteene thousand *Spaniards* in a battaile: another tooke fiftie Townes: and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to sue for Peace. Thus euery one of them, or most of them, did some laudable seruice; yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I haue alreadie pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to say, That the businesse in *Spaine* required not the imployment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, vntil the *Numantian* Warre brake out; which was verie long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicitie which *Rome* could grant, vnto themselues and their obedient Cities; *Masanissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitfull Region about the lesser *Syrtis*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent vnto *Carthage* for Tribute. This countrie the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great aduantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre, without leaue obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redresse, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alleadge, if the Iudges had been vnpartiall. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out vnto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrie: *Masanissa* himselfe, now very lately, pursuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, desired leaue of the *Carthaginians*, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise beene questionable) that the Countrie was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masanissa* had wherewith to iustifie his proceedings, especially vnto the *Roman* Senate. Hee gaue the *Fathers* to vnderstand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill-affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent vnto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined vpon some suspition of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby affoorded him meanes to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe. As for the Countrie of *Emporia*: it had alwayes, he said, beene theirs, that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometimes vnto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if trueth were knowne, the Citizens of *Carthage* had no very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than that whereon their Citie stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leaue there to build vpon so much ground, as they could encompasse with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoeuer they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encrochments. This considered, *Masanissa* requested of the Senate, That they would not adiudge vnto such vsurpers, the Countrie sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* hauing heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly; they sent ouer three Embassadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuersie: yet secretly giuing them instructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadours followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Masanissa* with a strong Armie should quickly preuaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not onely from stirring in fauour of King

Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall destruction: that came vpon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to expresse the vtmost of their hatred.

§. VI.

The Ætolians labour to prouoke ANTIOCHVS, PHILIP, *and* NABIS, *to warre vpon the Romans; by whom they hold themselues wronged and disgraced.* NABIS *besieged Gytheum, and wasteth some part of Achæa. The exact skill of* PHILOPŒMEN, *in aduantage of ground: whereby he vtterly vanquisheth* NABIS. ANTIOCHVS *being denied Peace by the Romans, ioynes with the Ætolians. The Ætolians surprize* DEMETRIAS; *and by killing* NABIS, *their Confederate seize vpon Sparta. But they are driuen out by the Citizens: who at* PHILOPŒMEN *his perswasions annex themselues to the Achæans.*

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieued much the *Ætolians* to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselues the whole spoile of Philip, and the highest reputation among the *Greekes*; were not onely disappointed of their couetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great accesse to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had beene taken from the *Macedonian*. This might haue well sufficed them, if their desires had not beene immoderate; and their indignation, more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselues to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had vnsufferable wrong. Wherefore they deuised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselues; and giue the Romans a sorrowfull knowledge of the difference, betweene their enmitie and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not onely perswade *Antiochus* to make warre vpon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused Peace; but that they would deale with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemie, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to ioyne all together in a new Confederacie: whose ioynt forces could not in all likelihood but farre surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* tooke in hand; and well beseeming them, for they were great darers. They sent Embassadours to all these Kings, with perswasions as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to trie first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence, beganne immediatly to lay siege to *Gytheum*, that had beene lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duetie: neither would they haue staied long from repressing his violence by open warre; had not some of them thought it wisedome to aske counsaile of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselues in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent the time in sending Embassadours, and were aduised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to waite for the comming of the *Roman* forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iuster cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territorie.

Philopœmen was then Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been absent in *Crete*;

making

making war there for his mindes ſake and recreation. Vnto him the *Achæans* referred themſelues, giuing him leaue to order the warre at his pleaſure; either ſtaying vntill the *Romans* came; or doing otherwiſe, as hee ſhould thinke beſt. He made all haſte to relieue *Gyttheum*, by Sea; fearing leſt the Towne, and the *Achæan* Garriſon within it, ſhould bee loſt, if hee vſed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was ſo bad a Seaman, that he knew not a ſtrong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gallie his Admirall, that had foureſcore yeeres agoe been counted a gallant veſſell, in the Nauie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the reſt of his Fleete ſo good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himſelfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was ſtemmed at the firſt; and being rotten with age, ſprang ſo many leakes, and tooke in water ſo faſt, that ſhe was faine to yeeld without further reſiſtance. When the reſt of the Fleet ſaw what was become of their Admirall, all were preſently diſcouraged, and ſaued themſelues with what ſpeede they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith danted. If hee had failed in Sea-ſeruice, which was none of his Occupation, Hee ſaid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the ſiege of *Gyttheum*, to ſtop the *Achæans* if they ſhould inuade his Countrie. But vpon theſe which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came inexpected; fired their Campe; and put all, ſaue a very few of them, to the ſword. Then marched he withall his Armie towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him that had already taken *Gyttheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue been ready for them ſo ſoone. Or if hee ſhould come from *Gyttheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee muſt ouertake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almoſt ſecurely, in a long Troupe reaching ſome fiue miles; hauing their Horſe, & the greateſt part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any ſudden impreſſion. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderſtood, or at leaſt ſuſpected, what courſe they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the cuſtome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to marke the ſituation of the Countrie about him; and to diſcourſe, what might befall an Armie marching the ſame way. Hee would ſuppoſe, That hauing with him there ſuch a number of Souldiours, ordered and ſorted in ſuch manner, and marching towards ſuch a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the queſtion, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a ſtand? what piece of ground it were meete for him to ſeize vpon? and in what manner he might beſt doe it? in what ſort he ſhould order his men? where beſtow his Carriages, and vnder what Gard? in what ſort encampe himſelfe? and which way march the day following? By ſuch continuall meditation Hee was growne ſo perfect, that hee neuer mette with any difficultie, whence he could not explicate himſelfe and his followers. At this time hee made a ſtand: and hauing drawne vp his Rere, Hee encamped neare vnto the place where he was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he beſtowed on a Rocke; encompaſſing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almoſt quite ſpent; ſo as *Nabis* could not at the preſent greatly moleſt him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to miniſter the firſt occaſion of skirmiſh. *Philopœmen* vnderſtood this; and layd an ambuſh in place conuenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, he cauſed one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitiue, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get betweene him and *Lacedæmon*; wherby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people, to take armes for the recouery of their

freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Campe; which hardly otherwiſe would haue been forced. Some Companies hee made to ſtay behinde, and ſhew themſelues vpon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Campe; and gaue chace to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; *Philopœmen* conceiued aright, that their feare and neceſſitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and ſaue themſelues, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his Light-armature, which had followed the chace whileſt it was day, Hee led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelues, and occupied the two moſt ordinarie paſſages vnto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in *Philopœmens* Campe great ſtore of lights; thought that all had been at reſt: and therefore aduentured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirtie dayes together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſte the Countrey round about, whleſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue foorth of his Towne; and then returned home, leauing the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſaddours were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their partie ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſollicited by the *Ætolians*. Verie faire countenance they alſo made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, whatſoeuer hee thought, of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore vnto him his ſonne: and were contented to let him hope, that hee ſhould receiue other fauours at their hands; and regaine poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for warre againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadours that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yeeld vnto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage betweene *Ptolemie* and his daughter; together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the Kings ſonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in perſon to the Embaſſadours; cauſed them to returne home to *Rome*; as vncertaine of their anſwere as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might haue beene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to paſſe during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Liuie* rather thinkes) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a cauſeleſſe ſuſpition wherein hee held the *Romans*: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadours; and that hee, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captaines that had liued*, HANNIBAL *iudged the moſt worthy?* So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged vnto himſelfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be ſo forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldeſt thou haue ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed mee? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I haue giuen the firſt place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my ſelfe. Now whether this were ſo, or otherwiſe: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadours, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*: who therefore did forbeare awhile to vſe his counſell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceiued this change in the King: and plainely deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; He eaſily recouered his former grace, and credit. For he told how his Father had cauſed him to ſweare at the Altars, when hee was a little boy, That hee neuer ſhould bee friend vnto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine ſurmiſes:

miſes: but to know thus much, That as long as he thought vpon warre with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* doe him all good ſeruice: whereas contrariwiſe if he intended to make peace, then ſhould it behooue him to vſe the counſaile of ſome other man.

The *Aetolians*, and their friends, were no leſſe buſie all this while, in making their partie ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans*, in muſtering vp their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vanting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themſelues the honour of the victorie againſt *Philip*; that finally they preuailed with him: eſpecially when the *Roman* Embaſſadors had left him without hope of peace, vnleſſe hee would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like ſort with the *Macedonian*. But in vaine. Hee vnderſtood the *Romans*, and himſelfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improue their owne forces to the vtmoſt: as knowing, that all the burthen muſt lie vpon *Antiochus* and themſelues, without helpe from any; ſaue onely from ſome few that were diſcontented in *Greece*. Whileſt they were about this, and had with them an Embaſſador of the King *Antiochus* that animated them to reſolution: the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, whom *Titus* had requeſted to be at their meeting, ſtayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude raſhly, without firſt hearing the *Romans*, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready anſwer hereto, they were contented to approue the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the buſines worthy of his preſence. For ſince *Antiochus* had now declared himſelfe againſt the *Romans*: it would bee no ſmall piece of ſeruice, to withdraw from his friendſhip, thoſe by whoſe encouragement he had made the aduenture. Wherefore hee came to their *Panætolium*, or great Aſſemblie of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ſerue to appeaſe them. Hee willed them to conſider the weight of the enterpriſe which they tooke in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Countrie, the *Romans*, and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no ſmall part of the World, ſhould fight for the Maſterie: the *Ætolians*, as Maſters in that kinde of Fence, ſetting them on, and becomming * *the Sticklers*. As for thoſe grieuances which did thus exaſperate them, and vrge them to ſuch violent courſes, Hee willed them to conſider how ſlight they were, and how much better they might doe to ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*, that ſhould either pleade their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make requeſt to haue what they deſired: than thus to ſet the world in an vproare, and be afterwards the firſt that ſhould repent it. But what he ſayd, or could ſay, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embaſſador of the King, whoſe helpe they had ſought, waite ſo long for an anſwer, and ſtay doubting what good end they ſhould make with the *Romans*. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare thoſe comfortable words, That, by ſending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtaine what they deſired; either as their right, or elſe by way of fauour. For with ſuch Termes had they beene feaſted once already: and were by the Senate reiected vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no ſatisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely loſſe of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* ſhould be entreated to come ouer into *Greece*, as well to ſet the Countrie at libertie, as alſo to decide the controuerſies depending betweene the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderſtood the Kings minde before. Hauing made it; they forgot no point of brauerie, vvherby to vaunt themſelues to the Kings Embaſſadours, and againſt the *Romans*. *Titus* deſired of their Prætor, to let him ſee a Copie of this nevv Decree. The Prætor anſvvered, That then hee had other things to do: but that this Decree, & their further anſvver, they vvould ſhortly let him knovv, if he came to their camp in *Italy* vpon the riuer of *Tibris*. Gentler words would haue

* *Liu. l. 35. admiſtis Aetolis, fortè, laniſtis.*

done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to vnderſtand hereafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more priuate Councel of their Nation; that no occaſion might ſlip, in waiting for the Authoritie of a generall Aſſembly. The *Apocleti* (ſo were the Priuie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to worke as any of the yongeſt heads could haue done. They layd a plotte, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they ſent men for the purpoſe. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the ſudden; entring, ſome of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for ſpeaking words againſt *T. Quintius*, had been driuen to flee thence, but was, by interceſſion of thoſe that loued him, againe recalled. *His Ætolian* companions, that were not many, ſeized vpon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them; and ſo fell to murdering the chiefe of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they ſped not ſo well. Thither alſo they had a baniſhed man to bring home: but they came ſo ſtrong, that their purpoſe was diſcouered, and the Towne prepared to defend it ſelfe againſt them. Being therefore demanded the cauſe of this hoſtilitie, they gaue a gentle anſwer, ſaying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the *Romans*; who more inſolently dominered ouer it, than euer the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhethoricke they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force. For the Towneſ-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garriſon to keepe them from the *Romans*; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor receiued iniurie. So this buſines was daſht. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more ſtrange and deſperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Towne; ſtyling himſelfe King: but, more truely by all men called Tyrant. He had wel-neare loſt all, by meanes of the ouerthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately giuen him: ſince, he durſt not ſtirre abroad; and dayly expected the miſchiefe, that on all ſides threatned him. Wherfore he ſent meſſengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requeſting them, That as He had not been ſlow to ſtirre in their behalfe, but aduentured himſelfe vpon the vtmoſt of danger, when all others were backward; ſo They would be pleaſed to ſend him what helpe they might, ſince his bad fortune had cauſed him preſently to need it. It hath been often ſayd, That the rauenous *Ætolians* were onely true to themſelues, and regarded neither faith nor friendſhip otherwiſe than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And ſo dealt they now. For ſince *Nabis* his mercinarie forces, which vpheld his Tyrannie, were in a manner conſumed: they thought it expedient for their Eſtate, to put him out of the way; and, by ſo doing, to aſſure *Lacedæmon* vnto themſelues. To this purpoſe, they ſent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for ſuch a worke. To him they gaue a thouſand Foot, and thirtie Horſe, choſen for the purpoſe. Theſe thirtie were by *Damocritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiſer than they ſhould bee, nor to thinke that they were ſent to make warre with the *Achæans*, or to doe ought elſe, ſaue onely what *Alexamenus* ſhould command them; which, were it neuer ſo deſperate, and in ſeeming againſt all reaſon; yet muſt they vnderſtand, that vnleſſe they performed it, they ſhould haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: ſince the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would ſuffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætolians*, Hee ſaid, that if need ſhould ſo require, they would preſently ſend away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raiſe: But that they were very deſirous at the preſent, to make as goodly a muſter as they could before the great King; which cauſed them to ſend him thither afore

with

with no greater companie. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had beene long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if ſhortly he ſhould employ them in worke of conqueſt, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exerciſed his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horſe about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exerciſe, *Alexamenus* made it his faſhion to ſtep aſide alone to his *Ætolians*, and ſay ſomewhat as he thought fit: which done, he ſtill returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he ſaw time for the great worke that he had in hand: Hee then went aſide to his thirtie Horſemen, and bade them remember the taske enioyned them at their ſetting foorth; telling them that they were all in caſe of baniſhed men, vnleſſe they would anon come vp to him, and helpe him to finiſh that which they ſhould ſee him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the ſudden, and ſtruck him downe. The thirtie *Ætolians* neuer ſtood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any ſuccour could arriue, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Preſently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercinaries ranne vnto the dead bodie: where in ſtead of ſeeking reuenge, they ſtood fooliſhly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* haſted into the Citie, and ſeized on the Palace: where hee fell to ranſacking the Treaſure; and troubled himſelfe with none other care, as though all were alreadie done. Such of his followers as were diſperſed in the Towne, did alſo the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who ſeeing themſelues free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to ſee thoſe that had ſlaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was ſhortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall ſtocke, that had beene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a Good Horſe, and made him their chiefe. So they fell vpon the *Ætolians* that were idely ſtragling about; and put them all to the ſword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Companie, were ſlaine in keeping the Citadell: and thoſe few that eſcaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magiſtrates; who ſolde them all as bond-ſlaues. In this doubtfull Eſtate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and ſpeaking ſuch wordes vnto them, as *Alexamenus* ſhould haue done after hee had ſlaine the Tyrant; eaſily perſwaded them for their owne good and ſafetie, to incorporate themſelues with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterpriſe, no leſſe diſhonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*, and the ſmall, but effectuall, trauaile of *Philopœmen*; the *Achæans* made a notable purchaſe: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto bin gouerned eyther by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themſelues Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof the name had ſcarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled ouer all *Greece*.

§. VII.

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ANTIOCHVS, perswaded by THOAS *the Ætolian, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. Sundrie passages betweene him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians and others. Hee winnes Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubœa. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the Ætolians, with the Ciuil answere of* TITVS *to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to haue desired peace, betweene the Romans and* ANTIOCHVS; *as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many pettie Estates that fell to the King. Of* AMINANDER; *and an idle vanitie, by which King* PHILIP *was lost.* HANNIBAL *giues good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in Thessalie. The King retires to Chalcis; Where hee marrieth a young Wife, and reuels away the rest of Winter. Vpon the comming of the Roman Consul all forsake* ANTIOCHVS. *Hee with two thousand Ætolians keepes the Streights of Thermopylæ. Hee is beaten, and flies into Asia: leauing all in Greece vnto the Victors.*

ANTIOCHVS was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behind him; and to winne them by force, was more than hitherto hee was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speed conuenient to shew himselfe in *Greece*; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a very small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was alreadie vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were readie to conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit vnto all the rest. Whileſt therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so giue him the better leisure of vsing his owne opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came ouer to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his Countreymen had alreadie taken *Demetrias*; a Towne of maine importance, that should giue him entertaiment, whence hee might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without need of vsing violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not bee chosen a more vnfit man to be employed in the Kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, That the King should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perishing vnder such a notable Commaunder if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheleſſe if *Hannibal* preuailed; *Hannibal* alone should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard hee was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should bee alwayes neere vnto the Kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soueraigne Command; euen of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being iealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Maiestie of his owne fortune. And thereupon hee laid aside the determination; which tended more to the aduancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently after this He made readie for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a friuolous

lous pomp of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-ſide to *Ilium*; there to do ſacrifice to *Minerua* of *Troy*. Thence paſſing ouer the *Aegean* Sea, Hee came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*, the ſame whome the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wanne *Demetrias*; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. Hee therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a ſigne of good lucke, to bee ſo entertained at the beginning. But it may bee ſuſpected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cauſe of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie ſomewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they ſaw three hundred ſhips, of which no more than fortie were ſeruiceable for the Warres; with an Armie of tenne thouſand Foot, fiue hundred Horſe, and ſixe Elephants. The *Aetolians* no ſooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they inuited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would ſo doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to *Lamia*, the *Aetolians* gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could deuiſe. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein hee deſired them to hold him excuſed, that hee came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he ſaid, in true eſtimation a ſigne of his good will: in that hee ſtaid not to make all things readie; but haſted vnto their aid, euen whileſt the ſeaſon was vnfit for nauigation. Yet it ſhould not be long, ere the hope of all thoſe which had expected him, would be ſatisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coaſt with his Fleets. Neyther would hee ſpare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the buſineſſe which hee had vndertaken: euen to driue the *Romans* and their authoritie out of *Greece*; leauing the Countrie free indeed, and the *Aetolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, ſhould be very great: ſo was it his meaning, that all prouiſions to them belonging ſhould be correſpondent; becauſe hee would not bee any way burdenſome vnto his Confederates. But at the preſent he muſt needs entreat them, hauing thus haſtily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprouided of many neceſſaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he ſtood in need. So he left them to their conſultation: the concluſion whereof was, after a little diſpute, (for a vaine motion was made by ſome, that the differences betweene the *Romans* and them, ſhould be put by Compromiſe to the deciſion of *Antiochus*) That they would yeeld vnto the Kings deſire, and aſſiſt him with all their forces. Here we may obſerue, how vaine a thing it is for an abſolute Prince to engage himſelfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a buſineſſe of dangerous importance, vpon the promiſed aſſurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thoas*, and ſome other of that Faction, had not preuailed in this Councell: the *Aetolians*, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of ſuch gaine that might haue deceiued them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the diſcretion of the *Romans*. And what remedie had there beene, if this had ſo fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himſelfe to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he muſt haue been contented with this anſwere, That the fault was in thoſe of the oppoſite ſide; whom *Thoas* would therefore haue pronounced to bee very wicked men. It happened much better for the preſent; though in the future it prooued much worſe, both for him, and for the *Aetolians*. He was choſen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commiſſioners were appointed to bee about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. Theſe armed ſuch as readily they could, whileſt it was in diſpute where they ſhould beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meeteſt place to be firſt vndertaken: whither if they came ſuddenly, they ſhould not peraduenture need to vſe much force. The King had brought with him into *Aetolia* but a thouſand Foot; leauing the reſt behind him at *Demetrias*. With theſe hee haſted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being ouertaken by no great number of the *Aetolians*, which

which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had onely in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsefull, they said would neuer be obtained; vntill by remouing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euerie seuerall Estate had where to find redresse of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheless desired them onely, so to joyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at the other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answere, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselues, they could likewise affirme of all the *Greekes*: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept vnder, by any Garrison; or liued otherwise than by their owne *Lawes*, and without being tied vnto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliuer Cities that were alreadie free. But since hee, and the *Ætolians*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Ætolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leauing them in such good case as they were. With this answere the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soone after, hee brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yeeld: before all the succours could arriue, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of *Eubœa* being thus gotten; all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Foure or fiue hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came ouer late to haue defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselues at *Delium*, a little Towne of *Bœotia*, lying ouer against the Iland; where was a Temple and Groue, consecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the priuiledge of an inuiolable Sanctuarie. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seene, whilest others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captaines, that had wearied himselfe in many vaine Treaties of peace; tooke aduantage of their careleſseneſſe, and vsed them with all extremitie of warre. Very few of them escaped: fiftie were taken; and the rest slaine. Hereat *Quintius* was grieued: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more just cause than before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadours into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answere, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reserued themselues vntill hee should come among them: knowing that eyther, if hee came not, Hee must holde them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if hee came, the *Romans* must pardon their just feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joyned with him in true meaning; saue the *Eleans*, that alwayes fauoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reason there was, that hee should thinke to draw the *Achæans* to his partie. Neuertheless hee assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was said to beare vnto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a secret dislike betweene that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadours to the Councell at *Ægium*; that spared not braue wordes, if the *Achæans* would haue so beene taken. The Kings Embassadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming: reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans* and *Cadusians*; names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as hee thought,

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the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; ſuch indeed as could not be reſiſted. Now concerning monie and all warlike furniture: it was, he ſaid, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Aſia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceiued: who conſidering the late warre made againſt *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would prooue the like: the caſe was too farre different. Yet this moſt powerfull King, that for the libertie of *Greece* was come from the vtmoſt parts of the Eaſt; requeſted no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themſelues as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whileſt He tooke order with the *Romans*. To the ſame effect ſpake the *Ætolian* Embaſſadour: and further added, That in the battell at *Cynoſcephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both Hee and his Armie had beene there deſtroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was preſent at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit anſwere, as could haue beene deſired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embaſſadour, nor the *Ætolian*, did ſo greatly labour to perſwade thoſe vnto whom they addreſſed their Orations; as to vant themſelues the one vnto the other. So as a man might well diſcerne, what good correſpondence in vanitie it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For euen ſuch bragges as here they made; before the *Achæans* who knew them to be liers, had the *Ætolians* alſo made vnto King *Antiochus*: proclayming the victorie ouer *Philip* to bee meerely their Act: and the whole Countrie of *Greece* to bee dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſadour told euen now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimæans*, and a many others: that were all but a companie of *Syrians*, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for bondſlaues, and good for little elſe. Theſe diuers names of raſcall people were, he ſaid, like to the diuerſitie of Veniſon, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no ſuch vanter as were theſe Embaſſadours) had ſometime feaſted him. For all that varietie, whereat hee wondred, was none other, as his Hoſt then merrily tolde him; than ſo many pieces of one tame ſwine, dreſt after ſeuerall faſhions with varietie of ſawces. Setting therefore aſide this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make iudgement of the great King, by his preſent doings. He had, notwithſtanding all this great noyſe, no more than ten thouſand men about him: for which little Armie he was faine in a manner, to begge victuailes of the *Aetolians*; and take vp monie at vſurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ran vp and downe the Countrie; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence backe to *Chalcis*; and being there ſhut out, to *Demetrias* againe. Theſe were the fruits of lies: wherewith ſince both *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they ſhould, as perhaps alreadie they did, repent, whileſt wiſer men tooke heed by their example. To a fauourable Auditorie much perſwaſion is needleſſe. The *Achæans* did not loue ſo well the *Aetolians*, as to deſire that they ſhould become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wiſhed to ſee them, of all other, made the verieſt abiects. Wherefore they ſtood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he ſped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaymed war againſt him, and againſt the *Aetolians*.

How the hatred betweene theſe two Nations grew inueterate: ſufficiently appeares in the ſtorie foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwiſely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent ſpirits of the *Aetolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Countrie at reſt: there was nothing more greatly to haue beene deſired, than that they might neuer finde occaſion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this reſpect ought the *Greekes* to haue ſought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might recouer their libertie (which had neuer beene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the Eaſt and Weſt, diuided and kept aſunder by their Countrie, as two

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Seas by an *Isthmus* or necke of land, might be kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, which originally were *Greekish*; than the generall applause, wherwith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of feare, that should moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all *Greece* would haue made interceſſion, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising ioyntly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoeuer King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage ouer the Countrie, had been far from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner, the onely Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselues altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactours. All the rest gaue doubtfull answeres of hope vnto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firme against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselues his enemies, till hee pressed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly receiued him, as soone as hee entered vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had beene somewhat hardly vsed. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vanted himselfe to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poore Court of *Athamania*: where hauing made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleeue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memorie of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoofe: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoued him to draw *Aminander* to their partie, that so they might the sooner haue done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of seruice done by this imaginarie King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get loue of the *Macedonians* that should be his subiects; or whether from some vanitie in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harme to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cynoscephalæ*, there to gather vp the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselues to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* tooke it in high indignation; as intended meerely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the *Romans*; and gaue them to vnderstand, that hee was readie with all his power to aid them wherein soeuer they should be pleased to vse him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, hauing now all ioyned with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to inuade *Thessalie*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alleadge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long beene cast aside, as a vessell of no vse; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now vt-

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ter, was euen the same which hee would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before been asked since their comming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly tooke their parts: what were they else than so many poore Estates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselues for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as readie to fall to the contrary side, alleadging the same feare for their excuse? wherefore hee thought most behouefull, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* vnto their partie: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince, and one that had meanes to sustaine the *Roman* Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what neede was there, of prooving by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said Hee, *These Ætolians here present; and namely, this* THOAS, *being lately Embassador from them into Asia, among other Motiues which he then vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told vs that* PHILIP *was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the Romans: likening that King to some wild beast, that was chained or lockt vp within some grate, and would faine breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angry stomacke, vpon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proone otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoue vs to looke vnto him, that hee may not seeke to please his good masters the Romans, by offending vs. Your sonne* SELEVCVS *is now at Lysimachia, with part of your Armie: if* PHILIP *will not hearken to your Embassage; let* SELEVCVS *be in readines, to fall vpon Macedon, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other side, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning* PHILIP; *and the present War in Greece. But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarqued against the Romans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: Whereto had you then giuen eare, the Romans by this time should haue heard other newes, than that Chalcis in Euboea was become ours. Italie and Gaule should haue beene on fire with warre: and, little to their comfort, they should haue vnderstood, that* HANNIBAL *was againe come into Italie. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleete and Armie hither (but in any case let Shippes of burden come along with them, loaden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouthes.) Whereof let the one halfe be employed against Italie; whilest you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen readie to follow vs into Italie: yea, and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduice: who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of warre: yet how to warre with the Romans, I haue been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent seruice for the execution: but what counsaile soeuer you shall please to follow, I wish it may bee prosperous.* Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said hee had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Thessalie*, about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a *Roman* Proprætor did send helpe thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himselfe Enemie vnto *Antiochus*: where by the fame of the succour comming to *Larissa* grew such, as wrought more than the succour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines toppes afarre off; thought that

a great Armie of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had beene comming vpon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeere; Hee brake vp his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in yeeres and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiors as readily imitated their Captaines: in such wise that when he tooke the field, he might euidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and helpe him to reclaime them from this loosenesse of nuptiall Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The warre against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of farre lesse credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobilitie of his Familie, had beene long since, in time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very feare and superstition, durst not haue so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the verie best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prærogatiue of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should affoord him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make warre against the *Boians*: wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of warre. But *M. Acilius* went ouer into *Greece*, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteene Elephants. *Ptolemie* King of *Ægypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*: and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Embassadours to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolemie* sent also gold and siluer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But hee was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his monie was returned vnto him with thankes; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto *Philips* Embassadors answere was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themselues beholding to him, for the assistance that Hee should giue to *Acilius* the Consul. *Masanissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did striue, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine; which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Armie in *Greece*. And herein *Masanissa* farre out-went the poore Citie of *Carthage*: as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul fiue hundred Horse, and twentie Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* vndertooke to set out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-monie, which was behinde, and ought to bee discharged by many yeerely pensions. But the *Romans* did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselues out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receiue the price of it.

The hastie and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noyse and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betweene the *Roman* and the *Asiatick* souldior. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as hee had preuailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terrour, that was like to

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proue their excuſe, when they ſhould againe forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Bebius*, hauing recouered many places; and the *Roman* Conſul being arriued, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; He was glad to withdraw himſelfe. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good ſeruice to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Conſul; made a mocking ſtocke: and ſent away priſoner to *Rome*. The *Theſſalians* vſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themſelues: the Garriſons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, and departing vnarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behind, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*: who hauing withdrawne himſelfe to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toile during one halfe of a Winter, and ſpent the other halfe in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, He found all the promiſes of the *Ætolians* meerely verball: and himſelfe reduced into termes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea a very Prophet, that had foreſeene all this long before. Neuertheleſſe He ſent word to the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould now make readie all their forces: as conſidering their owne need to bee no leſſe than his. But the *Ætolians* had cauſe to thinke, that they themſelues were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Antiochus*: who hauing promiſed to doe great wonders, was in all this while ſeconded by no greater numbers out of *Aſia*, than ſo many as would fill vp the ſame ten thouſand which he firſt brought ouer. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioyned with him. Hereat the King was angrie: and could get no better ſatisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellowes had done their beſt, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of *Aſia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appeare in this time of danger: He ſeized vpon the Streights of *Thermopyla*: as meaning to defend them againſt the *Romans*, vntill more helpe ſhould come. Of the Streights of *Thermopyla* there hath beene ſpoken enough * before, vpon many occaſions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceiued, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and ſo came onwards into *Theſſalie*, were vnable to paſſe that Ledge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of *Greece*: vnleſſe they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handfull of men, defended this paſſage two or three dayes together, againſt a World of men comming to inuade the Countrey. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelfe in *Greece*: did commit himſelfe vnto the ſafetie of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whileſt he lay, Hee ſent earneſt meſſages one after other to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forſake him thus: but at leaſt wiſe now to helpe, and keepe the tops of the Mountaines, leſt the *Romans* finding any by-path, ſhould come downe vpon him. By this importunitie, he got of them two thouſand, that vndertooke to make good the few paſſages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficultie, it was poſſible for the Enemie to aſcend. The *Roman* Conſul in like ſort, prepared to force the Streights: without ſtaying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by ſickeneſſe from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them beene Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men, to trie whether by any meanes they could get vp to the *Ætolians*. He himſelfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what baſe-conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich Kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a ſore iourney (for what

* *l.3.c.6.§.3.*

happened vnto *L. Valerius* it is vncertaine, saue onely that hee failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp steepie Rocks and crooked wayes: Hee commanded them to repose themselues; whilest Hee, being a verie able man of bodie, tooke in hand the discouerie, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neyther had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* beene so often the Seat of Warre, as might cause any trauailers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there vntill day-light: by which he discouered both the Campe of the *Greekes* vnderneath him; and some of the *Ætolians* verie neere vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent foorth a lustie Crue of his men, whom he thought fittest for that seruice; and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby vnderstood, that these *Ætolians* were no more than sixe hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set vpon the *Ætolians*; ouerthrew them; slue a great part of them; and chaced the rest, that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was alreadie begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driuen them into their Campe, found it in a manner a desperate piece of worke to assault the Campe it selfe; which occupied the whole bredth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not onely defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of seruice; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed ouer them on the Hil-side, and powred downe a showre of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approch determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the *Ætolians* had beene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the *Roman* armes and ensignes were discouered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsooke the Campe, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badnesse of the way did hinder the *Roman* Armie from making pursuit. Yet this dayes losse draue *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence, with the first opportunitie, got him backe into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselues vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recouered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* onely standing out, because they knew not what else to doe. Neither did the Consul giue them any respite. At his returne from *Chalcis* He met with King *Philip*, that hauing recouered health, came to joyne with him against *Antiochus*: ouer whom since the victorie was already gotten, Hee did gratulate vnto the *Romans* their good successe; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially *Philip*, who faine would haue taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that vsed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the stonie ground. Yet was *Lamia* euen ready to be taken, when the Consul, hauing wonne *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoile of these Townes was a reward vnto those that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriuing by the *Romans* victorie, got not *Lamia* himselfe: vntill such time as another Consul was readie to ease him of his charge.

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The losse of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: entreating him not to forsake them vtterly, but eyther to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from comming in person, at leastwise to helpe them with money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained vnto his owne safetie: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backes, might set vpon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this; and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicander*, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might serue to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him: who willingly stayed, that he might vrge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them: then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suit vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to giue them audience, but said Hee had other businesse in hand: onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himselfe. At their comming to *Hypata*; they began, as men fauouring their owne cause, to alleadge how well they had deserued of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memorie of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore hee willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselues vnto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadours to the Consul. This phrase of *committing vnto the faith*; signified, in their vse of it, little else, than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craning of pardon. But the *Romans* vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as **yeelding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then sayde Hee, I command you first of all, That none of yee presume to goe into *Asia*, vpon any businesse priuate or publike: then, That yee deliuer vp vnto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Countrimen as haue followed him in reuolting from vs. Whilest hee was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custome of the *Greekes*, who had yeelded themselues *vnto his faith*; *not vnto slauerie*. *What?* (saide the Consul) *Doe yee stand to pleade Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine.* With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euerie one of their neckes. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they *came* as Embassadours; though *since*, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the *Apoclecti* or ordinarie Councel of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause Hee entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce for so long.

* *Legat. excerpt. è Polyb. 13.*

This surceasance of warre, during tenne and other tenne dayes together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had beene commaunded away from *Lamia*, that else he might haue wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that hee might not returne home with his

Armie, like one that could not bee trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to haue further need of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set vpon the *Athamanians*, and some other pettie Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all *Athamanta*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befalne their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill prouided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the same time was come backe from *Antiochus*, with money and hopefull promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea*; and *Philip* hauing lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His monie *Nicander* conueighed into *Lamia*, by verie vnusuall dexteritie. But hee himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embassage; was verie much perplexed about this his journie, which lay betweene the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Campes. Yet hee made the aduenture: and keeping as farre as hee could from the *Roman* side, fell vpon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom hee was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but eyther to bee deliuered vnto the *Romans*, or vsed ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemes, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For Hee commanded his seruants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and hee himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as hee rose vp: giuing him to vnderstand; That the *Ætolians* did now reape the fruits of their owne madnesse; forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselues contented, but would needs bee calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselues well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any triall: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would bee much more auaileable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of aduantages; whereby they had wrought themselues much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to signifie vnto his Countrimen; and priuately to hold in minde the courtesie which hee then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to *Hypata*; Hee louingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crowne of *Macedon*: so as in the warre of *Perseus* hee made himselfe suspected vnto the *Romans*; and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it: hee foorthwith meant to prosecute the warre against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whither hee therefore directly marched, to trie what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceiued it: for it was a strong Citie, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that hee should haue beene a loser, by rising from before it without Victorie. So He staid there welneere all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the *Macedonian* King and the *Achæans* made farre better vse of the *Roman* Victorie. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had reuolted vnto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, wan the strong Citie of *Demetrias*; and with an hastie course of Victorie, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to accompt the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long beene addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gaue good wordes; whereby they saued themselues from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the *Achæan* Prætor wasted their Countrie, than to offer themselues vnto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they sent word,

word, That at his Commandement their gates ſhould be opened; but that vnto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yeeld. A meſſage from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did ſuffice to call home the Armie, and finiſh the Warre: as alſo the peremptorie Commaund of the ſame *Titus* cauſed the *Meſſenians* to annex themſelues vnto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Majeſtie of a *Roman* Embaſſador. *Titus* did fauour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it well, that eyther they or any other ſhould take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were ſtrong enough to defend it againſt anie of their neighbours. That they ſhould make themſelues great Lords, and able to diſpute with the *Romans* vpon euen termes; it was no part of his deſire. They had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus* which had once beene *Philips*, and was afterward giuen by him to *Aminander* who ſent a Gouernour thither. But when *Aminander* in this preſent Warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philip*: then did the Gouernour of *Zacynthus* offer to ſell the Iland to the *Achæans*; whom hee found readie Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainely told them, That the *Romans* would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootleſſe to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* referred themſelues vnto his diſcretion. So he told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tortoiſe, whereof *Peloponneſus* was the ſhell: and that holding themſelues within that compaſſe, they were out of danger; but if they would needes bee looking abroad, they ſhould lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Hauing ſettled things thus in *Peloponneſus*, Hee went ouer to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Conſul had laine two moneths, that might haue beene farre better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which Hee had vpon the *Ætolians*, or out of diſlike of King *Philips* thriuing ſo faſt: Hee perſwaded the Conſul to grant vnto the beſieged, and to the whole Nation, ſo long Truce, that they might ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*; and ſubmitting themſelues, craue pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Ætolians* haue made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did vnto *Titus*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glabrio* had beene ſure to carrie it, in any ſhort ſpace: it may well bee thought hee would not haue gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would haue made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came to *Rome*, no entreatie could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of theſe two; That either they ſhould wholly permit themſelues to the good pleaſure of the Senate; Or elſe pay a thouſand Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the *Romans* ſhould giue approbation. They had not ſo much monie: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they ſhould giue themſelues away *vnto diſcretion*; which what it ſignified, they now vnderſtood. Wherefore they deſired to haue it ſet downe, in what points, and how farre foorth, they ſhould yeeld vnto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But heereof they could get no certaine anſwere: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whileſt the *Ætolians* were purſuing their hopes of peace, the Conſul had little to doe in *Greece*; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to ſet things in order among the tractable *Achæans*. Hee would haue had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Countrie; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhippe of their Common-wealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* ſhould bee meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their owne meere grace. As for the *Eleans*: they were loth to bee beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to bee admitted; and ſaw that they ſhould haue their deſire, without ſuch compulſiue mediation.

The

The *Roman* Admirall *C. Liuius*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought helpe to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and fiue and twentie saile of *Rhodians* came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of saile: but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betooke himselfe to a speedie retrait.

And such end had the first yeeres warre, betweene King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greekes* as had followed the vaine hopes of the *Ætolians*, were glad to excuse themselues by *feare*; thinking themselues happie when by Embassadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemie of late vnto the *Romans*, did now send to gratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Demetrius* his yonger sonne; whom some few yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolemie* of *Ægypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victorie, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard Hee desired the Senate not to foreslow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into *Asia*: promising, that his assistance, wherein soeuer it pleased them to vse it, should not bee wanting. This *Ptolemie* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but hee was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to haue the vpper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now beginne to suspect, who had thought himselfe awhile as safe at *Ephesus*, as if hee had beene in another World: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so farre out of *Greece* into *Asia*, as out of *Italie* into *Greece*; and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would soone be there, and make him trie the chance of a battaile for his Kingdome.

§. VIII.

LVCIVS SCIPIO, *hauing with him* PVBLIVS *the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An inuasion vpon* EVMENES *his Kingdome; with the siege of Pergamus, raysed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. SCIPIO *the Consul comes into Asia: where* ANTIOCHVS *most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battaile of* MAGNESIA: *wherein* ANTIOCHVS *being vanquished, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans vsed their Victorie.* L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO, *after a most sumptuous triumph ouer* ANTIOCHVS, *is surnamed The Asiatique, as his brother was stiled The African.*

LVCIVS CORNELIVS SCIPIO, the brother of *P Scipio the African*, was chosen Consul at *Rome* with *C. Lelius*. *Lelius* was verie gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Prouinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. *Lucius* hauing talked with his brother *Publius*, approued well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time beene put vnto the *Fathers*: who therefore were the more desirous, to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio the African* said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that warre, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controuersie was foorthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied

relyed vpon *Hannibal*, and ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppoſe, than *Scipio*; that had beene victorious againſt the ſame Great Worthie? But indeed a worſer man might haue ſerued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute Command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation; where his wiſdome was much approued, but his libertie and high ſpirit as much diſliked. It is worthie of remembrance; as a ſigne of the freedome that he vſed in his cenſures, euen whileſt he liued in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Armie in preſence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may ſeeme, to haue made him wiſh, that hee had beene ſerued by ſuch braue men in *Italie*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly furniture of Gold, Siluer, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible braueric on a Sun-ſhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleaſing himſelfe with that goodly ſpectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. *Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the moſt couetous men in all the World*: meaning, that all this Coſt vpon the backes of Cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a ſpoile to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwere pleaſed the King; it is eaſie to gheſſe. The little vſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the man, cauſed him to loſe the vſe of his ſeruice, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſitie thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoone as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the warre, about fiue thouſand Voluntaries, that had ſerued vnder *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of thirtie Quinquereme Gallies, and twentie Triremes newly built, appointed vnto *L. Æmylius Regillus*, that was choſen Admirall the ſame yeere for that Voyage. At their comming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphyſſa* a Citie of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſſely, as in a time of confuſion, they had left vngarded the laſt yeere. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceiued their expectation, and fell vpon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakned by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden; was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went Hee to *Amphyſſa*: which he had almoſt gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his ſucceſſor, came with thirteene thouſand Foot and fiue hundred Horſe, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphyſſa* was preſently forſaken by the inhabitants, but they had a Caſtle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalfe of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining ſome tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and willed them to perſwade the *Aetolians*, that they ſhould faithfully and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwere, with which they had beene chaced from *Rome*. The concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from warre: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpefull commoditie which time ſhould affoord. So they obtained halfe a yeeres Truce: after which, the Winter was like to affoord them another halfe yeeres leiſure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which withheld the Warre from paſſing ouer into *Aſia*.

The buſineſſe of *Ætolia* being thus laide aſide: and the olde Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italie*: the *Scipio's* marched into *Theſſalie*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* vnto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidred, That hereby they muſt commit themſelues vnto the loyaltie of King *Philip*: who might either doe them ſome miſchiefe by the way, if hee were diſpoſed to watch a notable aduantage: or at the leaſt, would he be vnfaithfull, though he were not ſo couragious;

couragious; yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that euen for want of victuailes, if by no greater inconuenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. He had promised them the vtmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as hee should take him on the sudden. The King was merrie at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he louingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what prouision of victuailes he had made for the Armie, but how he had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haste vnto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readines, that might helpe to aduance their iourney. The King entertayned them royally; and brought them on their way, euen to the *Hellespont*: where they stayed a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*: true to the King; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countreymen that had expelled him. Hee, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe somewhat vpon those that were so early in their diligence, before their followes should arriue to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke; and sent word, as in great secrecie, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleeued: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew so careleſſe, expecting still when he should receiue a watchword from *Polyxenidas*, that he himselfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Hauen. The Kings Fleet setting foorth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was readie to enter the Hauen. *Pausistratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauen; so to gard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had alreadie landed some companies, in another part of the Iland: which falling vpon the backe of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and sunke or boorded all his Nauie, fiue excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cressет vpon two poles, at the Beake-head: and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemie: who hauing not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto these desperate Gallies; for feare lest they should burne, together with themselues, a part of the Kings Fleete.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some losse by tempest: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such aduantage as hee had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, Hee was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twentie other Gallies: the *Romans* also with King *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great brauerie, presented battaile to *Polyxenidas* before the Hauen of *Ephesus*. When hee durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as eyther they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* wasted all the grounds about *Elea*

and

and *Pergamus*: and leauing his ſonne *Seleucus* to beſiege the royall Citie of *Pergamus*, did with the reſt of his Armie ſpoile the whole Countrey thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore hee had reaſon to ſtand in feare; being too much inferiour in number. There came to his aid a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe of the *Achæans*: old ſouldiors all, and trayned vp vnder *Philopœmen*; whoſe Scholler, in the Art of war, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walles of *Pergamus*, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemie; began to diſdaine, that ſuch men as they ſhould hold him beſieged. For *Seleucus* his Armie which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſallie foorth vpon them, grew ſo careleſſe: as otherwiſe, than by ſpoyling all behind their backes, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie. *Diophanes* therefore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told him that hee would goe foorth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this aduenture; for he ſaid, that the match was nothing equall. But the *Achæan* would needes haue his will: and iſſuing forth, encamped not farre from the Enemie. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelfe quiet, they made a ieſt of his boldneſſe; and laughed to ſee with what an handfull of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiuing, Hee commanded all his men to follow him, euen as faſt as they well might: and he himſelfe, with the hundred Horſe, brake out on the ſudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Verie few of the enemies had their Horſes readie ſaddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as He draue them all out of their Campe; and chaced them as farre as he might ſafely aduenture, with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſſe of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had couered the wals of the Towne, men and women, to beholde this ſpectacle) were very ioyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet would they not therefore iſſue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Achæans* in doing what remained to bee done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than hee had done before: and againſt him went foorth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; who quietly reſted awhile in his old Station. When they had ſtaid many houres, looking who ſhould begin: *Seleucus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himſelfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moued not whileſt the Enemie was in ſight: but as ſoone as the ground betweene them hindred the proſpect, he followed them in all haſte, & ſoone ouertaking them with his Horſe, charged them in Rere; ſo as hee brake them, and with all his forces purſued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldnes of the *Achæans*, and the baſeneſſe of his owne men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the ſiege, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of theſe *Aſiatiques*; *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the *Romans*, That hee enuied their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay feaſting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his ſouldiors betooke themſelues to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great ſecurity: a good man of war might haue cut all their throates, euen as they were tipling in their victualing houſes; which *Philopœmen* ſaid that he would haue done, had He beene Generall of the *Achæans*, and not, as he then was, a priuate man.

Antiochus was full of buſines: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almoſt nothing to paſſe. He had beene at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leauing the *Romans*, did put himſelfe with a few of his Horſe and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his ſonne as before hath beene ſhewed, and went to *Elea*: whither hee heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admirall was come, to bring ſuccour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an Ouerture of peace: about which to conſult, *Eumenes* was ſent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was conſidered, that no concluſion could be made without the Conſul; this Treatie brake off. Then followed the Ouerthrow newly mentioned;

oned; which causèd *Seleucus* to giue ouer the siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, foure or fiue Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seuen and thirtie Saile, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and hauing the victorie taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retrait, that the *Rhodians* durst not farre aduenture vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Præfaces vnto the war; the last and greatest was a victorie of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battaile was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontorie in *Asia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourescore and nine Gallies; and fiue of them greater, than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those bragges, wherewith *Antiochus* vanted the last yeere, That his *Armada* should couer all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodians*, two and twentie: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light-timberd and thin planckt, hauing all aduantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselues by the same deuice; with which, fiue of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemie: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoysted saile: and hauing a faire wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet fortie of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteene were taken: all the rest burnt or sunke. The *Romans* and their fellowes lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the Sea.

The report of this misaduenture, may seeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vse of reason. For as if no hope had beene remayning, to defend those places that hee held in *Europe*: Hee presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily haue been kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the besiegers (if the siege had beene continued obstinately) to termes of great extremitie. He also gaue ouer the siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought saue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not onely came to the *Hellespont*; but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in readinesse, to transport him ouer into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that Hee landed quietly at his owne good ease; euen as if the Countrie had beene his alreadie. The first newes that hee heard of the Enemie, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassadour declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtayning peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that hee should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had beene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now alreadie giuen ouer *Lysimachia*; and was further purposed, not to striue with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should neede to trouble him with warre? If it was their desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or otherwise deliuered into their handes: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not bee vncertaine; and it should bee quietly put into their handes. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the Charges, whereat they had beene in this warre. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselues contented with these good offers, and not to bee too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune; Hee expected

their

their anſwere. Theſe offers which to the Embaſſadour ſeemed ſo great, were iudged by the *Romans* to be verie little. For they thought it reaſonable, that the King ſhould beare all the charges of the warre, ſince it began through his onely fault: and that He ſhould not onely depart out of thoſe few Townes, which hee held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Aſia the leſſe*, and keepe himſelfe on the other ſide of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embaſſadour therefore ſaw, that no better bargaine could bee made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate: and to him he promiſed a great quantitie of gold, together with the free reſtitution of his ſonne; who (it is vncertaine by what miſchance) was taken priſoner, and moſt honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwiſe to the reſtitution of his ſonne, than vpon Condition, That it might bee with making ſuch amends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publike buſineſſe: Hee onely ſaid thus much, That ſince *Antiochus* had alreadie forſaken *Lyſimachia*, and ſuffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, ſaid He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduiſe him to refuſe no Condition whereby he may haue peace.

The King was not any whit moued with this aduice. For ſeeing that the Conſul demanded of him no leſſe, than if hee had beene alreadie ſubdued: little reaſon there was that he ſhould feare to come to battaile; wherein hee could loſe, as hee thought, no more, than by ſeeking to auoid it he muſt giue away. He had with him threeſcore and ten thouſand Foot, and twelue thouſand Horſe; beſides two and fiftie *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or ſythes, according to the manner of the Eaſterne Countries. Yet was hee nothing pleaſed, to heare that the Conſul drew neere him apace, as one haſtning to fight. But howſoeuer hee was affected; Hee made ſo little ſhew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie ſicke at *Elæa*, He ſent thither vnto him his ſonne without ranſome: as one both deſirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his ſickenes, and withall not deſirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne ſafetie. Thus ought his bountie to bee conſtant. Otherwiſe it might be ſuſpected, That herein he dealt craftily. For ſince he could haue none other ranſome of *Scipio*, than ſuch as an honourable man, that had no great ſtore of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe ſuch a courteſie before the battell, as would afterwards haue beene little worth; than to ſtay vntill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, ſhould exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his ſonne: ſo as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue beene much auaileable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitie, He ſaid onely thus much vnto thoſe that brought him this acceptable Preſent, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by aduiſing him not to fight, vntill hee ſhall heare that I am in the Campe.* What he meant by this, it is hard to coniecture. *Antiochus* reſolued to follow his counſaile: and therefore withdrew himſelfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the Riuer of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, vnto *Magneſia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, He fortified himſelfe as ſtrongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Conſul; and ſate downe within foure miles of him. About a thouſand of the Kings Horſe, moſt of them *Gallo-Greekes*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at firſt they ſlue ſome; and were anon, with ſome loſſe driuen backe ouer the Riuer. Two dayes were quietly ſpent, whileſt neither the King nor the *Romans* would paſſe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the aduenture: wherein they found no diſturbance; nor were at all oppoſed, vntill they came within two miles and an halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There, as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by three thouſand Horſe and Foote: whom the ordinarie *Corps du gard* repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought foorth their Armies; and ſet them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and preſented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Con-

ſul tooke aduice what was to bee done. For either they muſt fight vpon whatſoeuer diſaduantage, or elſe reſolue to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore ſubiect vnto many difficulties: vnleſſe they would ſtaine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more conuenient place; and ſo deferre the warre vntill the next Spring. The *Roman* ſouldier was throughly perſwaded of that Enemies baſe temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, that this great Armie ſhould bee aſſailed, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were ſo many beaſts to be ſlaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two paſſed, in diſcouering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the ſafeſt way to ſet vpon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to diſhearten his men, by ſeeming to ſtand in feare of the Enemie, reſolued to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battailes: He alſo did the like; and aduanced ſo farre, that they might vnderſtand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Armie conſiſted of foure Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were fiue thouſand and foure hundred men. The *Latines*, as vſually, were in the points; the *Romans*, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were diuided into Maniples. The *Haſtati* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*, at ſuch diſtance as was vſuall; and laſt of all, the *Triarij*. Now beſide theſe, there were about three thouſand Auxiliaries; partly *Achæans*; and partly ſuch as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Vtmoſt of all (ſaue ſome fiue hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almoſt three thouſand Horſe: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the reſt being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troups of horſe were placed there, though ſuch helpe ſeemed in a manner needleſſe. Two thouſand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Campe. The Conſul had with him ſixteene *African* Elephants, which he beſtowed in his Rere: foraſmuch as had they come to fight with thoſe of *Antiochus*, they onely would haue ſerued to diſcourage his men; as being ſure to be beaten: the *Indian* being farre the greater, and more couragious beaſts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewiſe much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuerſly appointed, and not all accuſtomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the ſeuerall kindes, in ſuch wiſe as each might be of moſt vſe. The maine ſtrength of his Foote conſiſted in ſixteene thouſand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. Theſe Hee placed in the middeſt, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirtie in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beaſts, and ſuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Creſts, Towres on their backes, and beſides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in euery Tower, made a gallant and terrible ſhew. On the right hand of theſe were fifteene hundred Horſe of the *Gallo-Greekes*: then, three thouſand Barbd Horſe: and Regiment of almoſt a thouſand Horſe, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by ſome others. All which Troupes of Horſe, diuided in their ſeuerall kindes, doe ſeeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue been ſtretched out in Front. Adioyning to theſe, were ſixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the *Argyraſpides*, or *Siluerſhields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like ſo valiant as thoſe of the ſame name, that had ſerued vnder Great *Alexander*: then, twelue hundred Archers on horſebacke, three thouſand light-armed Foote, two thouſand and fiue hundred Archers of *Myſia*; with foure thouſand ſlingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greekes*, and Barbd Horſe: as alſo two thouſand Horſe that were ſent from *Ariarathes*, with two thouſand and ſeuen hundred of diuers Nations,

Nations; and a Regiment of a thouſand Horſe more lightly armed, that were called *the Kings Troupe*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all theſe Horſe were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon ſate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would ſerue to reach from thoſe high Camels. Beyond theſe were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Piſidians*, *Cyrteans*, *Elymeans*, and many others, hauing alſo with them ſixteene Elephants. *Antiochus* himſelfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captaines commaunded ouer the *Phalangiers*.

The firſt onſet was giuen by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horſe; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eaſily made fruſtrate the danger threatned by them both. For with ſhowtings, and noyſes, and ſome wounds, they were driuen out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the ſame harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horſe following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: where they found no reſiſtance; ſome being out of order; others being without courage. It is ſhamefull to rehearſe, and ſo ſtrange, that it may hardly ſeeme credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with ſuch varietie of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no reſiſtance; but all of them fled, in manner, as ſoone as they were charged. Onely the King, *Antiochus* himſelfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and ſeeing the *Latines*, that ſtood oppoſite vnto him, weakly flancked with Horſe: gaue vpon them couragiouſly, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmylius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Campe, iſſued foorth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perſwaſion, what by threats, made them renewe the fight. Succour alſo came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were alreadie victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* diſcouered the approch; He not onely turned his Horſe about, but ranne away vpon the ſpur without further tarriance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is ſaid to haue loſt in this battaile fiftie thouſand Foot, and foure thouſand Horſe; beſides thoſe that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not ſlaine aboue three hundred Foot, and foure and twentie Horſe: of *Eumenes* his followers fiue and twentie.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the ſame night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the cuſtodie of *Sardes*, and the Caſtle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townesmen and Souldiors were ſo diſmayed with the greatneſſe of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in thoſe parts, without expecting ſummons, yeelded vp themſelues by Embaſſadors: whom they ſent to the *Romans*, whileſt they were on the way. Neither were many dayes ſpent, ere *Antiochus* his Embaſſadour was in the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would pleaſe the *Romans* to impoſe vpon the King his Maſter. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the anſwere, becauſe it ſhould be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That hee ſhould quite abandon his Dominions on this ſide of *Taurus*. For their charges in that warre they required fifteene thouſand Talents: fiue hundred in hand; two thouſand and fiue hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* ſhould haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thouſand, in twelue yeeres next enſuing by euen portions. Likewiſe they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and ſome ſtore of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now beſides twentie hoſtages which they required, very earneſt they were to haue *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with ſome others who had ſtirred vp the King to this warre, deliuered into their hands. But any wiſe man might ſo eaſily haue perceiued, that it would be their purpoſe to make this one of their principall demaunds; as no great

art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embaſſadour had full commiſſion, to refuſe nothing that ſhould be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to ſend immediatly to *Rome* for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Conſuls choſen in the meane while at *Rome*, *M. Fuluius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volſo*. The *Ætolians* deſired peace, but could not obtaine it: becauſe they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Conſuls ſhould make Warre vpon the *Ætolians*, the other, vpon *Antiochus* in *Aſia*. Now though ſhortly there came newes, that *Antiochus* was alreadie vanquiſhed in battaile, and had ſubmitted himſelfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet ſince the State of *Aſia* was not like to bee ſo throughly ſettled by one Victorie, but that many things might fall out worthie of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Aſia* fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this came the Embaſſadours of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and ſome others: yea by King *Eumenes* in perſon; whoſe preſence added a goodly luſtre to the buſineſſe in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no diſputation: it was generally approoued. All the trouble was, about the diſtribution of the purchaſe. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his owne deſerts: and comparing himſelfe with *Maſaniſſa*, hoped that the *Romans* would bee more bountifull to him than they had beene to the *Numidian*, ſince they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Maſaniſſa* was onely ſuch in title; and ſince both he and his father had alwayes beene their friends, euen in the worſt of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would haue: He ſtill referring himſelfe to their courteſie; and they deſiring him to ſpeake plaine. At length he craued that they would beſtow vpon him, as much of the Countrie by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpoſe to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought hee it needfull, that they ſhould trouble themſelues with the care of giuing libertie to many of the *Greeke* Townes, that were on *Aſia* ſide. For ſince the moſt of thoſe Townes had beene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reaſon that they ſhould be gainers by his ouerthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They deſired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Grecian* liberty; and to call to minde, that no ſmall part of *Greece* it ſelfe had beene ſubiect vnto *Philip*, and ſerued him in his Warre: which was not alleadged againſt them as a cauſe why they ſhould not be made free, after that *Philip* was ouercome. But the maine point whereon they inſiſted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* againſt King *Antiochus* was ſo great, as eaſily might ſatisfie the deſires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifully gaue away ſo much, that euery one had cauſe to be well pleaſed.

Such end had the Warre againſt King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld vntill that day. Now foraſmuch as the ſurname of *The African* had beene giuen vnto *P. Scipio*, it was thought conuenient by ſome, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Aſiatick*: which the fortune of his Victorie had no leſſe deſerued; though the vertue, requiſite to the purchaſe thereof, was no way correſpondent.

§. IX.

§. IX.

The Ætolians, and the Gallogreekes, vanquiſhed by the Roman Conſuls FVLVIVS *and* MANLIVS. MANLIVS *hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other obiections) with attempting to haue paſſed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by* SIBYL. *Of* SIBYLS *Prophecies; the Bookes of* HERMES; *and that Inſcription,* SIMONI DEO SANCTO. *The ingratitude of Rome to the two* SCIPIOES: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobilitie.*

MARC. FVLVIVS and *Cn. Manlius* had the ſame charge diuided betweene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now ſtyled *Aſiaticus*, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to *Greece* and to *Aſia*. And for this reaſon was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had graunted ſo long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But ſince, in this long *Interim* of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not ſought to humble it ſelfe to the *Roman Maieſtie*, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the *Greekes*. The beſt was, that ſo great a ſtorme fell not vnexpected vpon the *Ætolians*. They had foreſeene the danger, when their Embaſſadours were vtterly denied peace at *Rome*: and they had prouided the laſt remedie; which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become interceſſours for them. Neither were they ſo deiected, with any terrible apprehenſions, that they could not well deuiſe, euen vpon helping themſelues, by repurchaſe of Countries loſt, where they ſpied aduantage.

Poore King *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whileſt *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, poſſeſſion of his Lands and Caſtles. But the *Athamanians* (beſides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing beene long accuſtomed to ſerue a Mountaine Lord, that conuerſed with them after an homelie manner; could not endure the proud and inſolent manner of commaund, vſed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garriſons. They ſent therefore ſome few of them to their King, and offered their ſeruice toward his reſtitution. At the firſt there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vndertooke the worke. Yet aſſurance, that all the reſt would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thouſand *Ætolians*, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themſelues into foure parts, occupied, by the readie aſſiſtance of the multitude, foure the chiefe Townes in the Countrie, to his vſe. The fame of this good ſucceſſe at firſt; with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their beſt in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon reſiſtance. One of them held the Towne of *Theium* a few dayes; giuing thereby ſome leiſure vnto his King to prouide for the reſcue. But when he had done his beſt, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was loſt. *Philip* had brought from home ſix thouſand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in ſuch a running march, he left all ſaue two thouſand behind him, & ſo came to *Atheneum*, a little *Athamanian* Caſtle, that ſtill was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he ſent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* awhile, to take place lying ouer *Argithea*, that was chiefe of the Countrie. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldneſſe to deſcend vpon *Argithea*; for that they might perceiue the *Athamanians*, all along the hill ſides, readie to come downe vpon them, when they ſhould be buſie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a ſafe retreat: ſpecially when *Aminander* came in ſight with his thouſand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back, from-wards *Argithea*, and preſently withdrawne by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not ſuffered to depart in quiet at their pleaſure.

The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-layd them, and purſued them ſo cloſely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great loſſe of men and armes; few of thoſe eſcaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding ſomewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The *Ætolians*, hauing found the buſineſſe of *Athamania* ſo eaſie, made attempt, in their owne behalfe, vpon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. Theſe had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently reuolted, and became *Ætolian* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been euer belonging to the *Macedonian*, and ſo did ſtill purpoſe to continue. Theſe tooke armes at firſt: but ſoone layed them away; ſeeing their neighbours readie to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrell, and ſeeing their owne King ſo haſtily gone, as if hee meant not to returne.

Of theſe victories the ioy was the leſſe; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his laſt ouerthrow, and of *M. Fuluius* the new Conſul his haſting with an armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* ſent his excuſes to *Rome*, praying the Senate, not to take it in deſpight, that he had recouered his owne from *Philip* with ſuch helpe as hee could get. Neither ſeemes it that the *Romans* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his loſſes: for of this fault they neither were ſharpe correctors, nor earneſt reprouers. *Fuluius* went in hand with the buſineſſe, about which he came, and layed ſiege to *Ambracia*, a goodly Citie, that had beene the chiefe ſeate of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this hee began; for that it was of too great importance to bee abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them bee relieued, vnleſſe they would aduenture to fight vpon equall ground. To helpe the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the ſame time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at ſea, and ready to be driuen from their new conqueſt, by *Perſeus* the ſonne of *Philip*, who inuaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were vnable to deale with ſo many at once; and therefore as earneſtly ſought peace with the *Romans*, as they ſtoutly made head againſt the reſt. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadors came; who beſought the Conſul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made ſtrong reſiſtance, and would not be terrified, by any violence of the aſſaylants, or danger that might ſeeme to threaten. The Conſul had no deſire to ſpend halfe his time about one Citie, and ſo be driuen to leaue vnto his ſucceſſor the honour of finiſhing the warre. Wherefore he gladly hearkened vnto the *Ætolians*, and bade them ſeeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reaſonable price; conſidering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the ſame purchaſe. He alſo gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his ſeruice as a mediatour, to put himſelfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his perſwaſions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuſes, the concluſion was ſuch, as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnſufferable. The ſame Embaſſadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* accompanied thoſe of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this interceſſion, for that *Philip* had made very grieuous complaint about the loſſe of thoſe Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the peace, which thoſe good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earneſtly ſollicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to vphold the maieſtie of the people of *Rome*, and to obſerue diuers Articles, which made them leſſe free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they hauing been the firſt that called theſe their Maſters into the Countrie. The Ile of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themſelues (as not long ſince they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achæans*, by ſtiffely preſſing their owne right) that ſo they might haue poſſeſſion along the coaſt of *Greece*, whileſt they ſeemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning thoſe places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was ſet downe an Order ſo perplexed, as would neceſſarily require

require to haue the *Romans* Iudges of the controuerſies, when they ſhould ariſe. And hereof good vſe will be ſhortly made: when want of employment elſwhere, ſhall cauſe a more Lordly Inquiſition to be held, vpon the affaires of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Conſull, had at the ſame time warre in *Aſia*, with the *Gallo-Greekes* and others. His Armie was the ſame that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whoſe victorie, his acts were the conſummation. Hee viſited thoſe Countries on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, that had ſcarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among theſe there were ſome pettie Lords, or Tyrants, ſome free Cities, and ſome that were together at warres, without regard of the great alteration hapned in *Aſia*. From euery of theſe hee got ſomewhat; and by their quarrels found occaſion to viſit thoſe Prouinces, into which hee ſhould elſe haue wanted an errand. He was euen loaden with bootie, when, hauing fetcht a compaſſe about *Aſia*, he came at length vpon the *Gallogreekes*. Theſe had long dominiered ouer the Countrie: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their forepaſſed acts, than any preſent vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately ſuch triall, when they ſerued vnder King *Antiochus*, as made them to know themſelues farre the worſe men. Wherefore they thought it no ſmall part of their ſafetie, that they dwelt vpon the Riuer *Halys*, in an Inland Countrie, where thoſe enemies were not like to ſearch them out. But when ſuch hopes failed; and when ſome Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the reſt to yeeld: then was no counſaile thought ſo good, as to forſake their houſes and Countrie, and, with all that they could carrie or driue, to betake themſelues vnto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. Theſe mountaines were exceeding hard of aſcent, though none ſhould vndertake the cuſtodie. Being therefore well manned and victuailed for a long time; as alſo the naturall ſtrength being helpt, by ſuch fortification as promiſed greateſt aſſurance: it was thought, that the Conſul would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or eaſily be repelled; and that finally, when he had ſtaied there awhile, winter, and much want, ſhould force him to diſlodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the *Gallogreekes* had beene careleſſe of furniſhing themſelues with caſting weapons, as if the ſtones would haue ſerued well enough to that purpoſe: the *Romans*, who came farre otherwiſe appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of armes, than impediment in diſaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did eaſily preuaile againſt caſters of ſtones; eſpecially being ſuch as were theſe *Gallogreekes*, neither exerciſed in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their ſtones before-hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than thoſe of a fit ſize. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defenſiue armes, could not hold out againſt the arrowes and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driuen from a piece of ground, which they had vndertaken to make good, vp into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to caſt themſelues headlong downe the ſteepe rockes. Few of the men eſcaped aliue: all their wiues, children, and goods became a prey vnto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the reſt of that Nation ouercome ſoone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them ſaued themſelues by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backes.

Theſe warres being ended: *Fuluius* and *Manlius* were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconſul his Prouince for another yeere. *Fuluius*, in his ſecond yeere, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to thoſe whom hee had vanquiſhed; as likewiſe to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and ſome others, not by him vanquiſhed, but ſubmitting themſelues for feare of the *Roman* armes. Hee drew from them all, what profit he could: and laide vpon them ſuch conditions, as hee thought expedient. He alſo did finiſh the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto he

he ſwore, and receiued the Kings oath by Embaſſadours, whom hee ſent for that purpoſe. Finally hauing ſet in order the matters of *Aſia*, he tooke his way toward the *Helleſpont*, loaden with ſpoile, as carrying with him (beſides other treaſures) all that the *Gallogreekes* had in ſo many yeeres extorted, from the wealthie Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull vſe, which the *Roman* ſouldier had beene wont to take as the only good purchaſe; but furniſhed with ſumptuous houſhold-ſtuffe, and ſlaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Muſicians for banquets, and, in a word, with the ſeedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

The Countrie of *Thrace* lay betweene *Helleſpont* and the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his iourney homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he paſſed through them, without any ſuch bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, becauſe *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſtirre. But when *Manlius* came along with an huge traine of baggage; the *Thracians* could not ſo well containe themſelues. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it otherwiſe than verie pleaſantly, to haue this *Roman* Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cauſe to be angry; ſeeing how little himſelfe was regarded, and what great rewards were giuen to *Eumenes*. For he vnderſtood, and afterwards gaue the *Romans* to vnderſtand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the *People* of *Rome* had not made warre in *Aſia*: whereas contrariwiſe, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himſelfe three thouſand talents, and fiftie ſhips of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promiſing moreouer to reſtore vnto him all the *Greeke* Cities, that had beene taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference betweene him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the *Romans*, after their victorie, to giue away not onely the halfe of *Aſia*, but *Cherſonneſus* and *Lyſimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himſelfe they beſtowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie, to goe to *Rome* and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained louingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the moſt honourable men in *Rome*; and was growne into neere acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correſpondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himſelfe acquainted with the warres in *Spaine* and *Africk*. This perhaps he deemed ſufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due reſpect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a ſurer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the diſpoſing of that which they wanne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates aſſiſting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which thoſe Delegates were choſen, and inſtructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore ſaw theſe vpſtart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as baſe companions, aduanced ſo highly, and made greater than himſelfe; yea himſelfe vnregarded, contemned, and expoſed to many wrongs: then found he great cauſe to wiſh, that he had not ſo haſtily declared himſelfe againſt *Antiochus*, or rather that hee had ioyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might haue beene freed from his inſolent maſters. But what great argument of ſuch diſcontentedneſſe the *Macedonian* had, we ſhall verie ſhortly be vrged to diſcourſe more at large. At the preſent it was beleeued, that the *Thracians* were by him ſet on, to aſſaile the *Romans* paſſing through their Countrie. They knew all aduantages: and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were beſtowed in the midſt of the Armie; whereof part had alreadie paſſed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet ſo farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leaue behind: though both the getting, and the ſauing, did coſt many liues, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought vntill it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themſelues; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of ſuch trouble there was more, though leſſe dangerous, before

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the

the Armie could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into *Epirus*; and ſo to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fuluius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: eſpecially to *Manlius*; whom ſome of the ten Delegates, appointed to aſſiſt him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vnworthie Commander. Touching the reſt of their accuſation; it ſufficeth that he made good anſwere, and was approoued by the chiefe of the Senate. One clauſe is worthie of more particular conſideration. Reprehending his deſire to haue hindred the peace with *Antiochus*; they ſaid, *That with much adoe he was kept from leading his Armie ouer* TAVRVS, *and aduenturing vpon the calamitie threatned by* SYBYLS *verſes, vnto thoſe that ſhould paſſe the fatall bounds.* What calamitie or ouerthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* prophecie threatned the *Roman* Captaine or Armie, that ſhould paſſe ouer *Taurus*, I doe not conceiue. *Pompey* was the firſt, that marched with an Armie beyond thoſe limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before-hand wonne, in a ſort, the Countries on the other ſide of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gaue to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But wee finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* ſuffered any loſſe, in preſuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accompliſhment of this prophecie, fell out neere about one time, with the reſtitution of *Ptolemie* King of *Ægypt*; that was forbidden vnto the *Romans* by the ſame *Sibyl*. It may therefore ſeeme to haue had reference vnto the ſame things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the *Ægyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *ſowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here diſpute. But I hold this more probable, than that the reſtitution of *Ptolemie* to his Kingdome by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, ſhould haue any way betokened the comming of our Sauiour: as ſome both ancient and moderne *Chriſtian* Writers haue beene well pleaſed to interprete *Sibyl* in that prophecie. Of the *Sibylline* prædictions I haue ſometimes thought reuerendly: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authoritie. But obſeruation of the ſhamefull Idolatrie, that vpon all occaſions was aduanced in *Rome* by the bookes of *Sibyl*, had well preuailed vpon my credulitie, and made mee ſuſpect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Euſebius*: when that learned and excellent worke of Maſter *Caſaubon* vpon the *Annales* of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free mee from mine errour; making it apparent, That not onely thoſe prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein *Chriſt* ſo plainely was foreſhewed, but euen the bookes of *Heirmes*, which haue borne ſuch reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at firſt entertained (whoſoeuer deuiſed them) by the vndiſcreet zeale of ſuch, as delighted in ſeeing the *Chriſtian* Religion ſtrengthned with forreine proofes. And in the ſame ranke, I thinke, wee ought to place that notable Hiſtorie, reported by *Euſebius* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more ſtrange, than that a thing ſo memorable, and ſo publike, ſhould haue beene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of thoſe times? Philoſophers and Poets would not haue ſuffered the matter to eſcape in ſilence, had it beene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then liued and flouriſhed, would haue abſtained from ſpeaking any word of an Argument ſo famous. Wherefore I am perſwaded, that this inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by ſome bad *Criticiſme*, taken amiſſe in place of SEMONI SANCO: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruuius* a Rebell, had many ages before beene conſecrated SEMONI SANCO, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whoſe Chappell they were beſtowed. So as either by the ill ſhape of the old *Roman* letters,

Liu. l. 38.

Tull. de Diuin. lib. 2.

Iſaac. Caſaub. Exercitat. 1. ad Annal. Bar. n. 10. & 11.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. c. 13.

letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should bee misse-read, SIMONI SANCTO, and that some *Christian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historicall, than was conceiued by the Authour. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which hee brought into the Treasurie, was made the last paiment of those monies which the Common-wealth had borrowed from priuate men, in the second *Punicke warre*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, euen as long as hee well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called, one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Posteritie. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such vnworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answere came; hee appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middest of the Assembly, and offered himselfe to speake. Hauing audience, hee told the People, That vpon the same day of the yeere hee had fought a great battell with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punicke Warre*, by a signall victory. In memory whereof, hee thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the *Capitoll*, and there giue thankes to *Iupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, hee had well and happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-wealth. And hereto hee inuited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, *That if euer since the seuenteenth yeere of his life, vntill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had preuented the capacitie of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatnesse of those honourable places; then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still bee like to him.* These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, euen the Officers of the Court, followed *Scipio*; leauing the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne slaues and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to iudgement, vntill for very shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, vnrequested, a further day. After this, when *the African* perceiued that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: hee willingly relinquished the Citie, and his vnthankefull *Romans*, that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time hee spent at *Liternum*: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* againe. How many yeeres he liued, or whether he liued one whole yeere, in this voluntarie banishment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as also of his priuate behauiour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he out-liued the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to haue drawne him backe to his answere, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoeuer it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to worke with *L. Scipio the Asiatique*. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching monie receiued of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; That the

Senate

Senate ſhould giue charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and iudicially determine, thereof. In fauour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the ſuppoſed author of theſe contentions, and inſtigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of ſingular induſtrie; frugall alſo, both of the publike, and of his owne; ſo as in this kinde hee was euen faultie: for though hee would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vnmercifull and vnconſcionable, in ſeeking to increaſe his owne wealth, by ſuch meanes as the Lawe did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyſoned with enuie, troubled both himſelfe and the whole Citie, whileſt hee liued. His meane birth cauſed him to hate the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe that were in chiefe eſtimation. Neither did he ſpare to bite at ſuch as were of his owne ranke, men raiſed by deſert, if their aduancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whoſe Lieutenant hee had been at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Cenſorſhip, and likely to carrie it, hee tooke an Oath againſt him, which was counted as no better than malicious periurie, That he had not brought into the common Treaſurie ſome veſſels of gold and ſiluer, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipioes* grew partly, (beſides his generall ſpight at the Nobilitie) from his owne firſt riſing, wherein hee was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from ſome checke, that was giuen vnto himſelfe, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whoſe Treaſurer he then was. For when *Cato* did vtter his diſlike of the Conſuls bad husbandry (iudging Magnificence to be no better) in ſome peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainely told him, That he had no neede of ſuch double diligence in his Treaſurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies hee publiſhed, or for want of iudgement, thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was farre aboue him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with vntrue reports againſt his Generall; whoſe noble deedes confuted ſufficiently the author of ſuch falſe tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipioes*, whileſt it was nouriſhed by their enemie, brake out vpon aduantage, eſpecially againſt *L. Scipio*, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A ſeuere inquirie and iudgement being appointed of purpoſe againſt *Scipio*, matters were ſo carried, that he was ſeene condemned in a ſumme of money, farre exceeding his abilitie to pay. For *non payment*, his bodie ſhould haue beene layd vp in priſon: but from this rigour of the Law hee was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the ſame Tribune who had cauſed the ſuite againſt the *African* to be let fall. In his eſtate, which was confiſcated to the vſe of the Citie, when there neither appeared any ſigne of his hauing been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found ſo much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accuſers, and all whoſe hands had been againſt him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kinred, friends, and Clients made ſuch a collection for him, as would haue ſet him in better eſtate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than ſuch of his owne goods, as were of neceſſary vſe, being redeemed for him by his neereſt friends.

And thus began the ciuill warre of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, vntill now, ſince the Punicke Warre. Securitie of danger from abroad, and ſome want of ſufficient employment, were eſpeciall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which firſt caught hold vpon that great Worthy, to whoſe vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into ſo great ſecuritie her extreme danger. But theſe factious contentions did no long while containe themſelues within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in ſuch quarrelſome buſineſſe, grew to perfection, they that found themſelues ouer-matched by their aduerſaries, at this kinde of weapon, began to make oppoſition, firſt with clubbes and ſtones, afterward with ſwords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the ſtreets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Ladie of rare vertue, that in honour of her two ſonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*,

Gracchi, saw those her two sonnes, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approued by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Consuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, *Let the Consuls prouide, that the Commonweale receiue no detriment.* By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemie to the State*, they thought to haue woon a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senatours: whereupon began the ciuill warres; which giuing vnto *Sylla*, who preuailed therein, meanes to make himselfe absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraigne power, when by the like Decree of the Senate hee was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Consul had finally cause to rejoyce, of his hauing put in execution such authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in neede of a Soueraigne Lord: so the vehemencie of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselues, when they were ouer-topped by voyces in the House, did compell *Cæsar*, or giue him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith preuailing against his aduersaries, hee tooke such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedome, and became subiects vnto the arbitrarie gouernment of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on Earth, to doe euen what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleeued of her selfe as if she had, whilest a King sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the sequele will discouer.

CHAP. VI.
The second Macedonian Warre.

§. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the warre with ANTIOCHVS *was finished. The Romans quarrell with* PHILIP. *They deale insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being vnreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his sonne* DEMETRIVS; *of whom thencefoorth hee becomes iealous.*

AFTER the ouerthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweale of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had beene, before the arriuall of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in verie truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassalls to the People of *Rome*. For of those fiue Prerogatiues belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whomsoeuer

ſoeuer it reſt; namely, *To make Lawes*, *To create Magiſtrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and Warre*, *To beate Monie*, and *to reſerue* (as the *French* call it) *le dernier reſort*, or *the laſt Appeales*, the *Romans* had aſſumed foure; and the greateſt of them ſo abſolutely, that is, *The Appeale*, or laſt reſort, as euery pettie iniurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, or Commiſſioners, in thoſe places whence the Complaint came, or otherwiſe by the Senatours themſelues within *Rome*: from whoſe arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Eſtates and Regalities vtterly diſſolued. Neuertheleſſe it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet ſo, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the *Romans* interpoſed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of Magiſtrates ſo free, as that they had not therein eſpeciall regard vnto the good pleaſure of theſe their Maſters.

And to ſuch degree of ſeruitude the ſeuerall Eſtates of *Greece* did bow verie gently: either as being thankefull for their deliuerance from a yoke more ſenſibly grieuous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, ſince therein conſiſted their chiefe hope of thriuing; or, as being more fearefull of diſpleaſing the ſtrongeſt, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* liuing further off, and being moſt obſequious vnto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, queſtioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diuerſion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vſe his owne euen as he liſted, vntill they ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of him. Neither was it a little auaileable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not throughly ſubdued. For vpon the ſame reaſon (as well as vpon his owne high deſerts) were they very loning vnto *Maſaniſſa*, and to his Houſe, vntill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion ſettled in *Africk*: as likewiſe afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in ſubiection vnto themſelues, by the miniſterie of Kings; eſpecially of ſuch Kings, as were vſefull and obſequious vnto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; and ſhewed himſelfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatneſſe, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But ſuch magnanimitie was none otherwiſe conſtrued by the *Romans*, than as want of due reuerence to their Eſtate, and a valuation of himſelfe againſt them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithſtanding that hee had lately giuen paſſage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the waies for them, and furniſhed them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to tranſport them ouer the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, againſt *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Theſſalie* and *Thrace*, hee was commaunded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and Places demaunded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them hee had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the *Romans* themſelues.

Theſe Townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had beene part of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northweſt, extended his dominion very farre. He is thought to haue made himſelfe Lord of *Tranſyluania*: in which Prouince it is ſaid, * That innumerable Medals of gold haue beene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and ſtamped with his Image on the one ſide, on the other ſide with *Victorie*. Of all theſe Lordſhips the poſſeſſion, or rather the title (for he liued not to ſettle his eſtate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of warre, whercin he vanquiſhed and ſlue *Lyſimachus*: as alſo, by the like right, *Ptolomie Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not ſuſtaine, did ſhortly and eaſily waſh away from that Crowne,

* *Hiſt. of Hungarie by Mart. Fumee, lib. 5.*

together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successours: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the *Gaules* being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had beene oppressed by them, recouered their libertie; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to find their aduantages, and make vse of them, euen vpon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefes commonly done by these, King *Philip* did prouide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætolians*, of wrongfull vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto he made a good answere, That his Garrison did only saue it from the *Thracians*: who, as soone as hee thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places vnable to defend themselues, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might haue entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not auayled him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia*: and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrie thereabout, whilest *Philip* was busied in his former warre: and since they, by their victorie had gotten vnto themselues all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at libertie, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Chersonesus*, that were alreadie his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demeanour of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Iudges betweene him and all that made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euery controuersie. Neuertheless, he sent Embassadours to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatsoeuer he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadours: and would they now depriue him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either hee was likely to preuaile, or at leastwise to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what hee had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had beene their Embassadours. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaued themselues, in pleading against him for their libertie, hee tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature hee was verie cruell) gaue order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might haue little joy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done, but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadours, who had better notice, than could haue beene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majestie, to an accompt. He would haue remooued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euen vpon the *Maronites*; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable

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to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embassadours to enquire, among the *Maronites* themselues: as well knowing, that they who suruiued, were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not vtter an offensiue word. But he found the *Romans* more seuere, and more throughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with such an answere. He was plainely told, that if he would discharge himselfe of the crime obiected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to bee examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should bee at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not beene at *Maronea*, nor neere to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him poisoned by the way. By this we see, that the doctrine, which *Machiauel* taught vnto *Cæsar Borgia*, to employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe; was not of his owne inuention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodly policie, the later hauing beene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in *England*, can beare good witnesse; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before he was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his yonger sonne *Demetrius* as Embassadour vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answere to all complaints; and withall to deliuer his owne grieuances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that he had beene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all euen for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate; as hauing been well approued by them, when he was hostage in *Rome*: and therefore seemed the more likely, to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would bee borne vnto his person.

Whilest this businesse with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilest he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to diuert from himselfe some other way the *Roman* armes: the same Embassadours, that had beene Iudges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of *Greece*; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedæmonians* against the *Achæans*. It was obiected vnto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grieuous slaughter vpon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That vnto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, made answere, That these banished *Lacedæmonians*, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously knowne to bee the men, who had themselues committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the blame vpon others: the *Achæans* hauing onely called those vnto iudgement, that were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*; and these plaintifes hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, as they were comming to make answere for themselues. Concerning their throwing downe the walles of *Lacedæmon*, hee said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibite vnto them all kindes of fortifications; as the

Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vsurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these wals, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the *Achæans*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embassadours, That hee and his Countrimen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselues thus constrained, to answere and giue account of their actions; as vassals and slaues vnto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the *Achæans* as well require to bee satisfied aboue that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselues, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would stand vpon their greatnesse, and intimate, as they began, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselues to ratifie it: then must the *Achæans* haue recourse vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without periurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeede fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answere of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state vpon him, he pronounced more like a Master than a Iudge, That if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thanks whileſt they might; they should be compelled with a mischiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*; which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet Feare preuailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the *Romans* to doe as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soone after, did make void all Iudgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the *Achæans* vpon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of *Lacedæmon*, should bee suffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enioy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councell of *Achaia*, they discouered no lesse, as to them seemed, the loue which they bare vnto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into such slauerie had the *Greekes*, and all Kings and Common-weales whatsoeuer, bordering vpon any part of the *Mediterran* Seas, reduced themselues; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile and perswasions of many wise and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*, and, by seeking Patronage, made meere vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so preuaile with them, but their priuate passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of selfe-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearefull seruilitie.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greekes* very farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrie would be his, whensoeuer he should take armes, as shortly

lie he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, comming home from *Rome*, brought with him the deſired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie ſoone following. Hee had beene louingly vſed at *Rome*, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of obiections, whereto his youth, vnskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anſwere: it was permitted vnto him, to reade ſuch briefe notes as hee had receiued from his Father, and out of thoſe the Senate were contented to gather ſatisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne ſake, as they then ſaid and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodneſſe in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreatie of his ſonne, together with ſome inſolence of his ſonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the *Romans*; did increaſe in *Philip* his hatred vnto *Rome*, and breed in him a iealouſie of his too forward ſonne. To ſet him forward in theſe paſſions, there came daily new Embaſſadours from *Rome*; ſome bringing one commandement; ſome another; and ſome, requiring him to fulfill thoſe things, which had beene impoſed vpon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obſerued his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that hee had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needs muſt. With theſe Embaſſadours young *Demetrius* was conuerſant: rather perhaps out of ſimplicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious reſpect; yet a great deale more than was pleaſing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perſeus*, the elder ſonne of the King, ſhould not ſucceed vnto his father; but that the Diademe ſhould bee conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by ſome other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the *Romans*. This offended not onely *Perſeus*, but *Philip* himſelfe: who ſuſpected his yonger ſonne, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly miſconſtrued all his doings. But ere we proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this iealouſie; it will not be amiſſe, to ſpeake of ſome memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

§. II.

The death of PHILOPŒMEN, HANNIBAL, *and* SCIPIO. *That the militarie profeſſion is of all other the moſt vnhappie: notwithſtanding ſome examples, which may ſeeme to proue the contrarie.*

THE *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late beene ſo peremptorie with the *Achæans*; that they ſeemed not vnlikely to take part againſt them, in any controuerſie that ſhould be moued. Hereupon the *Meſſenians*, who againſt their will were annexed vnto the *Achæan* Common-wealth, hauing long beene of a contrarie Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themſelues from that Societie, with purpoſe to ſet vp againe an Eſtate of their owne, ſeuered from communion with any other. This was the deuice of ſome that were powerfull in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpoſe, and not ouer-ſtrongly affected in the buſineſſe; were carefull to ſeeke occaſion of reducing things to ſuch paſſe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a neceſſitie of ſtanding out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to doe ſome acts of hoſtilitie; whereby it was probable that bloud ſhould bee drawne, and either ſide ſo farre exaſperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, leuied ſuch forces as hee could in haſte, and went againſt them. Many principall Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, eſpecially of the *Megalopolitans*, were ſoone in a readineſſe to wait vpon him. Beſides theſe, which were all, or for

the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that vsually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the *Messenians*; whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whileſt his horsemen were too earneſt in following the chace; there arriued, by chance, a supplie of fiue hundred from *Messene*, which gaue new courage vnto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopœmens* Horsemen to turne backe. *Philopœmen* himselfe had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatneſſe of his courage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had so willingly aduentured themselues vnder his conduct. He tooke vpon him to make the Retrait: and suffering his horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-neere to him. But it fell out vnhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall of his horse, and being withall in very weake plight of bodie, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleeued their fortune to bee so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to *Messene*, was so farre from being beleeued, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themselues with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the singular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrarywise, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leaue any disgrace, or iniurie, done to him, vnreuenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault vnder ground, that had beene made for the custodie of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heauie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not staied long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poison, which *Philopœmen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe, when he heard an answere to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seuentie yeeres old, and weakned with long sickneſſe, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The *Achæans*, when they missed him in their flight, were maruellously offended with themselues, for that they had beene more mindfull to preserue their owne liues, than to looke vnto the safetie of so excellent a Commander. Whileſt they were deuising what to doe in such a case: they got aduertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched vnto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire meanes would not serue. *Lycortas* was chosen Generall of the Armie against *Messene*: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dinocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had beene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the ashes of *Philopœmen* that were carried home in solemne pompe to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slaine at his funerall, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a *Roman* Embassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the *Roman* Embassadors were seldome absent. He would haue entermedled in this businesse of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About

About the ſame time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* ſent Embaſſador to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: not ſo much to withdraw him from proſecuting the warre againſt *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the moſt ſpightfull enemie in all the world vnto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Pruſias* (therein vnworthie of the Crowne he ware) did readily condiſcend: or rather (as *Liuie* thinkes) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him aliue to *Flaminius*. For vpon the firſt conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiors were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cauſe before this to ſuſpect the faith of *Pruſias*, had deuiſed ſome ſecret ſallies vnder ground to ſaue himſelfe from any treaſonable and ſudden aſſault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-cloſed, he had recourſe to his laſt remedie: which he then was conſtrayned to practiſe, as well to fruſtrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to ſaue himſelfe from their torture and mercileſſe hands; who, as he well knew, would neither reſpect his famous enterpriſes, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he ſaw no way of eſcape, nor counſell to reſort vnto, he tooke the poyſon into his hand, which he alwayes preſerued for a ſure Antidote againſt the ſharpeſt diſeaſes of aduerſe fortune; which being readie to ſwallow downe, hee vttered theſe wordes: *I will now* (ſaid he) *deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath ſo many yeeres poſſeſt them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victorie of* FLAMINIVS *ouer me, which am diſarmed, and betrayed into his hands, ſhall neuer bee numbred among the reſt of his heroicall deedes: No; it ſhall make it manifeſt to all the Nations of the World, how farre the auncient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For ſuch was the nobleneſſe of their forefathers; as, when* PYRRHVS *inuaded them in Italie, and was readie to giue them battaile at their owne dores, they gaue him knowledge of the treaſon intended againſt him by poyſon: whereas theſe of a later race haue employed* FLAMINIVS, *a man who hath heretofore beene one of their Conſuls, to practiſe with* PRVSIAS, *contrarie to the honour of a King, contrarie to his Faith giuen, and contrarie to the Lawes of Hoſpitalitie, to ſlaughter or deliuer vp his owne Gheſt.* He then curſing the perſon of *Pruſias*, *and all his, and deſiring the immortall gods to reuenge his infidelitie*, dranke off the poyſon, and died.

In this yeere alſo (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*: theſe being, all of them, as great Captaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainely, for *Hannibal*, whoſe Tragedie we haue now finiſhed, had he beene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authoritie might haue commaunded ſuch ſupplyes, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was ſo ſtrongly croſt by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to ſuſtaine it, did laſtly diſſolue it ſelfe in his owne, and in the common miſerie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and jealouſie of our Maſters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profeſſion more vnproſperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For beſides the enuie and jealouſie of men; the ſpoyles, rapes, famine, ſlaughter of the innocent, vaſtation, and burnings, with a world of miſeries layed on the labouring man, are ſo hatefull to God, as with good reaſon did *Monlue* the Marſhall of *France* confeſſe, That *were not the mercies of* GOD *infinite, and without reſtriction, it were in vaine for thoſe of his profeſſion to hope for any portion of them: ſeeing the cruelties, by them permitted and commited, were alſo infinite.* Howſoeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtayned by many of the greateſt Commanders, are commonly either aſcribed to thoſe that ſerue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardiſe of the Nation againſt whom they ſerue. For the moſt of others, whoſe vertues haue rayſed them aboue the leuell of their inferiours, and haue ſurmounted their enuie: yet

haue

haue they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Liuius*, *L. Æmylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we haue lately buried. Among the *Greekes* we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that *Dauid* bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine *Ioab*. With this fare *Alexander* feasted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was strucken in the world; for there fell of those that fought beside runne-awaies, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slue *Ætius*) murdered the Emperour, which hee neuer durst attempt, *Ætius* liuing. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolued then obscured. The same vnworthy destinie, or a farre worse, had *Belisarius*; whose vndertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*: and he died a blinde begger. *Narses* also, to the great preiudice of *Christian* Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iustine*. That Rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well obserued in euery age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot bee accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and in deed a *Turkish* one, That euery warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre, than suffer his owne glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Baiaret* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Visiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsaluo*, who draue the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Horn*, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations haue been payd with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may bee said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places haue been giuen, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traiterously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vsed the aduantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, haue obtained those dignities, which vndeseruedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that haue purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertue; is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldome found in any other than cowards, hee slue first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloudy aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him again by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniustly gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iustine*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre. *Iustine*, hauing recouered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same

ſame faſhion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iuſtine*, murdered both the Emperour and his ſonne. *Anaſtaſius*, the vaſſall of this new Tyrant, ſurpriſed his Maſter *Philippicus*, and thruſt out both his eyes. But with *Anaſtaſius*, *Theodoſius* dealt more gently: for hauing wreſted the Scepter out of his hands, hee enforced him to become a Prieſt. It were an endleſſe, and a needleſſe worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodoſius*; how many others haue beene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thouſands, hoping of Captaines to make themſelues Kings, haue by Gods iuſtice miſerably periſhed in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the beſt way of thriuing, by the practice of Armes, is to take what may bee gotten by the ſpoile of Enemies, and the liberalitie of thoſe Princes and Cities, in whoſe ſeruice one hath well deſerued. But ſcarce one of a thouſand haue proſpered by this courſe. For that obſeruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthanketulneſſe in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came againſt it, and compaſſed it about, and builded Forts againſt it: And there was found a poore and wiſeman therein, and hee deliuered the Citie by his wiſedome: but none remembred this poore man.* Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thankes, leſt thereby they ſhould acknowledge themſelues to haue beene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiſer ſort of them thinke to ſauour of ſome impotency in themſelues. But in this reſpect they are oftentimes coozened and abuſed: which proues that weakeneſſe to be in them indeede, whereof they ſo gladly ſhunne the opinion. Contrariwiſe, free Eſtates are bountifull in giuing thankes; yet ſo, as thoſe thankes are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines haue made, by enriching themſelues with the ſpoile of the enemie, they are very inquiſitiue to ſearch into it, and to ſtrip the wel-deſeruers out of their gettings: yea moſt iniurioůſly to rob them of their owne, vpon a falſe ſuppoſition: that euen they whoſe hands are moſt cleane from ſuch offences, haue purloyned ſomewhat from the common Treaſurie. Hereof I neede not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipioes* being ſo lately recited. *Eccleſ.c.9.14. & 15.*

In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne ſafetie ſhe was conſtrained to vndertake, her Majeſtie had no leſſe cauſe to vſe the ſeruice of Martiall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predeceſſors for many yeeres had, yet, according to the deſtiny of that profeſsion, I do not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldeſt and moſt proſperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwiſe honoured, for any ſeruice by them performed. And that her Majeſtie had many aduiſed, valiant, and faithfull men, the proſperitie of her affaires did well witneſſe, who in all her daies neuer receiued diſhonour, by the cowardiſe or infidelitie of any Commander, by her ſelfe choſen and imployed.

For as all her old Captaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunſtable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others: ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous imploiment, whereof *Nerice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, and who haue done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: thoſe (I ſay) with many other braue Collonels, haue left behinde them (beſides the reputation which they purchaſed with many trauailes and wounds) nor title nor eſtate to their poſteritie. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Berty* L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Majeſtie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did ſooner beleeue other men than her ſelfe, a diſeaſe vnto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelfe, haue beene ſubiect, I ſay that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeeme altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakeneſſe. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that

where

where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are neerest the person of Princes (which Martial men seldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a Profession farre more noble than their own, seeing therein they should onely mind their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deseruing, and of far greater vse than themselues.

But his Maiestie hath already payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honored more Martial men, than all the Kings of *England* haue done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath giuen a *Coronet* to the Lord *Thomas Haward* for his chargeable and remarkeable seruice, as well in the yeere 1588, as at *Caliz*, the *Ilands*, and in our owne Seas; hauing first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maiestie hath changed the Baronies of *Montioy* and *Burley* into Earledomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Russel*, *Carew*, *Danuers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons, for their gouernments and seruices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

§. III.

PHILIP making prouision for warre against the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne subiects. His negotiation with the Bastarna. His crueltie. He suspecteth his sonne DEMETRIVS. DEMETRIVS *accused by his brother* PERSEVS; *and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment.* PHILIP *repenteth him of his sonnes death; whom he findeth to haue beene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on* PERSEVS, *he dieth.*

QVINTVS MARTIVS the *Roman* Embassador, who trauailed vp and downe, seeking what worke might be found about *Greece*, had receiued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of *Macedon*. At his returne home, that hee might not seeme to haue discouered nothing, hee told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoeuer they enjoyned him; yet so, as it might appeare, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. Hee added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnes to the *Romans*, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safety of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes soeuer. He was in an ill case: as hauing beene already vanquished by them; hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with *Rome*; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet hee prouided as well as hee could deuise, against the necessitie which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the *Romans*, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and remoued them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured, against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, hee deuised vpon alluring the *Bastarna*, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the riuer

of

of *Danubius*, to abandon their ſeat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, beſides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the *Dardanians*, and take poſſeſſion of their Countrey. Theſe were like to doe him notable ſeruice againſt the *Romans:* being not onely ſtout fighting men; but ſuch as being planted in thoſe quarters by him, would beare reſpect vnto him alone. The leaſt benefit that could be hoped by their arriuall, muſt be the vtter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a People alwaies troubleſome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whenſoeuer they found aduantage. Neither was it iudged any hard matter, to perſwade thoſe *Baſtarnæ*, by hope of ſpoile, and other incitements, vnto a more deſperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italie* it ſelfe. It was not knowne who ſhould withſtand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the *Scordiſci*, and peraduenture ſome others, through whoſe Countries they were to paſſe, would accompanie them againſt the *Romans*, were it onely in hope of ſpoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of theſe *Baſtarnæ* from their owne habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, vpon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey vnto them, that carried with them their wiues and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchaſe the good will of ſome *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paſſe. And thus hee ſought meanes to ſtrengthen himſelfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were knowne vnto them; ſince he was not like to finde aſſiſtance from anie ciuill Nation, about the whole compaſſe of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But theſe deuices were long ere they tooke effect: ſo as the *Baſtarnæ* came not before ſuch time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpoſe. In the meane time he neglected not the training of his men to warre, and the exerciſe of them in ſome ſmall Expeditions, againſt thoſe wilde people that bordered vpon him, and ſtood worſt affected toward him.

But theſe his counſailes and proceedings were miſerably diſturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne houſe. The Families and whole Townſhips, which he had cauſed much againſt their wils to forſake their ancient dwellings, and betake themſelues to ſuch new habitations, as hee in his diſcretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change: Yet their anger at firſt contained it ſelfe within words: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwiſe then by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which alſo he did vnwillingly, being himſelfe ouer-ruled by neceſſitie, that ſeemed apparent. This euill therefore would ſoone haue been determined, had not his cruell and vindicatiue nature made it worſe. He could not pardon words proceeding from juſt ſorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly ſought reuenge where it was needleſſe. In his rage he cauſed many to die: among whom were ſome eminent men; and few or none of them deſeruedly. This encreaſed the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curſes. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a barbarous and baſe fury, miſtruſting all alike whom he had iniuried, thought himſelfe vnlike to be ſafe, vntill he ſhould haue maſſacred all the children of thoſe parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleaſure, ſome accidents, more tragicall then perhaps he could haue deſired, gaue men cauſe to thinke (as they could not in reaſon thinke otherwiſe) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like miſerie in his owne children. It is hard to ſay what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they ſhewed vnto *Demetrius*, the Kings yonger ſonne. It may well be (though it may be alſo ſuſpected) that they had no purpoſe to make and nouriſh diſſention betweene the brethren, but onely to cheriſh the vertue and towardlineſſe of *Demetrius*; like as we finde it in their Hiſtories. But their notable fauour towards this yong Prince, and his mutuall reſpect of them, bred extreme jealouſie in the fathers head. If any cuſtome of the *Romanes*, the manner of their life,

life, the fashion of their apparell, or the vnsightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinarie discourse and table-talke, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and prayſing them, euen in ſuch points as rather needed excuſe. This, and his dayly conuerſation with their Embaſſadours, as often as they came, gaue his father cauſe to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counſaile held againſt them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder ſonne *Perſeus*: who fearing ſo much leſt his brother ſhould ſtep betweene him and the ſucceſſion, conuerted wholly vnto his deſtruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perſeus* was then thirty yeeres old; of a ſtirring ſpirit, though much defectiue in valour. *Demetrius* was yonger by fiue yeeres, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free ſpeeches diſcouered. The jealous head of the King hauing entertained ſuch ſuſpitions, that were much increaſed by the cunning practice of his elder ſonne, a ſlight occaſion made the fire breake out, that had long layne ſmothered. A Muſter, and ceremonious luſtration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great ſolemnitie. The manner of it at the preſent was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to paſſe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very firſt originall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King betweene his two ſonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the reſt of the *Macedonians* followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into two parts: which, vnder the Kings two ſonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vſing poles, and the like, in ſtead of their pikes and accuſtomed weapons. But in this preſent skirmiſh there appeared ſome extraordinary contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-earneſtly ſeeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good ſucceſſe in a greater triall. Some ſmall hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with thoſe ſtakes, vntill *Perſeus* his ſide at length recoyled. *Perſeus* himſelfe was ſorr for this, as it had been ſome bad preſage: but his friends were glad, and thoug[h] , that hereof might be made good vſe. They were of the craftier ſort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauour bent, and how all the courſes of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addreſſed their ſeruices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they ſaid, that this victory of *Demetrius* would affoord matter of complaint againſt him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that ſolemne paſtime. Each of the brethren was that day to feaſt his owne companions, and each of them had ſpies in the others lodging, to obſerue what was ſaid and done. One of *Perſeus* his Intelligencers behaued himſelfe ſo indiſcreetly, that hee was taken and well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of dores. After ſome ſtore of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe viſit his brother, and ſee what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting ſuch of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leaue none of his traine behinde, but forced them alſo to beare him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themſelues ſecretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there ſuch good eſpiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perſeus*: who thereupon tumultuouſly locked vp his doores, as if he ſtood in feare to be aſſaulted in his houſe. *Demetrius* wondred to ſee himſelfe excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perſeus*, bidding him be gone as an enemie, and one whoſe murderous purpoſe was detected, ſent him away with entertainement no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accuſed the yonger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the ſame that hath been here recited, ſaue that by miſconſtruction all was made worſe. But the maine point of the accuſation, and

which

which did aggrauate all the reſt, was, That *Demetrius* had vndertaken this murder, and would perhaps alſo dare to vndertake a greater, vpon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom hee knew that he ſhould be defended and borne out. For *Perſeus* made ſhew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; becauſe hee bore a due reſpect vnto his father, and was ſorie to ſee him ſpoiled, and daily robbed of ſomewhat by them. And for this cauſe he ſaid it was, that they did animate his brother againſt him: as alſo that they ſought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the *Macedonians*. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, ſent of late from *T. Quintius* to the King himſelfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wiſely in ſending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he ſhould yet further doe well to ſend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honorable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counſell was giuen by *Titus*, of purpoſe to ſhake the allegeance of thoſe, that ſhould wait vpon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their ducties to their old King, become ſeruants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwere, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as hee remembred them, and had conceiued of them: bitterly reprehending *Perſeus*, that conuerted matters of Paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he ſought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the *Romans* did beare him; Hee ſaid that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at leaſt wiſe from their opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practice, Hee were more like to loſe it wholly, than to encreaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not ſuch paſsions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a iealous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the exceſſe or error, whatſoeuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better obſeruation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themſelues both in word and deed. And herein hee may ſeeme to haue dealt both iuſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward, hee gaue himſelfe ouer wholly to *Perſeus*: vſing ſo little conference with his yonger ſonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, He liked neither to haue him preſent, nor neere vnto him. Aboue all, he had eſpeciall care, to learne out what had paſſed betweene *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way intereſſed in the quarrels betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a letter, ſaid to be written by *Titus* (whoſe ſeale they had counterfetted) vnto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious deſires had cauſed him to enter into practices vniuſtifiable, againſt his elder brother; which yet ſhould neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himſelfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the King, to thinke his ſonne a dangerous traytor. To ſtrengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in cuſtodie, made ſhew as if he had pitied the eſtate of the vnhappy Prince; and ſo wrung out of him his ſecret intentions, which he ſhortly diſcouered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to flye ſecretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not onely to liue in ſafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than hee could finde at home, of bettering ſuch claime as he had in reuerſion vnto the Crowne of *Macedon*. What ſoeuer his hopes and meanings were, al came to nought through the falſhood of *Didas*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the eſcape, and in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* reſolued to put his ſonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare leſt

the *Romans* ſhould take the matter to heart, and held it as proofe ſufficient, at leaſt, of the Kings deſpight againſt them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accurſed Miniſter of his Kings vnaduiſed ſentence, firſt gaue poyſon to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither ſo haſtily, nor ſo ſecretly, as was deſired. Hereupon he ſent a couple of Ruffians, to finiſh the tragedie: who villanouſly accompliſhed their worke by ſmothering that Prince, in whoſe life conſiſted the greateſt hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houſes of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* fell either with themſelues, or euen vpon their heeles; by inteſtine diſcord and iealouſies, grounded on deſire of ſoueraigne rule, or feare of loſing it. By the like vnnaturall hatred, had almoſt beene cut off the lines of *Ptolemie* and of *Seleucus*: which though narrowly they eſcaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grieuouſly diſtempered. Contrariwiſe, it was worthy of extraordinarie note, how that vpſtart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raiſed it ſelfe to maruellous greatneſſe, in very ſhort ſpace, from the condition of meere ſlauery: whereof a principall cauſe was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with ſingular commendation of their pietie. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of theſe examples; but is ſaid to haue propounded the laſt of them, to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainly he had reaſon ſo to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender foſterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cheriſhed him in his minoritie. But Hee was himſelfe of an vnmercifull nature; and therefore vnmeet to bee a good perſwader vnto kindely affection. The murders by him done vpon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the ſatiating of his bloud-thirſty appetite he delightfully had committed vpon many innocents, both ſtrangers, and ſubiects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poyſon. After the death of his ſonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bin obiected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him ſatisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not beene contriuer of the whole proceſſe. His only remaining Son *Perſeus* could ſo ill diſſemble the pleaſure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might eaſily be perceiued in him a notable change, proceeding from ſome other cauſe, than the remoue of thoſe dangers, which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no leſſe to be feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accompliſhed the moſt of his deſires, left off his vſuall trouble of minde, and carefulneſſe of making prouiſion againſt them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by thoſe that well vnderſtood the difference, betweene a riſing and a ſetting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, hee was left in a manner deſolate, ſome expecting his death; and ſome ſcarce enduring the tediouſneſſe of ſuch expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with ſuſpitious imaginations; the like whereof hee had neuer beene ſlow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed: and ſo much the more, for that he knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Couſin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued ſo true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hatefull to *Perſeus*: and thus becomming ſubiect vnto the ſame iealous impreſsions which troubled the King, became alſo partaker of his ſecrets. This counſailour, when he found that the anger conceiued againſt *Perſeus* would not vent it ſelfe, and giue eaſe to the King, vntill the truth were knowne whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treaſon obiected; as alſo that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embaſſadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epiſtle of *Flaminius*, that ſerued as the greateſt euidence againſt *Demetrius*) were ſuſpected of forgery in the buſines: made diligent inquirie

inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, hee found one *Xychus*, a man moſt likely to haue vnderſtood what falſe dealing was vſed by thoſe Embaſſadors. Him hee apprehended, brought to the Court, and preſented vnto the King: ſaying that this fellow knew all, and muſt therefore bee made to vtter what hee knew. *Xychus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before ſuſpected: confeſsing againſt himſelfe, that hee had beene employed by the Embaſſadors in that wicked piece of buſineſſe. No maruell, if the Fathers paſsions were extreme, when hee vnderſtood, that by the vnnaturall practice of one ſon, he had ſo wretchedly caſt away another, farre more vertuous, and innocent. Hee raged exceedingly againſt himſelfe, and withal againſt the authors of the miſchiefe. Vpon the firſt newes of this diſcouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italie*, *Philocles* was taken: and either foraſmuch as hee could not deny it when *Xychus* confronted him, yeelded himſelfe guilty, or elſe was put to torture. *Perſeus* was now growne ſtronger, than that hee ſhould neede to flie the Countrie: yet not ſo ſtout as to aduenture himſelfe into his fathers preſence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdome, towards *Thrace*, whileſt his father wintered at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious ſonne; tooke a reſolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weake body, and exceſſiue griefe of minde, ſo diſabled him in the trauell hereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpoſe to effect, hee was conſtrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had raigned about two and forty yeeres: alwayes full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himſelfe, with continuall warres; of which that with the *Romans* was moſt vnhappy, and few or none of the reſt found the concluſion, which a wiſe Prince would haue deſired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, he might thanke his owne peruerſe condition: ſince his vncle, King *Antigonus*, had left vnto him eſtate, ſo great, and ſo well ſettled, as made it eaſie for him, to accompliſh any moderate deſires, if hee had not abhorred all good counſell. Wherefore he was iuſtly puniſhed: by feeling the difference betweene the imaginarie happineſſe of a Tyrant, which he affected; and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen whileſt yet it was only drawing neere, was foreſignified vnto *Perſeus*, by *Calligenes* the Phyſician; who alſo concealed it awhile from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſuddaine, and tooke poſſeſſion of the kingdome: which in fine he no leſſe improuidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IIII.

How the Baſtarnæ fell vpon Dardania. The behauiour of PERSEVS *in the beginning of his Reigne. Some warres of the Romans: and how they ſuffered* MASANISSA, *cruelly to oppreſſe the Carthaginians. They quarrell with* PERSEVS. *They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leaue obtained. The Treaſon of* CALLICRATES; *whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to* PERSEVS. *Hee ſeekes friendſhip of the Achæans, and is withſtood by* CALLICRATES. *The Romans diſcouer their intent of warring vpon him.*

IMmediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſtarnæ* into *Thrace*: where order had been taken, long before, both for their free paſſage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrie. This compact was friendly obſerued, as long as none other was knowne than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that ſhould be done, or ſuſtained, for his ſeruice. But when it was heard, that a new King raigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daſht

and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne caruers. Thus each part hauing lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriuing in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within awhile they fell to blowes; and the *Bastarnæ* had the vpper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vse of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouerthrow, receiued by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to haue afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, saue thirtie thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirtie thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It seemes that by the careless vsing of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselues: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions back into their owne Countrey.

As for *Perseus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a warre so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to proue. Wherefore hee wholly gaue his minde to the settling of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, either for warre or peace. To preuent all danger of rebellion: he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To winne loue of his people; he sate personally to heare their causes in iudgement (though herein hee was so ouerdiligent and curious, that one might haue perceiued this his vertue of iustice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Aboue all, he had care to auoide all necessitie of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadors thither, to renue the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greekes*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein so excessiuely bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder, how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, he became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeed the mastring passion, which ouerruled him, and changed him into so many shapes, as made it hard to discerne which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For proofe of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in warres against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Istria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Ouer the *Carthaginians* they bore (as euer since the victory) a heauy hand: and suffered *Masanissa* to take from them what he listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leaue of the *Romans*. *Masanissa* therefore had great aduantage ouer them: and was not ignorant how to vse it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoeuer he desired, ere their complaining Embassadours could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had Hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrie of *Emporia*: and so did hee vse them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where hee had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masanissa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within awhile, restored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Asdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Masanissa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans*, to whose judgement the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all maner of submissiue obedience to *Rome*.

They

They had ſcarcely digeſted his iniury, when *Maſaniſſa* came vpon them againe, and tooke from them aboue ſeuentie townes and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grieuouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two articles in their League: That they ſhould not make warre, out of their own lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo, that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, inuading their Country, howſoeuer he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to beare defenſiue armes againſt him, but ſuffered themſelues to be eaten vp, for feare of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherfore they entreated, that either they might haue fairer iuſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their owne by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly giue place to fauor, That the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how farre forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould bee allowed, to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romans* would let them vnderſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment, as they themſelues in honour ſhould thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Iudges; than continually to liue in feare, and none otherwiſe draw breath than at the mercie of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithall the Embaſſadours threw themſelues proſtrate on the ground, weeping in hope to moue compaſſion. Here may wee behold, the fruits of their enuy to that valiant houſe of the *Barchines*; of their irreſolution, in proſecuting a war ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their halfe-penny worthing, in matter of expence, when they had aduentured their whole eſtate, in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they ſeruants, euen to the ſeruants of thoſe men, whoſe fathers they haue often chaſed, ſlaine, taken, and ſold as bondſlaues in the ſtreets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africke* and *Greece*. Now haue they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* ſo often and ſo earneſtly deſired. Onely they want peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their mercinarie, and now their maſter, or rather their tormentor; out of whoſe cruell hands, they beſeech their maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperitie as might haue beene their owne. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battell at *Cannæ*; then *Hannibal* that wanne it was vſed by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely beſtowed, euery man of them, all his priuate riches, vpon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without craning recompence: as alſo they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to ſet out an armie into *Spaine*, at what time the enemie lay vnder their owne wals. Theſe were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians* hauing fought againſt their betters, muſt patiently endure the miſeries belonging to the vanquiſhed. Their pittifull behauiour bred peraduenture ſome commiſeration; yet their teares may ſeeme to haue beene miſtruſted, as proceeding no leſſe from enuie to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamitie. They thought themſelues able to fight with *Maſaniſſa*: which eſtimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into compariſons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no ſuch leaue as they ſought, of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwiſe, when without leaue obtained they preſumed ſo far, the deſtruction of *Carthage* was thought an eaſie puniſhment of that offence. At the preſent, they receiued a gentle anſwere; though they had otherwiſe little amends. *Guluſſa* the ſonne of *Maſaniſſa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craued audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where hee was demanded the reaſon of his comming; and had related vnto him the complaint made the *Carthaginians* againſt his Father. Hee anſwered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embaſſadours thither ſent from *Carthage*, had

had therefore not giuen him instructions, how to deale in that businesse. Onely it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had held counsell diuers nights, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans* and of his Father might not be ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the People of *Rome*. This answere gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoeuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those lands, which by the couenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to enioy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willing him to tell his father, that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* warre was euen ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians*, (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masanissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vsage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulnesse; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should bee vanquished; hee made none other account, than that all *Africke* round about him and *Carthage* therewithall should bee his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not beene vnmindfull of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behauiour. These Hee entertaind kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) he perceiued whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, vntill the *Bastarnæ* were thence gone; though he protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which they said (that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to any; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where hee did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subiects, vpon what occasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slue *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their gouernour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore vnlikely to haue presumed so farre, vnlesse either they had beene extremely prouoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoeuer it was that bred this courage in them: *Perseus* did soone allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the *Romans* tooke very angerly this presumption of the King: euen as if hee had inuaded some Countrie of their *Italian* confederates, and not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; wherto had he humbled once his necke, they could themselues haue done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betweene them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the *Greekes*, and generally all their adherents, euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equall termes: whom vsually they rewarded with a frowne, whensoeuer they presumed to right themselues by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience: whose cõfidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraordinarie

dinarie fauour at *Rome* cauſed them the more willingly to referre their cauſes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chaſtiſed the *Meſſenians* by warre; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking ſuch a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threats, when they tooke vpon them to carry any buſineſſe of importance, by their owne power, without ſtanding vnto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who neuertheleſſe, vpon ſubmiſsion, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their abſolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thriue; eſpecially in vſurping the practice of armes, which belonged only to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard leſſon, they were ſuch vntoward ſchollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very ſharp correction. Yet was there no ſmall part of blame to be imputed vnto their Maſters. For the *Roman* Senate, being deſirous to humble the *Achæans*; refuſed not onely to giue them ſuch aide as they requeſted, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a careleſſe inſolencie, reiected this honeſt and reaſonable petition, That the Enemie might not be ſupplied from *Italie*, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argiues*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians*, would reuolt from the *Achæans*; they themſelues would thinke it a buſineſſe no way concerning them. This was preſently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was beleeued, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much diſtreſſe; were it not vpheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithſtanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had vtterly ſubdued the *Meſſenians* far ſooner than was expected; and when as not onely no Towne rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entred into their corporation: then did the *Romans* with an ill-fauored grace, tell the ſame Embaſſadours, to whoſe petition they had made ſuch bad anſwere (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie) That they had ſtreightly forbidden all manner of ſuccour to be carried to *Meſſene*. Thus thinking, by a fained grauitie, to haue ſerued their owne turnes; they manifeſted their condition; both to ſet on the weaker, againſt the ſtronger and more ſuſpected; and alſo to aſſume vnto themſelues a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of warre, which diſſemblingly they would haue ſeemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make warre, whether offenſiue or defenſiue; though it were againſt meere ſtrangers; without interpoſing the authoritie of the Senate and People of *Rome*: vnleſſe peraduenture ſometimes they winked at ſuch violence, as did helpe towards the accompliſhment of their owne ſecret malice. Now theſe *Roman* arts how ſoeuer many (for gainfull or timerous reſpects) would ſeeme to vnderſtand them; yet were generally diſpleaſing vnto all men endued with free ſpirits. Onely the *Athenians*, once the moſt turbulent Citie in *Greece*, hauing neither ſubiects of their own that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into ſubiection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practiſe their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the moſt mighty. So they kept themſelues in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Mithridates*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquiſhed. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for thoſe other Common-weales and Kingdomes, that with ouer-nice diligence ſtroue to preſerue their liberties and lands, from conſuming by piece-meale: they were to be deuoured whole, and ſwallowed vp at once. Eſpecially the *Macedonian*, as the moſt vnpliant, and wherein many of the *Greekes* began to haue affiance, was neceſſarily to be made an example, how much better it were better to bow than to breake.

Polyb. legat. 51. & 53.

Neither

Neither *Perseus* nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greekes* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subiects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long since foretold; of the miserable subiection, Whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* patronage. Indeed they not onely perceiued the approching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselues grieued with the present subiection, wherto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselues none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countrie, and would for no ambition, or other seruile respect, bee flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soone bee at an end; when honestie and loue of the Commonweale, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this carefull prouision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly aduertised: eyther because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadours, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or becausse little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traytors (of whom euery Citie in *Greece* had too many) as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truely; or perhaps because the Embassadours themselues, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to send Embassadours to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man; one may perceiue the aduantage, which mischieuous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, haue against the plaine sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselues into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that hee chose much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alleadging what was meeteſt in iustification of his people: he vttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppresse both the *Achæans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a farre more heauy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the settling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a custome, to stand vpon points of confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee had in regard; any iniunction from *Rome* notwithstanding. Hence grew it, that the *Achæans* both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselues, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindred, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if He, and some other of his opinion, might haue their wils: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columes or Monuments erected, nor no solemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obseruance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrarie. But it was euen the fault of the *Romans* themselues, That the multitude refused to giue eare vnto such perswasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which vndertooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming neuer so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase

increaſe apace, and they became the preualent faction. It was therfore ſtrange, how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the aduancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* maieſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greekes*: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert; onely for hauing vttered ſome braue words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers*, hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their partie ſtrong; reſolued to follow this good counſaile, in euery point; yea to depreſſe all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet vp their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had bin their maner in former times; but wrote at the preſent vnto all Cities of *Greece*; requiring them to ſee that their mandate (which was concerning the reſtitution of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Lacedæmon*) ſhould bee fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callicrates*; they aduiſed all men, to be ſuch, and ſo affected, as hee was, in their ſeueral common-weales. With this diſpatch, *Callicrates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himſelfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheleſſe he forbore to vant himſelfe, of his eloquence vſed in the Senate. Onely he ſo reported his Embaſſage, that all men became feare- full of the danger, wherewith hee threatned thoſe that ſhould preſume to oppoſe the *Romans*. By ſuch arts hee obtained to be made Pretor of the *Achæans*: in which Magiſtracie, as in all his courſes following, he omitted nothing, that might ſerue to manifeſt his ready obſequiouſnes vnto thoſe whom he had made his Patrons. *Polyb. Legat. 58.*

Now as the *Romans* by threatning termes wan many flatterers, and loſt as many true friends: ſo *Perſeus* on the other ſide, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promiſes, to aſſure vnto himſelfe thoſe that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeſter than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* diſtracted with factions: ſome holding with the *Romans*; ſome with the *Macedonian*; and ſome few, reſpecting only the good of the Eſtates, where- in they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not ſufferable, That a King, no better than their vaſſall, ſhould dare to become head of a faction againſt them. This therefore muſt be reckoned in the number of his treſpaſſes: wherof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, ſhall affoord them iuſt occaſion to make war vpon him. *Perſeus* hauing finiſhed his buſineſſe among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his temple at *Delphi*. He tooke his armie along with him; yet went, and returned, in ſuch peaceable and friendly wiſe, that no place was the worſe for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increaſed therby. With thoſe that were in his way, he dealt himſelfe; to ſuch as lay further off, he ſent Embaſſadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of al wrongs whatſoeuer, done by his father, might be buried with his fa- ther; ſince his own meaning was to hold friendſhip ſincerely with all his neighbors. The *Romans* perhaps could haue beene pleaſed better, if he had behaued himſelfe after a contrary faſhion, and done ſome acts of hoſtilitie in his paſſage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken ſuch a journey, without their licence; this alſo was made a valuable matter, and caſt into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the *Achæans*: which his father had ſo loſt, that by a ſolemne decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealouſie perhaps, no leſſe than hatred, which cauſed them, at the firſt, to make ſuch a decree. For how ſoeuer *Philip* had by many vile acts, eſpecially by the death of the two *Arati*, giuen them cauſe to abhor him: yet in the publike adminiſtration of their eſtate, he had, for the more part, been to them ſo beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall conſent, they reſolued to forſake him. Wherfore it was need- full, euen for preſeruation of concord among them, to vſe al circumſpection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, to-

wards

wards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselues suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of warre, and when all danger of innouation was past; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leauing meanes of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdome of *Macedon*: yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should aduenture thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ran daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaues very profitable vse. But *Perseus* took hold vpon this occasion: as fitly seruing to pacifie those, whose enmitie faine he would haue changed into loue. He therefore apprehended all these fugitiues, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the *Achæans*, That as for good will vnto them, he had taken paines to restore back their seruants; so should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily vnderstood, and his letters kindely accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Pretor, before the Councell. But *Callicrates* tooke the matter very angerly; and bade them be aduised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithall he tooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* before-hand acquainted with the warre, that was comming vpon *Perseus* from *Rome*. Hee told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same warre; how *Demetrius* had beene made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly He rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alleaged by the *Romans*; the inuasion of the *Bastarnæ*, vpon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behauiour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he aduised them, to expect the euent of things, and not ouer-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answere was made by the Pretors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings cabbinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renued his league with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that He had louingly entertained their Embassadors. This being so: why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greekes*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanitie required? Neuertheless *Callicrates* was growne a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-stiffely gainesay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answere made the whilest, That since the King had onely sent a letter without any Embassadour; they knew not how to resolue. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and conuenient. But when *Perseus*, herewith not contented, would needs vrge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, & deny to giue audience: which was proofe sufficient (to one that could vnderstand) of the condition wherein they liued. For harkening to this aduice of *Callicrates*; they were soone after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended warre vpon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

Liuie lib.42.

§. V.

§. V.

How EVMENES *King of Pergamus was busied with* PHARNACES, *the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom hee accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The vnusuall stoutnesse of the Macedonian Embassadours.* PERSEVS *his attempt vpon* EVMENES. *The brotherly loue betweene* EVMENES *and* ATTALVS. PERSEVS *his deuice to poyson some of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the iustice of this warre.*

EVMENES King of *Pergamus* had beene troubled, about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates* his neighbours. He had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authoritie, would end the businesse, to his content. But *Polyb. Legat. 56. & 59.* in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the warre himselfe; and brought the Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this being at good leisure; hee began to consider, how the affaires of *Macedon* stood vnder *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore hee was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hæreditarie quarrell with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the *Greekes*, prodigal in that kinde, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax euery where stale: whilest *Perseus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuie borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignitie, Hee stirred vp the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found he, in these poore and indirect courses of reuenge. The *Lycians* could not be saued by his patronage, from seuere and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendred him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loued him before. As for his *Polyb. Legat. 74.* honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not onely continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Achæans*, as too vnmeasured, misbeseeming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deseruings. All this (which he needed not to haue regarded, had he not beene too vainely ambitious) befell him, especially for his being ouer-seruiceable to the *Romans*, and for his *Liuie lib. 42.* malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell, the libertie of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it vaine to striue any longer with bounty, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the generall fauor. And therfore he resolued euen to ouerturne the foundations of this Popularitie, by inducing the *Romans* vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The *Macedonian* Kingdome, which all so vainely worshipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather hee was like to bee highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdome, as he had beene rewarded, for the like seruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end, he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where though hee had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange nouelties, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of

of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*; that of *Perseus* himselfe against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*; the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*; his intermeddling in businesse of neighbours; his riches; and his great prouisions: were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only He descended vnto particulars, hauing searched into all (as hee professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee said, That *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and fiue thousand Horse of his owne; money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand mercinaries for ten yeeres; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great; The *Thracians* his friends at hand, readie, at a call, to bring him soldiours as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driuen, either to liue vpon spoile, or to take from his owne subiects. Herewithall Hee prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus* the sonne and successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had giuen his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*; and that these mariages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared Hee to tell them, (though seeming loth to vtter it plainely) That euen the enuie of their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either bee denied, or iustified (as that hee had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*; and that hee had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who inuaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie vnto the most: saying that he thought it his dutie to forewarne them; since it would bee to Himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italie* making warre vpon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleeue that the *Romans* stood in feare of *Perseus*, lest hee should set vpon them in *Italie*. Neuertheless forasmuch as they loued not to make warre without faire pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thankes were giuen to *Eumenes*, who had euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so, that He told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embassadours, or vpon tales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere Hee had committed any open act of hostilitie against them; their injustice, and oppression, would haue beene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible; that such a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from *Asia*, to bid them looke to themselues: who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and securitie? Toward this justification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto; their more then vsuall curiositie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, prouided of answeres to the words, which they knew beforehand that he would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to haue disclosed all: when the warinesse of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearefull apprehension; against which, it behooued their wisedome to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was giuen to the *Rhodian* Embassadours; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had euer been, and a prouoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pompe, conueighed by Sea vnto *Perseus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despightfully accepted.

cepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as alreadie vanquiſhed, were ſettling themſelues in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embaſſadours came from *Rome* with ſtrange newes, which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it ſtood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to aliene quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquiſhed; and that the *Lycians* were by them aſſigned vnto thoſe of *Rhodes*, not as meere vaſſals, but as dependants and aſſociates. For proofe hereof, they referred themſelues vnto the commentaries of the ten Embaſſadors, whom they had ſent to diſpoſe of things in *Aſia*, after the victorie againſt King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Maſaniſſa*, The *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Eſtates, that were beholding to *Rome* for increaſing the number of their ſubiects, had cauſe to find themſelues agrieued if they well conſidered the matter: ſince by force of this or the like decree, thoſe their ſubiects might eaſily be made their fellowes, whenſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe the Senate: though it were ſo, that all men knew the preſent meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians*, for their good will to *Perſeus*, by ſetting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therfore ſee no reaſon to diſlike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embaſſadours; which indeed more neerely touched themſelues. Rather they honoured the King ſo much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conſpired againſt him, becauſe of his loue to *Rome*.

Polyb. Legat. 60 & 61.

Liu. lib. 41.

But the *Macedonian* Embaſſage they heard not ſo careleſſely as angrily: though peraduenture it well contented them to find cauſe of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuſes: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perſeus* deſired much to giue them ſatisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might ſauour of hoſtilitie; but that, if his trauaile in this kind proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himſelfe by armes, and ſtand to the chance of warre, which often falles out contrarie to expectation. Theſe big words may ſeeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embaſſadors; rather than from inſtruction giuen by the King, with whoſe faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reaſon, why *Perſeus* himſelfe might, at this time, thinke to ſpeed better by a ſhew of daring, than he was like to doe by any ſubmiſſion. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now caſt vpon him, as on the greateſt hope of deliuerance from the *Roman* ſeruitude; it was not expedient, that he ſhould leſſen, or perhaps vtterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by diſcouering his too much weakeneſſe of ſpirit, vnanſwerable to a worke of ſuch importance. Wherefore He, or his Embaſſadour for him, was bold to ſet a good countenance on a game not very bad, but ſubiect (in appearance) to Fortune; which might haue beene his, had he knowne how to vſe it.

Now that this braueric (as better it may bee termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heat; it appeares by his daring to aduenture ſoone after, on a practice that more iuſtly might anger the *Romans*, and giue them fairer ſhew of reaſon to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there doe ſacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perſeus* deadly hating him, and thirſting after his bloud, reſolued to way-lay him, and by making there of him a ſacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a moſt miſchieuous enemie. So there were appointed three or foure ſtout ruffians to do the murder: who placing themſelues behind a broken mud wall, on the ſide of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence aſſault the King; whom they ſorely bruiſed with great ſtones, and left for dead. They might haue finiſhed their worke; ſuch was the opportunitie of the place which they had choſen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without ſtaying to ſee all ſure, flee in ſuch haſte, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, becauſe he ſhould not diſcouer them. *Eumenes* was conueighed away to the little Iſle of *Ægina*,

gina, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as king, and either took or would haue taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of state) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom hee then thought the widdow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aliue home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, receiued none other checke, than *that Hee should forbeare to marrie with the Queene, vntill Hee were well assured of the Kings death*. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especiall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of *Pergamus* raysed and vpheld: as might also that of *Macedon* haue beene, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saued all from discouerie. But as hee was deceiued in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was He beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement; which hee vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For He had written to one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertaine the men whom he sent about this busines: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a *Roman* Embassador then attending vpon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundusium*: who comming newly from the court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous secret; had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. *Brundusium* was the ordinary Port, for ships passing betweene *Italie* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein he gaue entertainment, being a wealthie man, to Embassadours, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, iourneying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitalitie, he was commended to *Perseus*, and inuited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadours, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secrets. The summe of all was, That he must needs doe a turne, in giuing to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare qualitie, sure in operation, yet not to be perceiued either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare lest the vertue of this medicine should bee tryed vpon himselfe. But being once at libertie, he discouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had neuer seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the accusatiō was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiections were not to bee made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulnesse of making war vpon him; but rather vnto a subiect pleading for his life in judgment. But howsoeuer the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might haue bin easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suteable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such priuate offences, it gaue him no priuiledge: they judging him to haue offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if hee might

might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if Hee might not ſend men, to waſte the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to beſiege the Towns: might he ſend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no leſſe breach of the league to deſtroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the ſword: was it lawfull for him to doe it by Poyſon? Wherefore they preſently decreed warre againſt him; and ſent Embaſſadours to denounce it vnto him, vnleſſe hee would yeeld to make ſuch amends as they ſhould require. He ſeemes at this time to haue been ſo confident in the generall fauour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances; that if he deſired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at leaſt he thought by ſhew of courage, to make his enemies the more calme. He cauſed the Embaſſadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe; and bade them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearſall of all matters, which they had long been collecting againſt him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding therto, that He had entertained long and ſecret conference in the Ile of *Samothrace*, with Embaſſadours ſent to him out of *Aſia*, about ſome ill purpoſe. In regard of all which they peremptorily required ſatisfaction; as was their maner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue ſtood vpon the euidence, brought againſt him by *Rummius* and *Praxo*. For if thoſe accuſations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground wheron to build: of which otherwiſe they were deſtitute; it being no fault in a King, to bee ſtrong, welbeloued, and well friended. *Perſeus* anſwered, for the preſent, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, Greedy, Proud, Inſolent, & vnderminers of him by their daily Embaſſadors, that were no better then meere ſpies. Finally, hee promiſed to giue them in writing their ful anſwere: which was to this effect; That he would no longer ſtand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by himſelfe indeed onely for feare: but wiſhed them to deſcend to more equall conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would aduiſe, as they might alſo doe for theirs.

In the forme of the league betweene *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is ſet downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconuenience in the future; excepting thoſe which he immediatly performed. But *Liuie* inſerts a clauſe, whereby hee was expreſly forbidden, to make any warre abroad, without leaue of the *Romans*. It is moſt likely, that all the *Roman* confederats were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring ſhortly into league with *Rome*, did ſo binde the Kings hands, that hee could no more make warre abroad, than if hee had been reſtrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that ſeeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by conſequence. Now if the *Romanes* would vrge this point further, and ſay, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defenſiue armes, without their permiſſion: then had *Perſeus* very iuſt reaſon to finde himſelfe agrieued. For ſince they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in *Thrace*, (whileſt they themſelues were vnacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elſewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why ſhould they now interpret the bargaine after another faſhion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chaſtiſe his owne Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that inuaded *Macedon*? By ſuch allegations hee maintained the right of his cauſe, in very milde ſort; when it was too late. At the preſent, by diſclaiming the league as vniuſt; hee miniſtred occaſion vnto the Embaſſadours, to giue him defiance. Hauing heard the worſt of their meſſage; hee commanded them to be gone out of his kingdome in three dayes. But either hee ſhould haue been leſſe vehement, or more conſtant in his reſolution. For if his heart could ſerue him to vndertake the warre; hee ſhould couragiouſly haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediatly, whileſt the Enemie was vnprepared; not haue loſt opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worſe peace than the former.

Polyb. Legat. 9.

Liu. lib. 33.

§. VI.

The Romans sollicit the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the Warre against PERSEVS. *How the Greekes stood affected in that Warre. The timorousnesse of* PERSEVS. MARTIVS *a Roman Embassadour deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. Hee takes the field, and winnes part of Thessalie. The forces of* LICINIVS *the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romanes had in this Warre. Of Tempe in Thessalie; and what aduantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but lost by his feare.* PERSEVS *braues the Romanes; fights with them; knowes not how to vse his victorie; sues for Peace; and is denied it by the vanquished.* PERSEVS *hauing the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Bœotians rebell against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders vnfortunate in the warre against* PERSEVS. *They vexe the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes prouision, hauing heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the *Romans* beene seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* warre, that well they might haue been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde-hand in prouisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reason to beleeue, that their owne strength was such as would preuaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the *Greekes*, and others; who must afterwards dearely pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeede any cause to feare, that all of the *Greekes* or other Easterne people should conspire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: such was the dissension betweene their seuerall estates; how soeuer the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Neuertheless Embassadours were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in warres pretending the liberty of *Greece*. The Embassadours vsed as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the *Greekes* were now growne well acquainted with such *Roman* courtesie: and vnderstood, that not onely such as made refusall, but euen they who might seeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly; were like to heare other manner of words, when once this businesse was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the *Romans*; * the *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duetie. It is strange, that men could bee so earnest to set vp the side, whereof they gladly would haue seene the ruine. The vulgar sort was euery where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to *Perseus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number, *Polybius* the chiefe of Historians was one: who though Hee * iudged the victorie of *Perseus*, like to proue hurtfull vnto *Greece*; yet wished hee the *Romanes* ill to thriue, that so the *Greekes* might recouer perfect libertie: for his endeuours in which course, hee was at length tyrannically handled, as shall bee shewed hereafter. This considered, it appeares, that

* *Polyb. Legat.* 73. 78. & 80.

* *Polyb. Legat.* 77.

that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperiall Cit e, made the *Achæans* and other Estates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occasion of this their feare, may be iustly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of *Perseus* himselfe. He had vndertaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but vnto all that were oppressed by the *Romans*. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speake the enemie faire, and sue for peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was knowne, that euery small thing would serue to terrifie him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the *Romans* power, by giuing him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leisure vpon those which had assisted him: little cause was there, why any should aduenture to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few townes; and soliciting all to ioyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, hee sought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the *Roman* Embassadors. *Q. Martius*, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more fineneſſe in cunning than was vsuall among the *Romans*; made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conueniently bee done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was, to make the King loſe time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readines, and might haue done much, ere the *Roman* army could haue been in *Greece*. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffred a most conuenient season, of winning vpon the enemie, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bin with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodians*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators; to compound the differences betweene him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodneſſe of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poore helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honor, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the vtmost of his ambition. This his fearefulnes might seeme excusable, and the blame therof to appertaine vnto the *Greekes*; who deceiued his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a neceſſity, that was partly their own: had it not bin his office, who tooke vpon him as their Champion, to giue such a manly beginning to the war, as might incourage al others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more auerse from him; and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seeme to do against the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* also, who had entred of late into a strict societie with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a sort, they yeelded thēselues as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission vnder a generall forme; but caused their seuerall townes to make couenant apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little common-weales, they might not (were they neuer so desirous to rebell) haue such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Bœotians*

from *Thebes* their head; was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, than when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more auailable to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few braue Citizens; than was the ſocietie with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whileſt the King ſate ſtill, as being bound by the truce: and hauing done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what hee had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproued it as diſhoneſt) employed againe by the Senate, with commiſſion to deale as hee ſhould thinke expedient. Touching the Embaſſadours which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was giuen to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded: but neither excuſe, nor intreatie, would ſerue their turne; the Senate being reſolued before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirty dayes reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the walles, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the vſuall place of giuing audience to open Enemies, or to ſuch Commanders, as might not, by reaſon of ſome cuſtome, enter the Citie) and had onely the ſhort warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courteſie ſerue alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if hee had meant none other than good earneſt: but it was a likely mean, both to keepe a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſſe, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when hee ſhould need it moſt firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius*, the *Roman* Conſul, was at *Apollonia*, in a maner as ſoone, as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to haue rouzed *Perſeus*, and haue made him lay aſide all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was hee content to deliberate awhile, Whether it were not better to offer himſelfe tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeeme their good will with ſome part of his Kingdome, that ſo he might enioy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſel preuailed; which alſo was the wiſeſt, and ſo would haue proued, had it been ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now began, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what ſhould haue bin done long afore. He cauſed all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendeuous at *Citium*, a towne in *Macedon*. All being in readines, he did royall ſacrifice, with an hundred beaſts, to I know not what *Minerua*, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His armie he found conſiſting of nine and thirty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe: whereof about twelue thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, were ſtrangers, of ſundry Nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt his owne *Macedonians*. Theſe hee animated with liuely ſpeeches; laying before them the glory of their anceſtors, the inſolencie of the *Romans*, the goodneſſe of his cauſe, the greatneſſe of his prouiſions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemie, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him cheerefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe meſſengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their ſeuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks: but anſwered, That his owne prouiſions would abundantly ſuffice, willing them only to furniſh him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he iſſued forth into *Theſſalie*: knowing that the *Romans* were to paſſe through that Countrey, in their iourney towards him. Some Townes of *Theſſalie* opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themſelues; ſome he balked, thinking them too ſtrong or well manned; and ſome he wanne by force. Of theſe laſt was *Mylæ*; a towne thought impregnable, and therefore, not more ſtoutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the aſſailants. It was taken by reaſon of a ſally; which

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the Townesmen rashly made, and being driuen backe, receiued the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All crueltie of warre was practised heere: to the greater terror of the obstinate. So *Velatia* and *Connus* (townes of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the streights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yeelded at the first. Hauing well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sycurium*, a towne seated on the foot of mount *Ossa*; where hee rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemie.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes*, and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessalie*, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of *Greece*, such aide as the seuerall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad; *Masanissa* sent thither his sonne *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to *Rome* his yong sonne, there to bee brought vp: yet hee did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe began within awhile, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had beene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemie* (though *Ptolemie* was then yong, and vnder Tutors) had busines of their owne; the *Syrian* meaning to inuade the *Ægyptian*: yet each of them promised helpe to the *Romans*, which they cared not to performe. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*: yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for feare. It was a prettie tricke, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfeit good will. This king had foure and fiftie shippes, riding in the hauen of *Dyrrachium*, vncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* tooke away, after a very kind sort; making shew to beleeue, That for none other ende than to serue the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoeuer *Gentius* thought in the beginning; hee foolishly lost both his kingdome and himselfe, in the ende of this warre; by offering, rather then giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what hee brought ouer the sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessalie*: so tyred with a painfull iourney, through the mountainous country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had beene ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the *Romans* must needs haue taken a great ouerthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolued, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The land of *Thessalie*, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as hauing beene freed by them from a more heauie yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly ful of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines, *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poësie) with their Spurres or branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessalie*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; vnlesse they would make an hungrie iourney, thorow the countrey of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into *Tempe*: though farre

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greater he might haue had, if by misspending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worse; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) euery yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might haue done far greater things, had hee seized vpon the streights of *Aous*, which his father once kept, and defended all the countrie behinde the Mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreme difficultie, must the *Romans* haue either trauelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needefull, vnto the mercie of seas that were very dangerous; if they would haue sought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: vpon neither of which courses they once deuised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any place, too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Aetolians*, vpon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into suspition with the *Romans* (as we shall finde anon) euen as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The *Boeotians*, how politikely soeuer *Martius* had wrought with them, aduentured themselues desperately in the *Macedonians* quarrell: what would they haue done, if hee at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after awhile began to wauer, when they saw things goe better with *Perseus*, then they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as hee might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head. then might the *Romans* perhaps haue bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer *Greece*; and to render the libertie, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this warre, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue beene expected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some riuer stay their flight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such actes, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue wonne the victorie: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that war, whereof hee should haue sought the honour; hee left his friends that would haue stood by him, and gaue them cause to prouide for their owne safetie: yet being ouertaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his back to the mountaines of *Tempe*, and defend himselfe with his proper forces; than to bee driuen into such miserie, as was ineuitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessalie*, it is hard to shew particularly; for that the historie of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were arriued; kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the Riuer of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time; did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Wherefore hee inuited the *Romans* into the field; by wasting the land of the *Pheraeans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduenture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victorie his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselues to bee safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*,

manes, found it reaſonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, awhile together, *Perſeus* continued offring battaile: which they ſtill refuſed. Hereby his boldneſſe much increaſed; and much more, his reputation: to the griefe of thoſe, who being ſo farre come to make a Conqueſt, could ill digeſt the ſhame, that fell vpon them by their enduring theſe brauadoes. The towne of *Sycurium*, where *Perſeus* then lay, was twelue miles from the *Romanes*: neither was there any conuenient watering in that long march, which vſed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirſtie when they came to fight. For remedie of theſe inconueniences, he found out a lodging, ſeuen miles neerer to the enemie: whom he viſited the next day by the Sunne riſing. His comming at ſuch an vnuſuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in ſo much as though hee brought with him onely his horſe and light armature, that were vnfit to aſſaile the trenches, yet the Conſull thought it neceſſary, and reſolued to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore he ſent foorth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horſe, his Velites, and all the reſt of his light armature to trie their fortune: he himſelfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readineſſe. The honor of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victorie in a manner entire, (though the *Theſſalians* made a good retrait) with little loſſe of his owne. But he diſcouered his weakneſſe ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counſaile giuen by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great feare leſt he ſhould aſſault their Campe; and to that purpoſe, vpon the firſt newes of his ſucceſſe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnſent for: he neuertheleſſe tooke it for ſound aduice, which indeed was timorous and baſe, To worke warily, and moderate his victorie; by which meanes it was ſaid, that either he ſhould get honeſt conditions of peace, or at leaſtwiſe many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater, and had he wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would haue been the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in ſuing for it, euen when he had the victory, what elſe did he, than proclaim vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune ſhould keepe him from yeelding to the *Romans*, whenſoeuer they would be pleaſed to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victory would admit none of theſe conſiderations. Hee had ſlaine of the *Roman* horſe two hundred, and taken of them priſoners the like number. Of their foot he had ſlaine about two thouſand: loſing of his owne no more than twenty horſe and fortie foot. The *Roman* Campe, after this diſaſter, was full of heauineſſe and feare: it being much doubted that the enemie would ſet vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counſaile to diſlodge by night, and remooue to a ſurer place beyond the Riuer *Peneus*. The Conſul, though aſhamed to profeſſe, by ſo doing, in what feare he ſtood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loſſe paſt, than by ſtanding on proud tearmes, to drawe vpon himſelfe a greater calamitie. So he paſſed the Riuer in the dead of the night, and encamped more ſtrongly on the further ſide. The *Ætolians* were ſorely blamed for this loſſe: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occaſioned their flight, wherein the reſt of the *Greekes* followed them. Fiue of them, that were men of eſpeciall marke, had been obſerued to be the firſt which turned their backes: an obſeruation likely to coſt them deare, at a time of better leiſure. As for the *Theſſalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: ſo as the *Greekes* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they ſhould ſhunne indignation, or incurre fauour, then muſt they aduenture no leſſe for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne libertie. Thus fared it with the Conſul and his armie. *Perſeus* came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, hee not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of ſafety; whither they could neuer

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haue attained, if the King had either preſſed his victory, or giuen better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being ſufficient to haue rowted them, whileſt they were conueying themſelues to the other ſide of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might haue been done, ſince there was no remedie. The *Romans* were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were choſen their Senators, and conſequently the Generals themſelues, Pretors, Conſuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten ſo ſhamefully, that they ſtole away by night, and ſuffered him to gather vp the ſpoyles of them without reſiſtance, as yeelding themſelues ouercome. With ſuch braue words did the King ſet out the glory of his action; diuiding the ſpoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor ſound. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopſelus*, a place in the mid-way betweene *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*: as if it were his meaning to preſſe them ſomewhat harder. Neuertheleſſe hee was eaſily perſwaded to vſe the occaſion, which he ſeemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore he ſent vnto the Conſul, and offered to yeeld vnto the ſame Conditions, wherein his father had beene bound to the *Romans*; if the war might ſo take end. It were needleſſe here againe to ſhew the folly of this his courſe. Towards the accompliſhment of this deſired peace, there was in the Conſul no greater power than to grant a truce, whileſt Embaſſadours might goe to *Rome*: it reſting in the Senate and People to approue the conditions, and ratifie the league. And of ſuch a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no ſmal diſcommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned anſwere, That other hope of peace there was none; ſaue that *Perſeus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and perſon, ſimply and abſolutely, to diſcretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius*, to be ſo reſolute in aduerſitie. On the other ſide, it argued a very faint heart in *Perſeus*, that hauing receiued an anſwere ſo peremptory, hee ſtill perſiſted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he ſo much deſired, could not be purchaſed with money, the King withdrew himſelfe backe to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemie did; whoſe forces were well repaired by the comming of *Miſagenes* the ſonne of *Maſaniſſa*, with the aid before mentioned. This diſtance betweene the King and them, cauſed the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their harueſt: about which buſineſſe they ranged ouer all the fields. Their careleſſe demeanour gaue him hope to doe ſome notable exploit: which hee attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon thoſe that were abroad. The Campe he thought to haue fired on the ſudden: but the alarme being taken in good ſeaſon, hee failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand vpon them, if he could haue withdrawne it, and giuen ouer in time. But whileſt he ſtroue to force a guard, he was viſited by the Conſul; by whom either in a skirmiſh of horſe, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was ouercome. This miſaduenture, whether great or ſmall, cauſed *Perſeus*, after a few daies, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was; whereby what loſſe he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, ſaue onely *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and conſequently an eaſie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went ſtraight vnto *Connus*; hoping to haue taken it, and ſo to haue gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned backe vpon the *Perrhæbians* and others; from whom he wanne ſome townes, and among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry townes thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſull tooke, may ſeeme not to haue belonged vnto the *Theſſalians*; vnleſſe, perhaps, after his victory, *Perſeus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſalie*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to giue a preciſe account; for that the hiſtories of them are greatly defectiue. One may thinke it ſtrange, that the *Bœtians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his owne

owne will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* armie, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Nauie on their coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of *Martius*; were more true to *Rome*, than other pettie townes, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelues more abſolute, than formerly they had beene. The cauſes hereof were to haue beene ſought among the changes happening in their variable factions: wherof the knowledge is now loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got ſo much by ſpoiling them, that he would haue brought others to rebell in like ſort, if by extreme oppreſsion hee could haue driuen them ſo farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſul vndiligent in the ſame kinde. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is ſaid in generall; That in the warre which he made, he * cruelly and couetouſly demeaned himſelfe. * *Liu.lib.43.*

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, and *Hortenſius* the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtrie, in picking quarrels with the confederats of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the warre againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* warre vpon his kingdome, after that the Conſul had ſought paſſage in vaine ouer certaine mountaines, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a manner, * free from it. He was troubled indeed on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſul ſent thither with an armie of foure thouſand, and who, by leauies made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his armie. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken *Vſcana*, a border towne of *Illyria*, by treaſon, came thither in ſuch careleſſe order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of treaſon, with purpoſe onely to traine him into danger; ſalied foorth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chaſed him ſo farre, that hardly hee eſcaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Vſcana* ſhortly after became *Roman*: which howſoeuer it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoone recouered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys*, a *Thracian* king, ſecuring him on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirote*, reuolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perſeus* likewiſe made a painefull iourney into *Ætolia*: where hee was promiſed to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Roman* faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe throughly beaten by *Cleuas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such ſucceſſe had the *Macedonian* war vnder *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſul offended much the *Greekes*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadours made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadors trauelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, gaue out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and maine to aduance their buſines, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his ſonne *Polybius*, who ſoone after was Generall of the *Achæan* horſe, but more notable by that excellent hiſtorie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which hee well and honourably diſcharged. The ſumme of the accuſation ſhould haue beene; That theſe were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But ſince no colour of truth could bee found, that might giue countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, and giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Councell that approoued the motion: as alſo among the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to haue *Roman* garriſons beſtowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction; accuſed not only ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, * *Polyb.Legat. 70.* *Polyb.Legat.74.*

donian, but also the good *Patriotes*; making it no lesse than a matter of treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thankes of their base flatterie; rating them openly in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, euen in presence of the Embassadours. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselues, as men that could beleeue none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and published, to this effect: That it should bee free for all men, to refuse obedience to any *Roman* Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vnlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. Of this decree the whole countrie was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedie of many inconueniences. But they that standing on priuiledge hereof, refused to fulfill euery commandement, were numbered among the *Patriotes*; which in the end of this warre, prooued little better, if not worse, than to haue been Traytours. The Senate was driuen to set downe this order; by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magistrates, and especially by the Admiralls, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great summe of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loued not to haue their subiects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seeke redresse of iniuries, or to offer their seruices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a towne of the lesser *Asia*, there was presented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flatterie. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred horsemens targets; and a crowne of gold, to bestow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a desire to gratifie the *Romans* with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would bee singular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the Towne *Rome*, and appointed anniuersarie games to bee celebrated among them, in honour of that *Goddesse*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemie*, and the like vaine men, that would bee thought gods; or at the shamelesse flatterie of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, diuine honours; when hee sees a Towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a Goddesse, and receiuing (without scorne of the giuers, or shame of the present) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

§. VII.

Q. MARTIVS *the Roman Conſul, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of* PERSEVS *in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by* MARTIVS; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill ſucceſſe. Their affaires in hard eſtate.* MARTIVS *a cunning and a bad man.* POLYBIVS *ſent Embaſſador to* MARTIVS *from the Achaans.* POLYBIVS *his honeſt wiſdome beneficiall to the Achaans. King* EVMENES *growes auerſe from the Romans.* PERSEVS *negotiates with* ANTIOCHVS *and* EVMENES. *His falſe dealing with* GENTIVS *King of Illyria; whom hee drawes into the Roman warre. He ſends Embaſſadors to the Rhodians; who vainely take vpon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romans.* PERSEVS *loſeth a mightie ſuccour of the Baſtarna, by his wretched parſimonie.*

AFter two yeares of the *Macedonian* warre, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the warre began; which had been thought likely to reforme all thoſe Countries, and bring them to what paſſe the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he liued in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the war might proue, and therupon to become wiſe for themſelues. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius* and *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the other ſpent their time in vaine, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conqueſt, by many loſſes receiued. The *Roman* Admiralls had ſo demeaned themſelues, that many towns, euē of the beſt affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Romans* ſide; and the armie much leſſened, not only by caſualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſul himſelfe (for they laid the blame one vpon the other) in licencing the ſouldiers to depart. *Quintus Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded vnto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which neuertheleſſe was more then he knew how to doe: though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. He began hotly to ſet the warre on foot, which a long time had ſlept. And he began the right way: not ſeeking to force the ſtreights that were ſurely garded, but taking paines to clime the mountaines which were thought able to forbid all paſſage ouer them, without helpe or need of any cuſtodie. The King heard of his approch; and being vncertaine what way he meant to take, diſtributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his iourney: with hope, either not to be diſcouered by the Enemie, or to breake through all oppoſition, or at leaſt wiſe, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they ſhould haue that lay to ſtop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him foure thouſand of his moſt expedit foot, to diſcouer the wayes. Two dayes was this company troubled, in ouercomming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had ſight of the Enemie, that lay to deny their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe peece of ground; and ſent backe word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten vnto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmayed at his arriuall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together, each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little loſſe on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue ſcarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe, it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* tooke the onely courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend vpon the *Macedonians*: whileſt he,

with the reſt, fetcht a compaſſe about, and ſought out wayes that neuer had beene troden. Herein he found extreame difficultie: which notwithſtanding he ouercame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch iourneyes, through places vnfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea where Nature might ſeeme to haue intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteepe he found the diſcent of the mountaines, in this way which he took: that of ſeuen miles, which they trauelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themſelues downe; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with rockes, that ſtood one ouer another, ſo vpright, and cumberſome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddie proſpect, and caſting their gouernours, made a terrible noiſe, which affrighted the horſes, and bred great confuſion. Hauing therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grieuous iourney; there was nothing more deſired by the ſouldiours, then that they might be ſuffered to creepe backe againe, the ſame way which they had come. But ſhift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other ſuſtained by two long poſtes, faſtened in the ground below. Vpon theſe two poſtes, or poles, which indeed (not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould be either cut or broken) were faſtned two rafters, anſwerable in length to the diſtance, between the higher & the lower fall: ſo as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. Theſe were couered with plankes and turfe; that they might ſeeme continent with the ground; ſo to make the beaſts aduenturous, to goe vpon them. If there were a Plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretie way, vpon one of theſe; the poſtes vpholding the frame were cut aſunder; therby cauſing him to ſincke down vnto the next bridge; whence he was conueyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill, to the very bottome. Thus went they downe ſliding, ſome on their feet, others on their buttockes, till they came to an euen valley. By this it appeares, how throughly prouided the *Romans* vſed to be in their iourneyes, of things needfull in all occaſions: as alſo what ineſtimable paines they tooke in this deſcent, about the conueyance of themſelues and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they reſted; ſtaying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, ſhould haue ouertaken them, if the Enemie had followed, and ſet vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies iourneyes were like vnto the firſt: ſaue that cuſtome, and the neareneſſe to their wayes end without meeting enemie, cauſed them the better to endure the labour.

Perſeus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* comming towards him: ſince they fought with his men vpon the paſſage, three daies together; he lying ſo nigh, that he might welneare haue heard the noiſe. Yet was he ſo poſſeſſed with feare; that he neither ſtirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Conſul, nor made any prouiſion for that which might fall out; but as one void of counſaile, ſate hearkening after the euent. Foure onely paſſages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the firſt by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were vnable to force: the ſecond and third were the ſame which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the laſt, by the Citie of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All theſe were ſufficiently guarded: and whoſoeuer would ſeeke any other way, muſt be faine to take ſuch paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer then any of the reſt: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, ſaue through the valley it ſelfe, into which they muſt firſt pierce another way. *Dium* ſtood vpon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the ſea: of which mile, the riuer *Helicon* becomming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, tooke vp the one halfe; the reſt being ſuch as might eaſily haue beene fortified. Beſides all theſe, there was in the middeſt of *Tempe*, a paſſage which ten men might eaſily keepe: where

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the ſpurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neare to the verie banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more eaſie, than to make the Conſul repent him of his troubleſome iourney: if *Perſeus* could haue ſeene his owne aduantages. For the *Roman* armie was not only in ill caſe to fight, after the vexation of that miſerable trauell: but muſt needs haue either periſhed for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the ſame way that it came, if the King had made good the ſtreight of *Dium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants and carriages, againſt thoſe rockes, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it ſeemes a matter of impoſſibilitie: eſpecially conſidering, how the enemy from aboue their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they ſtole away from him. It may therefore be thought ſtrange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their iourney into *Macedon*, from the ſide of *Illyria*, whence that kingdome had often bin inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themſelues to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were there arriued, there was no meanes to eſcape, without forcing one of thoſe paſſages, which they deſpaired to winne. But the cowardize of *Perſeus*, did commend the counſaile by them followed, as wiſe. For he no ſooner heard that the Enemie was come ouer the mountaines into *Tempe*; then he fared like one out of his wits; ſaying, That he was vanquiſhed, and had loſt all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haſte; and ſtraightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the ſame vehemencie of amazement, he ſent a ſtrait commandement to *Theſſalonica*, that the Arſenall there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the ſea: as if the *Romans* were like preſently to be maſters of theſe two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drowne the treaſure, performed it haſtily as wel as he could: though ſoone after, his maſter grew ſorie for the loſſe; and it was all, in a manner, recouered by Diuers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet fire on the Kings Arſenall, deferred the execution; foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo he preuented the dammage. Whether *Niceas*, for his abſolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull prouidence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of their ſeruice was this. *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haſtie direction; cauſed them both to be ſlaine. Alſo thoſe poore men, which had fetcht his treaſure out of the ſea by their diuing, were payd their wages after the ſame ſort: that ſo there might be no witnes of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they feare, who are priuie to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would haue gone ſurely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo royally haue behaued himſelfe, that no man might beleeue him to be the author of any vnworthy act or counſaile. But his vertue was of no ſuch capacitie. He thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had ſtopped the Conſul on the top of the mountaine) and *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; ſaying, that they had betraied vnto the Enemie the gates and barres of *Macedon*. Of this reproch, if they would diſcharge themſelues, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue ſped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Conſul *Martius* had great cauſe to reioyce, for that the King ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of *Tempe*, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the *Roman* armie, this notwithſtanding was hardly able to ſubſiſt, for want of victuals. He tooke *Dium* without reſiſtance; & thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein hauing trauelled about a dayes iourney, and gotten one towne that yeeled, he was compelled, by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Theſſalie*. His fleet came to him, in this time of neceſſitie, well appointed to haue holpen him

in the war: but hauing left behinde, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the prouisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been carefull to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those waies onely might corne be brought into the army. To meet the sooner with this corne, which was desirously expected; he forsooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh iourney (if not worse then fooliſh) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had bin worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines: for otherwise it had bin madnes to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly prouided, as that without enforcement, or sight of the Enemie, he should be faine to quite it. Howsoeuer it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it most behoued him to haue prosecuted the action.

By vnderstanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himselfe; vnderstood his owne error; sought to hide it by such poore means as haue bin shewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the *Romans*. This done; he encamped strongly by the riuer *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely vsed, would haue bin enough, not onely to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him such a noble victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seeke a good end of the war vpon faire conditions, & not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recouery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the towne of *Heraclea*, standing on the riuer of *Peneus*, fiue miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climing vpon mens heads, somewhat after the maner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could; and was not giuen vp for feare. After this *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care being to prouide for his wintering. He sent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the sea-townes, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias* and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundrie times aduentured forth of the towne, were still put to the worse. As for the towne it selfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engins, which shot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherfore the Admiral setting saile from thence, ranne along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing neare to each of them, and both doing and receiuing hurt) vntill he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twentie ships of warre: and fiue other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this accesse of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the town: which while the *Romans* were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the bank. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town wal filled vp with that earth, and couered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the towne, by sapping the wals. To this worke he appointed such as hee thought meetest: giuing an alarme to the other side of the town, therby to shadow his attempt, the breach was soon made. But whilest the *Romans* were shouting for ioy, & ordering themselues for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceiued what was done; & salying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they slew about six hundred & suffred few to escape vnwounded. This disaster, & the want of good succesſe on that part of the towne which king *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the meane while entring the towne by sea) caused the siege to breake vp. *Torone* was the next place which

which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewiſe he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias:* whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with ſuch forces, as were not only ſufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed ſiege to it, but to keepe the land about it from ſpoyle; or at leaſt (as they did) to make the enemie pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his iourney to *Demetrias*, by *Meliboea*; whether the Conſul (that he might not be quite without worke) had ſent his Lieutenant to beſiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing ſuddenly ouer their heads, cauſed the beſiegers to diſlodge in all haſte, ſetting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, ſo farre was their abilitie ſhort of their Enterpriſes; euer ſince their Conſul (whether daſtardly, or careleſly) moſt vnlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of *Macedon*, by forſaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be ſuſpected, that ſome greater harme befell them, or at leaſt, that they were in ſome greater danger, then is expreſſed in the broken remaining Hiſtorie of this Warre. For *Martius* perſwaded the *Rhodians* by *Ageſipolis* their Embaſſador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other buſineſſe of leſſe importance, That they ſhould doe well to interpoſe themſelues as mediators, and ſeeke to finiſh the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe moſt probably coniecture, that this was rather a malicious deuice of *Martius*, craftily ſeeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoſing the reſolution of the Senate; then that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perſeus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an army on foot: yet ſince he made ſhew of feare, it is like withall, that ſomewhat had happened, which might make his feare ſeeme not counterfeit. And ſo were the *Rhodians* moued to thinke of him; not only for that the extraordinary courteſie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embaſſador, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cauſe it; but much more, for that ſhortly after the Embaſſadors of *Perſeus*, & of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did ſet out their buſineſſe at *Rhodes*, not more with the ſtrength of a good fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of ſome victory, wher in he had lately ſlaine great numbers of the *Roman* horſe. Thus much we find intimated: though the time, place, or other circumſtances of the fight, be not ſpecified. And hereto may be referred, the report of thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to view the eſtate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Conſul wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; &, for thoſe few that he had, wanting both mony and clothes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Pretor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, ſo vnable to inuade *Macedon*, that contrariwiſe, he was in extreame danger, ſo as either he muſt quickly be ſent for thence, or a new army be ſent thither to him. Wherefore it may ſeeme, that ſome blow had bin taken on the *Illyrian* ſide, which made all to halt; or at leſt, that the *Romans* with greater loſſe, than is before ſpoken of, had been driuen from ſome of the Townes which they beſieged.

Polyb. Legat. 80.

Polyb. Legat. 87.

Now although it were ſo, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himſelfe like a man of war: yet in exerciſe of Cunning, which one hath moſt aptly termed, *a crooked or ſiniſter kind of wiſdome*, he dealt as a craftemaſter, with a reſtleſſe working diligence. This indeed neither proued his ſufficiencie, nor commended his honeſtie: ſince thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuertheleſſe, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or ſuch delight as weake and buſie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made oppoſition to the good of his country. At ſuch time as *Perſeus*, by the ſucceſſe of his doings againſt *Hoſtilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to inuade *Theſſalie*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the *Achaans*, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romans*, as in a time of aduerſitie, whom in proſperity they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoſed a decree which paſſed: That the *Achaans* ſhould ſend their whole power into *Theſſalie*, and participate with

Polyp. Legat. 78. the *Romans* in all danger. So the armie was leuied; and *Polybius*, with others, ſent Embaſſadors vnto *Martius*, to certifie him therof, and know his pleaſure. *Polybius* found the Conſul buſied in ſeeking paſſage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. Hee went along with the armie; and awaited the Conſuls leiſure till they came to *Heraclea*; where finding the time conuenient, hee preſented the *Decree*, and offered the ſeruice of his Nation, wherein ſoeuer it ſhould be commanded. *Martius* tooke this very kindly; but ſaid, that he needed now no maner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* diſpatched home his companions, to ſignifie thus much: tarrying himſelfe behind in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* deſired, or rather imperiouſly required, of the *Achæans*, fiue thouſand men, to be ſent him into *Epirus*. It was manifeſt, that *Appius* had need of theſe men; and that if he were ſtrong in field, he might do notable ſeruice, by diſtracting the forces of *Perſeus*. But the Labarynthian head of *Martius* could not allow of ſuch plaine reaſon. He called vnto him *Polybius*, to whom hee declared, that *Appius* had no need of ſuch aide: and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wiſe take order that the men might not be ſent, nor the *Achæans* bee put to ſuch needleſſe charges. Away went *Polybius*; muſing and vnable to reſolue, whether it were for loue to the *Achæans*, that the Conſul was ſo earneſt in this buſines; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *App. Claudius* from doing any thing, ſince himſelfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell, touching this matter: then found he a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne ſelfe, and thoſe of his partie. For as he was ſure to incurre the great indignation of the Conſul, if he ſhould neglect what was giuen him in charge; ſo was it manifeſt on the other ſide, that the words by *Martius* vttered to him in priuat, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they ſhould refuſe to helpe *Claudius*, alleaging that he had no need: In this caſe therefore, he had recourſe vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from neceſſitie of doing what the *Roman* Commanders ſhould require, vnleſſe by ſpecial order from the Senate, the ſame were likewiſe appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Conſul: by whom it was ſure to be made fruſtrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were ſauers, of more then an hundred and twenty talents: though *Polybius* himſelfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his diſpleaſure; and for ſuch honeſt dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long yeares impriſonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to ſtand in feare, leſt the fire, which he himſelfe had helped to kindle, would ſhortly take hold on his owne lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerſway al other paſſions; it is hard to determine: ſince they that had better means to know the truth, haue not preciſely affirmed any certaintie. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not ſo much as giue any helpe to *Martius*: but comming to haue ioyned with him, in ſuch friendly manner as he did with the former Conſuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in ſuch anger, that he refuſed to leaue behind him certaine horſe of the *Gallogreekes*, being requeſted to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Conſul, did the *Romans* good ſeruice: then is the reaſon apparant, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the loue to *Attalus*. But it is more generally receiued; that *Eumenes* gaue a willing eare to *Perſeus* his deſire of accord, for meere deſire of gaine. And it might well bee, that couetouſneſſe drew him on, in the courſe, whereinto indignation firſt led him. Howſoeuer it befell; *Perſeus* cauſed *Eumenes* to be ſounded, and found him ſo tractable, that he was bold to ſolicite him by an Embaſſage. The tenour of his aduertiſements, both to *Eumenes*, and to *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue betweene a King and a free Citie: That the *Romans* had quarrell alike to all Kings,

though

though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vsed the helpe of one against another; That *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the *Ægyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the *Romans*, to surcease from their war vpon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should giue answere; hee began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no lesse weary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part, That if he might haue fifteene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this Warre, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condiscend vnto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but hee would lay downe the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserued somewhat, howsoeuer the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needes hee would haue part of his wages in *prest*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than loose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainely, and said, That without money he could not stirre. Hereunto *Perseus* loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*; to the end that all his armie might haue comfort, by such accesse of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, betweene *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authoritie, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselues conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing prowd words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadours; gaue an answere, as disdainefull, angrie, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vaine glorie of the *Rhodians* was throughly chastised; and more throughly should haue beene, if their submission had not beene as humble, as their follie was proud. Such vse of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus*, the *Macedonian* Embassadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him

him daily to begin the Warre by land and sea, whilest the *Romans* were vnprouided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon tenne Talents were sent to *Pantauchus:* who deliuered it to the yong King, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed vp with the seale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had layed hands vpon two *Roman* Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their loade to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessitie to make warre with the *Romans*, whether hee were hyred thereto, or not.

Liu. lib. 44. Plutarch. in vit. Æmyl.

There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aide of *Perseus*, vnder one *Clondicus* a pettie King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the *Gaules*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargaine, and were to receiue present pay at the first. At their entrie into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captaines to come visit him, whome he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to giue the souldiors their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the messenger had not what to answere. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy master, That the *Gaules* will not stirre one foot further, vntill they haue gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an inuectiue against the inciuilitie and auarice of the *Bastarnæ:* who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fiue thousand horse of them hee said would be as manie as he should need to vse; and not so manie, that he should need to feare them. It had beene well done, if anie of his counsailors would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole armie of them, since without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perrhæbia*, into *Thessalie*: where wasting the Countrey, and filling themselues with spoile, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, euen for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable seruice, whether they wonne anie victorie, or not. This, and a great deale more, might haue beene alledged, if anie man had dared to giue aduice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had beene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those many thousands that had beene drawne so farre to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those fiue thousand, whome the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that *Antigonus* could make no better answere, than shifting excuses; the *Bastarnæ* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbours parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than he could haue well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserue his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the summe. But of this painefull Office he was verie soone discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteene dayes after his setting forth from *Italie*, brought the Kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which GOD had appointed ouer it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of L. ÆMYLIVS PAVLVS *the Conſul. His iourney. He forceth* PERSEVS *to diſcampe. He will not hazard battaile with anie diſaduantage. Of an Eclypſe of the Moone.* ÆMYLIVS *his ſuperſtition. The Battaile of Pydna.* PERSEVS *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdome: which haſtily yeelds to* ÆMYLIVS. PERSEVS *at Samothrace. He yeelds himſelfe to the Roman Admirall; and is ſent priſoner to* ÆMYLIVS.

BY the Warre of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much diſhonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with anie danger, yet the indignitie ſo moued them, that either * they decreed that Prouince to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwiſe their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Conſul; or at leaſt were gladder that the lot had caſt it vpon him, than that ſo worthy a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a ſecond Conſulſhip. Hee refuſed to propound vnto the Senate anie thing that concerned his Prouince; vntill by Embaſſadours, thither ſent to view the eſtate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderſtood, in what condition both the *Roman* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the preſent remained. This being throughly knowne to be ſuch, as hath beene alreadie told; the Senate appointed a ſtrong ſupplie, not onely to the Conſul, but vnto the Nauie, and likewiſe to the Armie that lay betweene *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was remoued, and *L. Anicius* ſent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the cuſtome, ſpake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requeſted thoſe that thought themſelues wiſe enough to manage this Warre, either to accompanie him into *Macedon*, and there aſſiſt him with their aduice; or elſe to gouerne their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by heareſay, and cenſure by idle reports: for he told them plainely, That he would frame his doings to occaſions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like ſpeech of his father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the Battaile of *Cannæ*, might well be liuing in ſome of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme themſelues the more gladly vnto the inſtructions giuen by a wiſe and reſolute Conſul.

Plutarchus vit. Æmyl.

All his buſineſſe within the Citie being diſpatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his ſetting forth on his iourney; with an eſpeciall hope of men, that he ſhould finiſh the Warre: though that he ſhould finiſh it ſo ſoone and happily, was more then could haue beene hoped or imagined. He came to *Brunduſium*: whence, when the winde came faire, he ſet ſayle at breake of day, and arriued ſafely at the Iſle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence paſſed he to *Delphi*: where, hauing done ſacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fift day he ſet forwards to the Campe; and was there in fiue dayes more. So are there but fiue of the fifteene dayes remaining, in which he finiſhed the Warre.

Perſeus lay ſtrongly encamped at *Dium*; hauing ſpared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of *Enipeus*, where it was fordeable in drie weather: So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and conſequently, as little poſſibilitie to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconuenience troubling the *Romans*, and much diſabling them to make attempt vpon *Dium*; was lacke of freſh water. For there were tenne myles betweene *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying betweene the Sea ſhoare and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that ſide. But *Æmylius* found preſent remedie for this, by digging Wells on the ſhoare; where hee found ſweet Springs: as commonly there is

no

no shoare that wants them, though they rise not aboue the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging anie nearer to the enemie, than the Towne of *Heraclea*, on the Riuer of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of anie worth. Yet when the *Roman* Campe had such meanes to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did; the passage onward, being defended as hath beene shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquirie was soone found out. There was a narrow passage ouer *Olympus*, leading into *Perrhæbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof; or durst not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his souldiors to make the aduenture; they fearing least it would proue such a piece of worke, as had beene their march ouer *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industrie, courage, and abilitie, to command. He had reformed, euen at his first comming, many disorders in the *Roman* Campe: teaching the souldiors, among other good lessons, to be obedient and readie in execution; without troubling themselues, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now he appointed about fiue thousand men to this Enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabij*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darkenesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the fleet; where victuals were prouided for their journey: it being noysed, that they were to runne along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and wast the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where hee lay, rather to diuert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than vpon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer *Enipeus*. The Chanell of *Enipeus*, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay welneare all drie, yet it serued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none saue his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had aduantage at farre distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raysed on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the *Romans*, and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Æmylius* persisted as he had begun; and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to teach the *Macedonian*, that some greater worke was in hand: since otherwise a good Captaine, as *Æmylius* was knowne to be, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such brauadoes, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully downe the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the *Romans* were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than anie of the rest. Order was forthwith giuen to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedie retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plaine force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept vntill the *Romans*

came

came ſomewhat neare to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and ſlings could doe little ſeruice, were beaten at handie ſtroakes: ſo as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epiſtle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue beene true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had beene effected by *Martius* in the yeare fore-going; but was cloſed vp againe, through his not proſecuting ſo rich an opportunitie.

Perſeus was in extreame doubt what courſe to take, after this vnhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and ſo to linger out the Warre: hauing beene taught by the laſt yeares example, how reſolute the people were in making defence. But farre worſe counſaile preuailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King reſolued to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himſelfe into anie one Towne, leaſt that ſhould be firſt of all beſieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not ouer-carefully relieued. This was euen the ſame that *Æmylius*, or anie inuador, ſhould haue deſired. So a place was choſen neare vnto *Pydna*, that ſerued well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewiſe on the ſides of it ſome peeces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the comming of the enemie; who ſtayed not long behind him. As ſoone as the *Romans* had ſight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than diſcretion, had haſted away from them, forſaking the Campe that was ſo notably well fortified: they deſired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately; doubting leaſt otherwiſe the King ſhould change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Conſul; praying him not to looſe occaſion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, That hee ſpake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to reſt themſelues; nor anie thing there, ſaue onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For theſe and the like reſpects, the Conſul made a ſtand: and ſhewing himſelfe vnto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe meaſured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good leyſure, hee fell backe, without anie manner of trouble. After a nights reſt, it was hoped, both by the *Romans*, and by the *Macedonians*, that the matter ſhould be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the ſame day. As for the King, he excuſed himſelfe by the backwardneſſe of the enemie; who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground ſeruing ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other ſide, the Conſul had the reaſons before ſhewed, which he communicated to thoſe about him the next day.

That euening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeare beene Prætor, foretold vnto the Conſul, and (with his good liking) vnto the armie, an Eclipſe of the Moone, which was to be the ſame night: willing the ſouldiors not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was ſeene. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in ſuch Eclipſes, to beat Pannes of Braſſe and Baſons, as wee doe in following a ſwarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great eaſe, and helped her in her labour. But this prognoſtication of *Sulpicius* conuerted their ſuperſtition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they ſaw it verified. Contrariwiſe, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyſe as long as the Eclipſe laſted: rather perhaps becauſe it was their faſhion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their loſſe; ſince their deſire to fight was no whit leſſened by it. I will not here ſtand to diſpute, Whether ſuch Eclipſes doe ſignifie, or cauſe anie alteration in ciuile affaires, and matters that haue ſmall dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthie of obſeruation it is, how ſuperſtition captiuates the wiſdome of the wiſeſt, where the helpe of true Religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though hee were ſufficiently inſtructed concerning this defect of the Moone,

Moone, that it was no ſupernaturall thing, nor aboue the reach of humane vnderſtanding, ſo as he ſhould need to trouble himſelfe with anie deuout regard thereof: yet could he not refraine from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with ſacrifice her deliuerie, as ſoone as ſhe ſhone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a ſage Philoſopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not aſſiſt him in this fooliſh deuotion; yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a Sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no leſſe fooliſh. For a great part of the day was vainely conſumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleaſed with anie Sacrifice, and vouchſafe to ſhew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beaſts. At length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promiſe of victorie to *Æmylius*; but with condition, That hee ſhould not giue the onſet. *Hercules* was a *Greeke*, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had beene better to call vpon the new Goddeſſe, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the *Romans* had beſtowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) vpon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whome belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no iniunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaile; *Æmylius* was throughly perſuaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwiſe hee would not haue ſtayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leyſure ſerued to retyre whither hee liſted, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Conſul thought that hee might wait vpon aduantage, without making anie great haſte. Neither was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perſeus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* ſent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelyhood of fighting that day. But about tenne of the clocke in the morning, a ſmall occaſion brought to paſſe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer earneſt deſire. A horſe brake looſe at watering; which two or three of the *Roman* ſouldiers followed into the riuer, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of *Thracians* ranne into the water, to draw this horſe ouer to their owne ſide. Theſe fell to blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the *Thracians* was ſlaine. His countrimen ſeeing this, haſted to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed thoſe that had ſlaine him ouer the riuer. Hereupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew ſuch, as made it paſt a fray, and cauſed both the armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaile, accordly as the maner of his Countrie, and the armes, wherewith they ſerued, did require. The ground was a flat leuell, ſaue that on the ſides a few hillocks were raiſed here and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better ſouldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Conſul encouraged their men with liuely words: which the preſent condition could bountifully afford. But the King hauing finiſhed his Oration, and ſent on his men, withdrew himſelfe into *Pydna*: there to doe ſacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Hercules*. It is the leſſe maruaile, that hee durſt aduenture battaile, ſince hee had bethought himſelfe of ſuch a ſtratageme, whereby to ſaue his owne perſon. As for *Hercules*, hee liked not the ſacrifice of a coward: whoſe vnſeaſonable deuotion could be no better than hypocriſie. For hee that will pray for a good Harueſt, ought alſo to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaile, hee found it no better than loſt: and he, in looking to his owne ſafetie, cauſed it to be loſt altogether, by beginning the flight.

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The acts of this day, ſuch as we finde recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did ſo ſtoutly preſſe onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much aſtoniſhed; That the *Peligni* ruſhing deſperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouer-borne, many of them ſlaine, and the ſquadrons following them ſo diſcouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. Theſe were the things that fell out aduerſe to the *Romans*; and which the Conſul beholding, is ſaid to haue rent his coat-armor for griefe. If the King with all his power of horſe, had in like manner done his deuoyre; the victorie might haue bin his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaile, was the ſame which doubtleſſe the Conſul expected, euen from the beginning: the difficultie, or almoſt impoſſibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whileſt ſome of the *Romanes* ſmall battallions preſſed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was neceſſarie (if the *Macedonians* would follow vpon thoſe which were put to the worſe) that ſome files hauing open way before them, ſhould aduance themſelues beyond the reſt that were held at a ſtand. This comming ſo to paſſe, admoniſhed the Conſul, what was to bee done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little vſe, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to direction giuen by *Æmylius*, when hee ſaw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vnequall, and the rankes in ſome places open, by reaſon of the vnequall reſiſtance which they found. Thus was the vſe of the *Phalanx* prooued vnauaileable againſt many ſmall ſquadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battaile of *Cynoſcephalæ*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnſeruiceable againſt the other, by reaſon, that being not euerie where alike diſtreſſed, it would breake of it ſelfe; though heere were little ſuch inconuenience of ground, as had beene at **Cynoſcephalæ*. * *Chap.* 4. § 14.

Perſeus, when he ſaw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle preſently, and ranne amaine towards *Pella*. All his horſe eſcaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witneſſing the little good ſeruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercie of the Enemie: who ſlew aboue twentie thouſand of them; though hauing little cauſe to be furious, as hauing loſt, in that battaile, onely ſome fourteſcore, or ſixſcore men at the moſt. Some of the foot, eſcaping from the execution, ouertook the king & his company in a wood; where they fel to railing at the horſemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and ſuch other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt left they had ill meaning to himſelfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by ſuch as thought it good. The reſt of the company diſperſed themſelues: euery one as his owne occaſions guided him. Of thoſe that kept along with their King, the number began within awhile to leſſen. For hee fell to deuiſing vpon whom hee might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was moſt due to himſelfe: thereby cauſing thoſe that knew his nature, to ſhrinke away from him, how they could. At his comming to *Pella*; he found his Pages and houſhold ſeruants, readie to attend him, as they had bin wont. But of his great men that had eſcaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treaſurers that had the boldneſſe to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnſeaſonable admonitions, he ſtabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he ſent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore ſtanding in feare, left they that refuſed to come at his call, ſhould ſhortly dare ſome greater miſchiefe; he ſtole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him onely *Euander* (who had beene employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewiſe about fiue hundred *Cretians*: more for loue of his money, than of him. To theſe he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about

fiftie talents, though shortly he coozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to *Amphipolis*; where hee exhorted the townesmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euander* to speake what himselfe would haue vttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselues. Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in garrison: sending them foorth vnder colour of a gainefull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to bee ridde of the King; they plainly bade *Euander* be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarrie: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine vessells that hee found in the riuer *Strymon*; passed ouer to the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within so few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was neerest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About sixe thousand of the souldiours, that were of sundrie Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had beene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yeelding themselues and the Towne of *Berœa*, whither they had retired out of the battaile. With the like message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole bodie of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such tearmes, that the sacke of it was granted to the *Roman* armie. *Æmylius* sent abroad into the Countrey, such as hee thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards *Pella*. Hee found in *Pella* no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such meane condition; that his case was pitied, for that hee wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in tearmes ill beseeming a King; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King* PERSEVS *to the Consul* PAVLVS; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make answere thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could bee expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might bee sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuertheless in this conference, hee was marueilous earnest, that he might bee allowed to retaine the name of King. And to this ende it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preserued his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and be called King. Yea it seemes that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a desire to liue in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the war, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for * such a paltrie Iland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which *Eume-*

Liu. lib. 42.

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nes demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwiſe. They vrge him to giue place vnto neceſſitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the diſcretion and mercie of the people of *Rome*. This is ſo farre againſt his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Preſently there arriues at *Samothrace Cn. Octauius* the *Roman* Admirall, with his fleet: who aſſayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of impriſonment, he had impriſoned himſelfe. When all would not ſerue, a queſtion was mooued to the *Samothracians*; How they durſt pollute their Temple, by receiuing into it one that had violated the like holy priuiledge of Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quicke. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and ſend word to the King, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accuſed of an impious fact committed at *Delphi*, whereof vnleſſe he can cleare himſelfe in judgement, hee muſt not be ſuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Majeſtie, now paſt, makes them forbeare to ſay, that *Perſeus* himſelfe is charged with the ſame crime. But what will this auaile, when the miniſter of the fact being brought into iudgement, ſhall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perſeus* therefore willeth *Euander* to haue conſideration of the little fauour that can bee expected at the *Romans* hand, who are like to bee preſidents and ouerſeers of this judgement: ſo as it were better to die valiantly, ſince none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cauſe; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* ſeemes to like well: and either kills himſelfe, or hoping to eſcape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyſon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had ſtucke to *Perſeus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forſake him: ſo as none are left with him, ſaue his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be ſuſpected, that they which leaue him vpon this occaſion, will tell perillous tales, and ſay, That the King hath loſt the priuiledge of this holy Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirme ſo much, who ſhall dare to gainſay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that alſo lyable to diſpute, which preſerues him from captiuitie; hee purpoſeth to make an eſcape, and flye, with his Treaſures, vnto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ſhippe; who eaſily was perſwaded to waft the King thence. With all ſecrecie the Kings money, as much as could bee ſo conueyed, was carried aboord by night; and the King himſelfe, with his wife and *children (if rather it were not true, that hee had with him onely *Philip* his elder ſonne, who was onely by adoption his ſonne, being his *brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by a rope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sea ſide, hee found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Grettan* tricke, and he was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whileſt *Perſeus* was ſearching all along the ſhoare: who had ſtayed ſo long about this, that hee might feare to be intercepted ere hee could recouer the Temple. Hee ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not ſafe to enter it the common way, leſt hee ſhould bee taken; hee hid himſelfe in an obſcure corner. His Pages miſſing him, ranne vp and downe making enquirie; till *Octauius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatſoeuer, abiding with their maſter in *Samothrace*, ſhould haue their liues and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Iſle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they ſhould preſently yeeld themſelues to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewiſe *Ion*, a *Theſſalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the cuſtodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octauius*. Laſtly, *Perſeus* himſelfe,

Plutarch. in vit. Aemyl.
Liu. lib. 45.
Liu. lib. 42.

with his sonne *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the *Roman* victorie complete. If hee had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than of raigning therein; hee might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrarie hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight; hee is become a spectacle of miserie, and one among the number of those Princes, that haue beene wretched by their owne default. Hee was presently sent away to *Æmylius*; before whom hee fell to the ground so basely, that hee seemed thereby to dishonour the victorie ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abject qualitie, and therefore the lesse to bee esteemed. *Æmylius* vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the *Romans*. Hereto good answere might haue beene returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, hee answered all with a fearefull silence. Hee was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul tearmed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercie of the People of *Rome*. After these good words, being inuited to the Consuls Table, and respectiuely entreated, hee was committed prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* Warre, after foure yeeres continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glorie whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto *Rome*.

§. IX.

GENTIVS, *King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.*

ABout the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the *Roman* Prætor, who succeeded vnto *App. Claudius*; had the like successe against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fifteene thousand; with which hee was at *Lissus*, readie to assist King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, whereof hee had receiued onely tenne Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into **Scodra*. This Towne was verie defensible by nature, besides the helpe of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme vnpossible to bee wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victorie; and therefore presented his Armie before the walles, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily haue defended themselues within the Towne, would needes issue foorth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon foorthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King sent Embassadours; by whom, at first, hee desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the *Roman* Embassadours, to haue recourse to such mediation. But hee thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison; where they were still aliue. Hauing obtained three dayes respite, hee passed vp a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the *Roman* Campe, into the Lake of

* Called now Scutari.

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Scodra, as it were to consult the more priuately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caruantius* was comming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scodra*. Hee sent messengers craving accesse vnto the Prætor: before whom hauing lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) hee fell downe humbly, and yeelded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun; vntill *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had beene imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

§. X.

How the Romans behaued themselues in Greece and Macedon after their victory ouer PERSEVS.

NOw began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon those that had beene vnmannerly toward them before, whilest the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadours were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with bad grace; saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an ouerture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grieuous to the *Romans* themselues, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answere, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for loue to *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (couetous of the charge) to haue Warre proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning apparell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had beene any whit auerse from the *Romans* in the late Warre of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slue themselues for feare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if olde *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vttered a milde sentence, and aduertised the Senate, That in decreeing Warre against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselues, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedie to ransacke, than any iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whome, none of any marke remained aliue, saue those that had beene of the *Roman* Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate suit, they could bee admitted into the societie of the *Romans*: a fauour which till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselues better without it, as equall friends.

* *Cæsar in orat. apud Salust. de Coniurat. Catilinæ.*

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the *Romans* make themselues terrible in

all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them vnderstand what power hee had ouer them. More than fiue hundred of the chiefe citizens in *Demetrius* were slaine at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with helpe of the *Roman* souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul; the redresse was such, as requited not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the *Romans* the liberty of their Countrey, hee feasted like a King, with excessiue cheere, yet so, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending prouisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadours likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to giue order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsuall in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of *Greece*. The Kingdome of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Æmylius* and the Embassadours, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had beene payed vnto the Kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest; the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were sent captiue into *Italy*, with their wiues and children, as many as were aboue fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Æmylius*. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue any inconuenience that should bee worse in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not subiects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea and shamelesse periury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greekes*, called before them all such men of note, from euery quarter, as had any way discouered an vnseruiceable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no subiects, yet wanted there no colour, for vsing them as traytors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for hauing beene openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselues to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the *Achæans* these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong (though this were to bee regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vntractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be suspitiously charged to haue held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had beene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the *Romans*, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season serued fitly to ranke the *Achæans* with the rest. And hereto *Callicrates* was very vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, hee and his fellowes should bee made to pay for their mischieuous deuices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. Hee said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perseus*.

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This being so; he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, he would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? name them first, and let them answere; which if they cannot well doe, we will soone condemne them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guiltie of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence; then should I likewise haue beene friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answere him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that euen so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselues before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited aboue a thousand; willing them to appeare, and answere before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of *Greece*; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, should dwell together in any of the *Greekes*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could bee remaining: since honestie had beene thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to bee offendors. But in stead of better answere it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that these men should returne into Achaia*. Neither could any sollicitation of the *Achæans*, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seuenteene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or hauing made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of jayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserue the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Æmylius* with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to vse the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent vnto the *Epirots* for tenne of the principall men out of euery Citie. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Siluer which they had; and sent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought conuenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, euery one the Towne whereinto hee was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* Souldiors; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserued punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romanes*, had been already sent into *Italie*, there to receiue their due; and since this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had, euen in this warre, done good seruice to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleeue it, had any one Writer deliuered the contrarie. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse marueilous, that GOD was pleased to make *Æmylius* childlesse, euen in the glorie of his triumph, how great soeuer otherwise his vertues were.

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In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacie of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before wee speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

§. XI.

The Warre of ANTIOCHVS *vpon Ægypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.*

ANTIOCHVS the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his raigne and life. He died the six and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the seuenteenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemie Epiphanes*: while hee attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iustine*) of *Iupiter*. Hee left behinde him three sonnes, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom hee had giuen in marriage to *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, King of *Ægypt*. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes; raigned in *Syria* twelue yeeres, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but seuen. A Prince, who as hee was slothfull by nature; so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had receiued, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this judgement, *Et stabit in loco eius vilissimus & indignus decore regio. And in his place* (speaking of *Antiochus* the Father of this man) *shall start vp a vilde person, vnworthy the honor of a King*. Vnder this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: *What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of* ONIAS *the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honor the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts*. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Macchabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recouery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the raigne of this King, that the bookes of the *Macchabees* take beginning. Which bookes seeme not to bee deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Macchabeus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seuenteenth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second book, although he take the Story somewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet hee endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the *Grecian* raigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Iudas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Iason* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, preuailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Iansenius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Iewes*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the *Greekes*, *Ionathan* the brother and successor of *Iudas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom hee employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the High Priest, whereto *Iosephus* addes,

Strab.lib.16. *Iust.lib.35.*

Euseb.in Cron. *App.de bell.Syr.* *Ant.12.cap.5.*

Dan.11.v.21.

Mac.cap.3.

Mac.1.12. *Super Eccles.c.5*

addes, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*. Hee was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also hee vsurped from his brothers sonne.

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very yong, had been about seuen yeeres King of *Ægypt*.

Ptolemie Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had raigned in *Ægypt* foure and twenty yeeres; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his Kingdome between them, whilest he was a childe. But they found such other busines, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them giue ouer their vniust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolemie*, the Prouinces of *Cœlosyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Iudæa*, which hee had wonne by his victory ouer *Scopas*, that was Generall of the *Ægyptian* forces in those parts. Neuertheless, *Ptolemie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby hee liued in the greater securitie. Hee left behind him two sons; this *Ptolemie Philometor*, and *Ptolemie Phiscon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom shee was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Ægyptian* Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subiects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdome, his yonger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* hauing a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himselfe in *Memphis*, crauing succour of King *Antiochus* his vncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the young Prince, sought by all meanes possible to possesse himselfe of that Kingdome. He sent *Apollonius* the sonne of *Mnestheus* Embassadour into *Ægypt*, and vnder colour to assist the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that Kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephewes safety and well doing. And the better to answere all argument to the contrarie, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of *Syria* to *Ioppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, where, by *Iason* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) hee was with all pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessour of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitour *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when hee would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouernor of *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being strucken by the Angel of God, and recouering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practices. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threescore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. So hee got his desire, though he not long inioyed it.

2. *Mac.* 4.

Mac. 2. *cap.* 3.

Mac. 1. 2. *c.* 4.

This naughty dealing of *Iason*, and his being ouer-reached by another in the same kinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the *Achæans*, when as that mischieuous *Callicrates*, who had beene too hard for all worthie and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

One

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
One Wolfe than other Wolues does bite more sore;
One Hawke than other Hawkes more swift does fly.
So one most mischieuous of men before,
CALLICRATES, *false knaue as knaue might be,*
Met with MENALCIDAS *more false than he.*

And euen thus fell it out with *Iason*: who within three yeeres after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Iason* thereupon being forced to flie from *Ierusalem*, and to hide himselfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Ierusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Ægypt*; with which, and with a mighty armie of land-forces, *He went about to raigne ouer* Ægypt, *that he might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred* Ægypt *with a mighty company, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Nauie, and moued warre against* PTOLEMÆVS *King of* Egypt, *but* PTOLEMÆVS *was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He wan many strong Cities, and tooke away the spoyles of the Land of* Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecie of DANIEL: *Hee shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Prouinces, and he shall do that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers.* Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victorie ouer the *Ægyptians*, nor tooke from them so great riches. For hee gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolemie*, betweene *Peluſium* and the hill *Caſſius*, after which he entred, and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Ægypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after *that* ANTIOCHVS *had smitten* Egypt, *hee turned againe, and went vp towards* Israel *and* Ierusalem *with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Powring Vessels, and the Bowles, and the golden Basons, and the Vaile, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. Hee tooke also the Siluer and the Gold, and the precious Iewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.*

Mac.1.c.1.v.17

Verſ.18.19.20. &c.

Dan.c.11.v.24.

Hierom.in Dan.

Mac.1.c.1.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this *Egyptian* businesse. At what time he first layd claime to *Cœlosyria*; iustifying his title by * the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely auerring, that this Prouince had not beene consigned ouer to the *Egyptian*, or giuen in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greekes*, pressed him, by seuerall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answere was; that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receiue their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when hee saw, that it was an hard peece of worke to take *Alexandria* by force: hee thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselues with intestine warre, than by the terrour of his armes, threatning destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any desire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leauing the *Ptolemies* in very weake estate; the yonger, almost ruinated by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

Lib.6.

* Cap.5.§.2.

Polyb.Legat.81. 82.&c.

But how weake soeuer these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to bee so strong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at *Ierusalem* or elsewhere. So after the sacke of *Ierusalem*, he rested him awhile at *Antioch*; and then made a iourney into *Cilicia*, to suppresse the Rebellion of the *Tharsians* and other in those parts who had bin giuen, as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For

Gouernour

Gouernour of *Syria* in his abſence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the ſame who had thruſt *Iaſon* out of the Prieſthood, and promiſed the King three hundred talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Prieſthood to his brother *Lyſimachus*, ſtole certaine veſſels of gold out of the Temple: wherof he preſented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and ſold the reſt at *Tyre*, and other Cities adioining. This he did, as it ſeemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promiſed; the ſame being now by *Soſtratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prieſt (formerly diſpoſſeſſed by *Iaſon*) had certaine knowledge, being mooued with zeale, and deteſting the ſacriledge of *Menelaus*, hee reprooued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himſelfe into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adioyning as a ſuburb to *Antioch*. In compaſſe it had about ten miles: wherein were the *Temples* of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Groue, ſweete Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a maner, abuſed to luſt, and other ſuch voluptuouſneſſe. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himſelfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holines of a ground conſecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not ſtand to diſcourſe. Only I ſay for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is far leſſe, to hold this booke as *Apocryphall*; than to iudge this fearefull ſhift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke ſeemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not ſaue the life of the poore old man: for MENELAVS *taking* ANDRONICVS *apart, prayed him to ſlay* ONIAS. *So when he came to* ONIAS, *he counſelled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perſwading him to come out of the Sanctuary; ſo he ſlew him incontinently without any regard of righteouſneſſe.* Mac.li.2.c.4. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of *Cilicia*, *Hee tooke away* ANDRONICVS *his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the Citie, and in the ſame place where hee had committed the wickedneſſe againſt* ONIAS, *hee was ſlaine as a murderer.* Mac.2.c.4.v.38 In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I ſhould haue thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iuſtice. But preſently after this, at the ſuit of one *Ptolemie*, a traytor to *Ptolemie Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death; who iuſtly complained againſt *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lyſimachus*, for a ſecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the veſſels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifeſt, that he was guided by his owne outragious will, and not by any regard of iuſtice: ſince he reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet ſlue thoſe that were in the ſame cauſe with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their cauſe, yea, before the* Scythians, *they ſhould haue been heard as innocent.* Verſ.47. By reaſon of ſuch his vnſteadineſſe, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, madde, in ſtead of *Epiphanes*, which ſignifieth Noble or Illuſtrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a ſecond voyage into *Ægypt, and then were there ſeene throughout all the Citie of* Ieruſalem, *forty dayes long, horſemen running in the ayre with robes of gold, and as bands of Speare-men, and as troupes of Horſemen ſet in aray, encountring and courſing one againſt another.* Mac.2.c.5.v.1. Of theſe prodigious ſignes, or rather forewarnings of GOD, all Hiſtories haue deliuered vs, ſome more, ſome leſſe. Before the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem* by *Veſpaſian*, a ſtarre in the forme of a ſword appeared in the Heauens directly ouer the City, after which there followed a ſlaughter like vnto this of *Epiphanes*, though farre greater. In the *Cymbrian* warres, *Pliny* tells vs, that Armies were ſeene fighting in the ayre from the morning till the euening. Plin.lib.2.c.57.

In the time of Pope *Iohn* the eleuenth, a fountaine powred out blood in ſtead of water, in or neare the Citie of *Genoa*; ſoone after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, with great ſlaughter. Of theſe and the like prodigious ſignes, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one ſeemeth to me the moſt memorable, becauſe the moſt notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the Mercur. *Vipera* de Prodig. lib.8. *Vipera* de Priſco & ſacro inſtituto.

Off-ſpring

Off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, toke end; whereof this notable signe gaue warning.

Sueton.Galba. When *Liuia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fal into her armes a white Henne, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Liuia* caused this Henne to bee carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Henne came a faire encrease of white Poultrie, and from the little branch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerours did vse to carrie in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; and after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were obserued, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeere of *Nero*, all the broodes of the white Hennes died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreouer, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the *Iewes* did not thinke such strange signes to bee vnworthy of regard; it appeares by their calling vpon GOD, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Ægypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein raigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their vncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by armes. *Physcon* had not as yet forgotten the terrour of the former siege: the *Alexandrines* though they loued not *Philometor*, yet loued they worse to liue in scarcitie of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the yonger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to bee hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and aboue all these, the louing disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein hee stood of his vncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Ægypt* with his armie; yet had hee left behinde him a strong garrison in *Pelusium*; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Ægypt*, to his owne vse. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, hee was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that hee had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his nephew, and a meaning to subiect his yonger brother vnto him, which he gaue in answere to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make sharpe warre vpon them both. And to that end hee presently furnished and sent out his Naue towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Armie into *Cœlosyria*, readie to enter *Ægypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadours sent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thankes to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That hee would rather bee pleased to signifie what hee required to haue done in *Ægypt*, which should bee performed, than to enter it as an enemie with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answere, That he would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* should surrender into his hands together with the Citie of *Pelusium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that hee should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Ile of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euer. For answere vnto these demands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleete entred *Nilus*, and recouered as well those places

ces which appertained to *Ptolemie* in *Arabia*, as in *Ægypt* it selfe; for *Memphis*, and all about it, receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to *Alexandria*; passed on thitherwards by easie journeyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Ægypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or, were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome of *Ægypt* taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loth to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neuertheless, the *Ægyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in neede of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the *Romans*, but many of the *Greekes*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. *Rome* had beene sustained with food from *Ægypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when *Italy* lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the *Ægyptian*, had *Aratus* laide the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like helpe, had *Rhodes* beene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continuance of sutable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde; especially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeere since: but their Embassadours lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the braue warriour might bee sent to them, as Generall of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his sonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condescended: and would immediatly haue made performance; if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischieuous arte. Hee, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnesse to the *Romans*; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired; withstood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be ayding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee saide) conuenient time to entangle themselues in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the *Romans*, what helpe soeuer should bee required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge wordes, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Consull had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all neede of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well bee spared, to the ayde of their Benefactours, the *Ægyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed; hee brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Achæans* were desired to conforme themselues to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadours to set *Ægypt* in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde wordes, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Achæans* should doe any good in the

same kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends, durst not gaine-say the *Romane* Councell; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much distresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* ouercome: and then might the Embassador sent from the *Romane* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately giuen by the Senate, vnto those Embassadors of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing stayed more then a whole yeere in the City, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadours deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometer*, no lesse than his Brother and Sister.

In this Embassage of *Ptolemie*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had beene before three or foure yeeres last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which beganne with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layd) which had the gouernment of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not onely he determined to set vpon *Antiochus*, for *Cœlesyria*; but would haue interposed himselfe betweene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitratour; though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, hee fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subiects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by atonement with his brother and subiects, hee might haue seemed to stand in no neede of such protection, hee hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can bee obtained by their intercession which were imployed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister shewed it selfe, euen in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorely clad; the haire of their heades and beardes ouer-growne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their handes, branches of Oliue. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, groueling and prostrate vpon the floore. Their garments were not so meane and mournefull, nor their lookes and Countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pitifull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romans*. They saide that the people of *Rome* had so much heeretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vndertaking vpon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his Armie out of *Ægypt*, into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vsed any delay; then should *Ptolemie* and *Cleopatra*, be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate, and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

Polyb. Legat. 72.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the warre betweene those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Ptolemie*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both vnderstand, that vnlesse they surceased, and gaue ouer Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate, and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or vsing delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadours, tooke their leaue, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest

Whileſt *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward *Ægypt*, *Antiochus* had tranſported his Armie ouer *Luſine*, ſome fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neere was hee to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embaſſadors met him. After greeting and ſalutations at their firſt encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Role of paper; willing him to reade thoſe Mandates of the Senate, before hee did anie thing elſe. *Antiochus* did ſo; and hauing a little while conſidered of the buſineſſe, hee tolde *Popilius*, That hee would aduiſe with his friends, and then giue the Embaſſadours their anſwere. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of ſpeech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him ſuch an anſwere as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King aſtoniſhed at this ſo rude and violent a Commaundement, after hee had ſtayed and pawſed awhile, I will be content (quoth he) to doe whatſoeuer the Senate ſhall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Ægypt*, without anie good iſſue of his coſtly Expedition; euen in ſuch manner as **Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling euerie particular circumſtance, both of returning, and of doing miſchiefe to *Ieruſalem* after his returne; like as if theſe things had rather beene hiſtorified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embaſſadours, they ſtayed awhile, and ſettled the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, leauing it vnto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to raigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had beene, in the power of the *Ægyptian*, hauing firſt ſent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had alreadie giuen an ouerthrow to the *Ægyptian* ſhips.

Dan.cap.11. verſ.29,30.&41

§. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards EVMENES, PRVSIAS, MASANISSA, *and* COTYS. *The end of* PERSEVS *and his children. The inſtabilitie of Kingly Eſtates. The Triumphs of* PAVLVS, ANICIVS, *and* OCTAVIVS. *With the Concluſion of the Worke.*

BY this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Meſſage, and by the readie obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conqueſt of *Macedon*. The ſame *Popilius* had beene well contented, a yeare before this, to lay aſide the roughneſſe of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Acheans* and *Ætolians*, when hee went Embaſſadour to thoſe people of *Greece*, that were of farre leſſe power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewiſe, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, diſmiſſed other Embaſſadours which came from *Rome*, in ſuch ſort, as they complained not, much leſſe vſed anie menacing tearmes, though hee performed nothing of their requeſt. But now the caſe was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes ſent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victorie ouer *Perſeus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate againſt the *Gallogreekes*, which moleſted him. Verie welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by moſt of the Senatours: who bade him be confident, and requeſted of the Senate

his brothers Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee eyther approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaymed by the faithfull counsaile of *Stratius* a Physician; whome *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had beene sent; recounted his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the late Warre,* wherewithall he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally requested, That the Townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed vpon himselfe. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him vnderstand how gracious hee was, they not onely graunted all his desire; but in the presents which they gaue to him (as was their custome to Embassadours that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuertheless, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had alreadie graunted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilest hee was yet in *Italie*, they gaue order for the libertie of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making vneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallogreekes*, which were about to inuade the Kingdome of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadours to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate beeing so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthie of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. Hee might well blame the follie of his second voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne dores. No sooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was readie to send him going. It was not thought expedient to vse him as an enemie, that came to visit them in loue: neyther could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of singular inconstancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Liu.lib.45.

Polyb.Legat. 93.

Polyb.ibid.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had beene at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behaue himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and sauiours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cap, after the manner of slaues newly manumised, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. Hee was indeede naturally a slaue, and one that by such abiect flatterie kept himselfe safe; though doing otherwise greater mischiefe than anie wherewith *Perseus* had beene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne *Nicomedes*, whome he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receiue education. Further petition he made, to haue some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would haue beene vniust, he receiued a cold answere. But concerning the Wardship of his sonne, it was vndertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Ægypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboue all other Kings, *Masanissa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controuersies they gaue iudgement

on

on his ſide: and whereas hee had inuaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at firſt they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppreſſion) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay fiue hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for hauing hindered him of his due ſo long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leyſure to deuiſe vpon the ruine of *Carthage:* after which, the race of *Maſaniſſa* himſelfe was ſhortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreâmed. Hee ſent to *Rome* one of his ſonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer *Perſeus*; and offered to come thither himſelfe, there to ſacrifice for joy vnto *Iupiter* in the *Capitol.* His good will was louingly accepted; his ſonne rewarded; and hee entreated to ſtay at home.

Cotys the *Thracian* ſent Embaſſadours, to excuſe himſelfe touching the aide by him giuen to *Perſeus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hoſtages; and to entreat, That his ſonne, which was taken with the children of *Perſeus*, might be ſet at libertie for conuenient ranſome. His excuſe was not taken; ſince hee had voluntarily obliged himſelfe to *Perſeus*, by giuing hoſtages, without neceſſitie: Yet was his ſonne giuen backe to him ranſome-free; with admonition, to carrie himſelfe better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdome lay betweene *Macedon* and ſome barbarous Nations; in which reſpect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for thoſe vnhappie Kings, *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, they were ledde through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perſeus* had often made ſuite to *Æmylius*, that hee might not be put to ſuch diſgrace: but hee ſtill receiued one skornefull anſwere, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that hee might kill himſelfe. And ſurely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, hee would rather haue ſought his death in *Macedon*, than haue beene beholding to the courteſie of his inſolent enemies for a wretched life. The iſſue of the *Roman* clemencie, whereof *Æmylius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had beene ledde in chaynes through the ſtreetes, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to priſon, wherein they remained without hope of releaſe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the *Capitol*, there to doe ſacrifice, hee ſhould command the captiues to be had away to priſon, and there put to death: ſo as the honour of the Vanquiſher, and miſerie of thoſe that were ouercome, might be both together at the vtmoſt. This laſt ſentence of death was remitted vnto *Perſeus*: yet ſo, that hee had little joy of his life; but eyther famiſhed himſelfe, or (for it is diuerſly reported) was kept watching perforce by thoſe that had him in cuſtodie; and ſo died for want of ſleepe. Of his ſonnes, two died; it is vncertaine how. The youngeſt called *Alexander* (onely in name like vnto the Great, though deſtined ſometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a Ioyner, or Turner, or, at his beſt preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Roman* Officers. In ſuch pouertie ended the Royall Houſe of *Macedon*: and it ended on the ſuddaine; though ſome eightſcore yeares after the death of that Monarch, vnto whoſe ambition this whole Earth ſeemed too narrow.

If *Perſeus* had knowne it before, that his owne ſonne ſhould one day bee compelled to earne his liuing by handie-worke, in a painefull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonneſſe of Soueraignetie, haue commaunded thoſe poore men to be ſlaine, which had recouered his treaſures out of the ſea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. He would rather haue been verie gentle, and would haue conſidered, that the greateſt oppreſſors, and the moſt vndertroden wretches, are all ſubject vnto One high Power, gouerning all alike with abſolute command.

But such is our vnhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, *Doe as yee would be done vnto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; wee entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the Most High*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

Iuuenal. Sat. 10. -- ∪ ∪ -- *Et qui volunt occidere quenquam*
Posse volunt ——

Euen they that haue no murdrous will,
Would haue it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, haue a vaine desire of abilitie to doe euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. GOD, who best can judge what is expedient, hath graunted such power to verie few: among whome also, verie few there are, that vse it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other neerenesse in bloud, be driuen to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the most vnworthie of his whole house, yet raigning ouer all? The vntimely death of manie Princes, which could not humble themselues to such flatterie; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereto may be added, That the heire of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemie, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That *GOD *is the sorest and sharpest Schoolemaster, that can be deuised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controlment to turne it vpside-downe at their pleasure.*

*The true Law of free Monarchies.

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was led along therein, as part of his owne spoyles; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Siluer carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasurie, that from thenceforth, vntill the ciuill Warres, which followed vpon the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with anie Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue beene hindered by the souldiors; who grudged at their Generall, for not hauing dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiors herein, and brought them to reason by seuere exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuertheless, it pleased GOD to take away from him his two remayning sonnes, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died fiue dayes before the Triumph; the other, three dayes after it. This losse hee bore wisely: and told the People, That hee hoped to see the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in stead of the publike.

Chap. 3. §. 4.

About

About the ſame time, *Octauius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perſeus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* priſoner; made their ſeuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent ſpectacles; together with the confluence of Embaſſages from all parts; and Kings, either viſiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to viſit her, and doe their duties in perſon; were enough to ſay vnto *Rome*, *Sume ſuperbiam, Take vpon thee the Maieſtie, that thy deſerts haue purchaſed.*

BY this which we haue alreadie ſet downe, is ſeene the beginning and end of the three firſt Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was alſo at this time almoſt at the higheſt. We haue left it flouriſhing in the middle of the field; hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after ſome continuance, it ſhall begin to loſe the beauty it had; the ſtormes of ambition ſhall beat her great boughes and branches one againſt another; her leaues ſhall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now theſe great Kings, and conquering Nations, haue bin the ſubiect of thoſe ancient Hiſtories, which haue beene preſerued, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of ſo many tragicall Poets, as in the perſons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men haue complained againſt Infidelitie, Time, Deſtinie, and moſt of all againſt the Variable ſucceſſe of worldly things, and Inſtabilitie of Fortune. To theſe vndertakings, the greateſt Lords of the world haue beene ſtirred vp, rather by the deſire of *Fame*, which ploweth vp the Aire, and ſoweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it ſo much vexation, and ſo many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proues. And certainly, as Fame hath often beene dangerous to the liuing, ſo is it to the dead of no vſe at all; becauſe ſeparate from knowledge. Which were it otherwiſe, and the extreme ill bargaine of buying this laſting diſcourſe, vnderſtood by them which are diſſolued; they themſelues would then rather haue wiſhed, to haue ſtolne out of the world without noiſe; than to be put in minde, that they haue purchaſed the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppreſſion, and crueltie, by giuing in ſpoile the innocent and labouring ſoule to the idle and inſolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with ſo many and ſo variable ſorts of ſorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatneſſe nor continuance) there hath been no State fearefull in the Eaſt, but that of the *Turke*; nor in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpred his wings farre ouer his neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moores* out of *Granado*, haue made many attempts to make themſelues Maſters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treaſures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdomes which they poſſeſſe in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoiſed by the *Perſian*, ſo in ſtead of ſo many Millions as haue been ſpent by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenſiue war, and in diuerſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand pound continued but for two yeares or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſwaded to liue in peace, but all their ſwelling and ouerflowing ſtreames may be brought backe into their naturall channels and old bankes. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent, and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to roote out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the truth and ſincere profeſſion thereof, the one to joyne all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spaine*.

For the reſt, if we ſeeke a reaſon of the ſucceſſion and continuance of this boundleſſe ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath bin already ſaid;

That

That the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwayes laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which præceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they find the experience in themselues. They neglect the aduice of GOD, while they enioy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdome of the world, without speaking a word; which GOD with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. *Death*, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeued; GOD, which hath made him and loues him, is alwayes deferred. *I haue considered* (saith SALOMON) *all the workes that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, and vexation of spirit*: but who beleeues it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charles* the fift, made him enjoyne his sonne *Philip* to restore *Nauarre*; and King *Francis* the first of *France*, to command that justice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that filles his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just and mightie Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou onely hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Hic iacet.*

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calles it selfe, The first part of the *Generall Historie* of the *World*, implying a *Second* and *Third* Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out; besides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; it hath pleased GOD to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspeakeable and neuer enough lamented losse, hath taught me to say with IOB, *Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

FINIS.

BRITISH 17 MR97 MUSEUM

¶ To the Reader.

THe vſe of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Hiſtories, that reach to anie length of time; and moſt of all, to thoſe that are moſt generall: ſince they cannot, like Annales, yearely ſet downe all Occurrences not coherent. This heere following, may ſerue as an Index to the preſent Part of this Worke; pointing vnto the ſeuerall matters, that hauing fallen out at one time, are farre disioyned in the Relation. Certainely it is not perfect: neither doe I thinke, that anie can be. For howſoeuer the yeares of the firſt Patriarchs may ſeeme to haue beene well-neere compleat, yet in the raignes of the Kings of Iuda and Iſrael, wee finde manie fractions, and the laſt yeare, or yeares, of one King reckoned alſo as the formoſt of another. The ſame is moſt likely to haue fallen out in manie other; though not ſo preciſely recorded. Hereto may be added the diuerſe and imperfect formes of the yeare, which were in vſe among ſundrie Nations: cauſing the * Summer Moneths, in proceſſe of ſome Ages, to fall into the Winter; and ſo breeding extreme confuſion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a ſmall part of trouble, to chuſe, out of ſo manie, and ſo vtterly diſagreeing computations, as haue alreadie gotten authoritie, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alleaged, in excuſe of ſuch error as a more intentiue and perfect Calculator ſhall happen to finde herein. It may ſerue to free the Booke, and likewiſe the Reader (if but of meane iudgement) from anie notorious Anachroniciſme; which ought to ſuffice. The Booke indeed will need it, euen in that regard; not onely for ſome errors of the Preſſe, in the numbring of yeares, but for ſome haſtie miſ-reckonings of mine owne; which I deſire to haue hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table ſhall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the reſt, ſhall finde reaſon to be pleaſed with this, as tending wholly to his owne eaſe.

* See Lib. 2. Chap. 3. §. 6.

The Titles ouer the Columnes, haue reference to that which followes vnder them; as will readily be conceiued. Where two Titles, or more, are ouer the head, as | Rome / Nabonaſſar | there doe the numbers vnderneath anſwere proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Ieruſalem were finiſhed in the 319. yeare from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from NABONASSAR. In like manner it is to be vnderſtood, That IEHOSOPHAT began his raigne in the 3774. of the IVLIAN Æra, in the 3092. of the World, and in the 99. yeare of the Temple. This needes not more illuſtration; nor indeede ſo much, to thoſe that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To auoid prolixitie, I haue forborne to inſert thoſe yeares, which I finde not ſigned with ſome regardable accident: as with the birth or death of ſome Patriarch; the beginning of ſome Kings Raigne; ſome change of Gouernment; ſome Battaile fought; or the like. So, of the 13. yeares wherein SYLVIVS CAPETVS raigned ouer the Latines, I note onely the firſt; that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of IEHOSOPHAT, wherein CAPETVS began, vnto the 17, wherein SYLVIVS AVENTINVS ſucceeded, and wherein IEHORAM firſt raigned with IEHOSOPHAT his father. For I thought it vaine to haue filled vp a Page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth 2. 3. 4. 5. and ſo ſtill onwards, till I had come to the firſt of AVENTINVS, and 17. of IEHOSOPHAT. In ſetting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of euerie one, what place he held in order of Succeſſion; as whether he were the firſt, ſecond, fift, ſeuenth, or ſo forth, in ranke, of thoſe that raigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption. Before the name is the firſt yeare of his raigne; at the end, or foot of the name (as the ſpace giues leaue) is the whole number of yeares in which he raigned; in the ſpaces following vnderneath are thoſe yeares of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of ſome other King, or with the yeare of anie remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there is it to be vnderſtood, that the ſame yeare belonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but vnto ſome one, or more, of his

his fore-goers: as the first yeare of IEHORAM *King of* Israel *was the same with the second of his brother* AHAZIA, *and the* 22. *of his father* AHAB. *So, where two or three names are found in one space; as in the* 3077. *yeare of the World,* ZIMRI, TIBNI, *and* OMRI: *it is meant, that euerie one of them raigned in some part of the same yeare; which is reckoned the second of* ELA, *and the first of* OMRI. *Particularly, vnder the yeares of the* Ægyptian *Kings are set downe the yeares of those* DYNASTIES, *which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the day of the moneth vpon which* NABONASSARS *yeare began: which, how it varied from other yeares, may be found in the place last aboue cited.*

Concerning the Æra, *or accompt of yeres, from* IPHITVS, *who began the* Olympiads, *from* Rome *built, from* NABONASSAR, *and the like; as much as was thought conuenient hath beene said, where due place was, in the Booke it selfe: so as it remaineth onely to note, that vnder the title of* Olympiads *is set downe first the number of the* Olympiad, *and beneath it, the yeare of that* Olympiad: *as that* CYRVS *began his raigne in* Persia, *in the* 55. Olympiad, *and the first yeare thereof.*

Now, for that the yeares of the World, of the Olympiads, *of* Rome, *of* NABONASSAR, *and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their seuerall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers haue diuided them proportionably in their seuerall Columnes; opposing part of the one yeare to part of the other: not (as I haue here done) cutting all ouerthwart with one streight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour haue I spared, as more troublesome than vsefull; since the more part would not haue apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will onely be needfull to obserue, that howsoeuer the* Æra *of the* Olympiads *be* 24. *yeares elder than that of* Rome, *and* 29, *than that of* NABONASSAR, *yet the raigne of some King may haue begun at such a time of the yeare as did not sute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficultie. One familiar example may explane all. Queene* ELIZABETH *began her raigne the* 17. *of November, in the yeare of our* LORD 1558: *Shee was crowned; held a Parliament; brake it vp; threw downe Images; and reformed manie things in Religion; all in her first yeare: yet not all in that yeare* 1558, *but the greater part in the yeare following; whether we begin with the first of Ianuarie, or with the* 25. *of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but so, as the difference is neuer of a whole yeare.*

The IVLIAN *Period, which I haue placed, as the greater number, ouer the yeares of the World, was deuised by that honorable and excellently learned* IOSEPH SCALIGER: *being accommodated to the* IVLIAN *yeares, now in vse among vs. It consisteth of* 7980 *yeares; which result from the multiplication of* 19. 28. *and* 15, *that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeares of an Indiction. Being diuided by anie of these, it leaues the number of the present yeare; or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last yeare of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the* 4498. *of this Period, when was fought the great battaile of* Cannæ, *the Prime or Golden number was* 14, *the Cycle of the Sunne* 18, *and consequently the Dominicall letter* F. *as may be found by diuiding the same number of the* IVLIAN *Period* 4498, *by* 19. *for the Prime, by* 28. *for the Cycle of the Sunne. This* IVLIAN *Period, after the present accompt, alwayes exceedes the yeares of the World by* 682. *Besides the former vses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeare, than anie other* Æra *(as* From the beginning of the World, From the Floud, From *Troy* taken, *or the like) which are of more vncertaine position.*

More I shall not need to write, as touching the vse or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conuersant in workes of this kinde: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

Iulian

12 MR97 MUSEUM

A CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

YEERES OF THE *IVLIAN* PERIOD, WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

	Iulian, The World, and Adam														
	683 1. *Adā* 920														
	813 131	1. *Seth* 912													
	918 236	106	1. *Enos* 905												
	1008 326	196	91	1. *Cainan.* 910	*All the yeeres of the Patriarchs, wherein they begate children, ayed, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the yeres before they begate children, vnto those that followed; making alwayes a compleate summe.* GEN. 5.										
	1078 396	266	161	71	1. *Mahalaleel.* 895										
	1143 461	331	226	136	66	1. *Iared.* 962									
	1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. *Enoch.* 265								
	1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1. *Methuselah* 969							
	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. *Lamech.* 777						
Adam *dyed about the end of this yeere.*	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56						
Henoch *translated.*	1669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113						
Seth *dyed about the end of this yeere.*	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168						
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. *Noah.* 950					

	Iulian. The World.	Enos.	Cainan.	Mahalaleel.	Iared.	Methuselah.	Lamech.	Noah.	Sem.			
Enos *dyed.*	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84				
Cainan *dyed.*	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179				
Mahalaleel *dyed this yeere.*	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234				
Iared *dyed.*	2104 1422					735	584	366				
Floud threatned, GEN. 6. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481				
	2241 1559					872	685	503	*Sem.* 600			
Lamech *dyed.*	2333 1651					964	777	595	93			
Methusaleh *dyed this yeere a little before the Floud.* Noah *entreth into the Arke.* C. 7. §. 8. & 9. *The Floud.*	2338 1656					969		600	98			
The Floud ceaseth. Noah *issued out of the Arke.*	2339 1657							601	99			
	Iulian. World. Floud.	Noah.	Sem.	1. *Arphaxad* 438								
	2341 1659	603	101									
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. *Salah.* 432							
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. *Heber.* 464						
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. *Peleg.*		*Kings of Assyria.*			
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. *Reu.* 239	1. *Nimrod.* 114			
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. *Sarug.* 220	*Kings of Ægypt.*	
Vide lib. 2. c. 2. §. 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1 Cham 161	
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. *Nahor.* 148
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1. *Belo* 65	83	55	53

1. *Terah.* 205

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	Iulian. World. Floud	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nahor	Terah.	Kings of Sicyon.	
	2618 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Aegyaleus, 5	
	2649 1967 310	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ninus. 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2 1. Europs. 45	
The last yeere of Peleg *his life.*	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah *dyed this yeere.*	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynastie in Egypt. Vid. L. 2 c. 2. §. 3, 4, 5, &c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Mizraim or Osiris, 261		131	22	1. *Abram.* 175
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semiramis, 42	200	11		141	32	11
The last yeere of Reu.	2708 2026 369		468	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Telchin or Salchin, 20	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41

	Julian. World. Floud.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.
	2735 2053 296	495	395	360	330	35	45	175	4 1. Apis, 25.	45
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 1. Ninias, 28	53	183	9	53
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18	70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelasion, 5	70
Abram *receives the Promise. Terah dyes in Haran l. 2. c. 1. §. 1, 2, 3.*	2765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23	75	205	6	75

	Iulian. World. Promiſi.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	
Abram *enters into Canaan, and descends into Egypt. The first of the 430. yeers of Servitude*	2766 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7	
Abram *returnes into Canaan.*	2767 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8	
Abram *his victorie over* Chedorlaomer, *& other Kings l. 2. c. 1. §. 8, 9. &c.*	2775 2093 10	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16	
Ismael borne.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18	
Arphaxad dyes.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19	

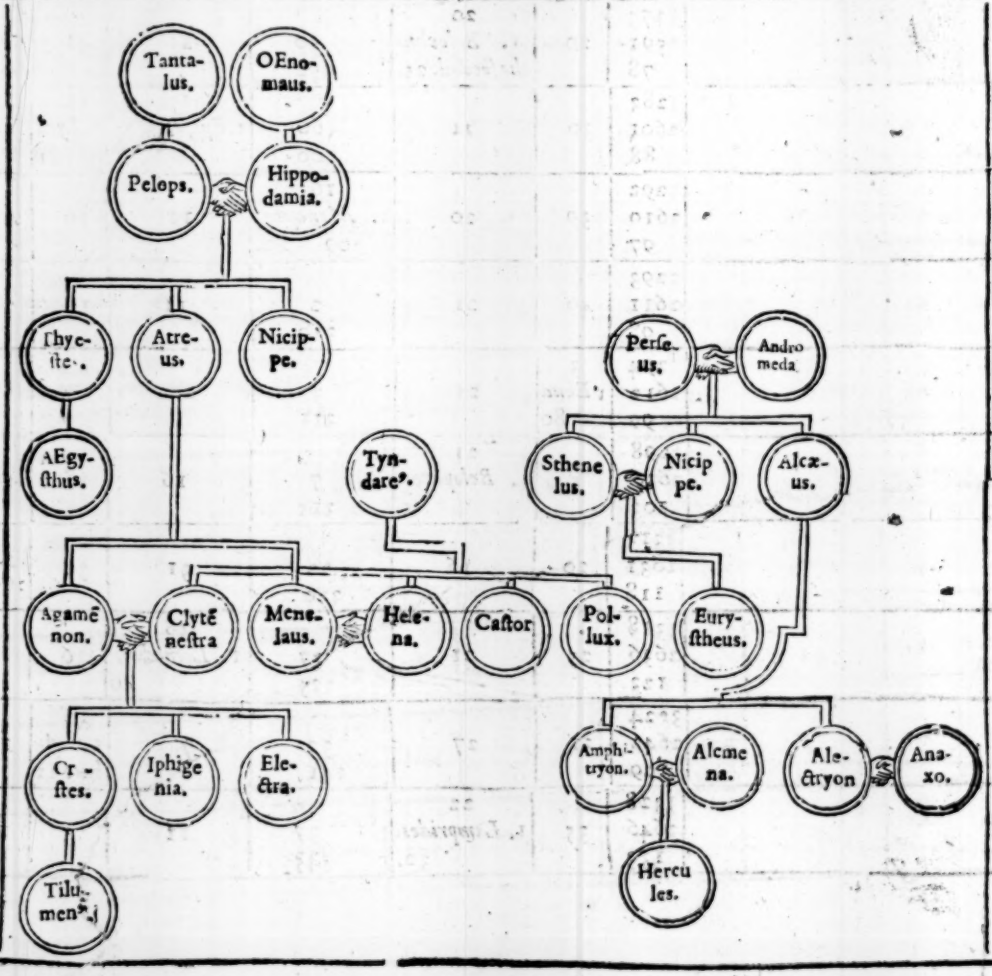
	Iulian. World. Promiſe.	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abraham.	Aſſyria	Ægypt.	Sicyon.		
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Arius 30	91	22		
Iſaac *borne when* Abraham *was* 100. *yeeres old compleate* 101. *current.*	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. *Iſaac* 180	
The laſt yeere of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1 Aralius 40	121	52	21	
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. AEgyptus, 34	22	
Sarai *the wife of* Abraham *dyed this yeere.*	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
Iſaac *tooke* Rebecca *to wife, when he was* 40. *yeeres old compleate.*	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
The laſt yeere of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50	
	Iulian. World. Promiſe.	*Heber.*	*Abraham.*	*Iſaac.*	*Iacob.*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argines.*	
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Thurimachus, 45		
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1 Iacob 147	8 1. Baleus 30	161	6	1 1. Inachus, 50	
Abraham *dyed this yeere.*	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber *dyed this yeere.*	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	
The 17. *Dynaſtie, called of the Shepheards, beginning this yeere, laſted* 103. *yeeres.*	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 1. Arma-mithres, 38	191 1	36	31	
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	8 1. Leucippus, 53	41	
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1. Phoroneus, 60	
The flood of Ogyges, *a thouſand and twentie yeeres before the* Olympiads. *See* L. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1 Belochus Priſcus, 35	229 39	29	19	
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. *Ioſeph.* 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 1. Meſtaphus, 47	44	3
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3 & 4 1. Typhon, and after him Hercul. 7. 72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Baleus 52	3 74	11	54	13

	Iulian. World. Promise.			Isaac.	Iacob.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argines.	
Ioseph *sold into* Ægypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	5 1. Orus, 79 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis. 35	20
The last yeere of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel *into* Ægypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Ægypt, *which lasted* 348. *yeeres.*	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. Peras-ius, 26	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38 12	6	4 1. Argus, 70	55
Iacob *dyes in* Ægypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	56
	Iulian. World. Promise.	Ioseph.	Assyria.	Ægypt.		Sicyon.	Argines.			
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades, 22	48 23		16	11			
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54		11 1. Plinæus, 48	42			
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamit⁹, 20	80 55		2	43			
The last yeere of Ioseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68		15	56			
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83		30	5 1. Pirasus, or Crinsus, 54			
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancaleus, 20	110 85		32	3			
	3074 2392 309		7	6 1. Sesostris the Great 33 91		38	9			
	3085 2403 320		18	13 102		12 1. Orthopolus, 62	20			
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus or Iphereus, 20.	25 115		14	33			
	3107 2425 342		10	7 1. Sesostris the second 124 14		23	42			
	3116 2434 351	1. Moses. 120	19	10 133		32	51			

	Iulian World. Promise.	Moses	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argines.		
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. *Mamilas, or Mamelus.* 30	12 135	34	53		
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1 *Phorbas.* 35		
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1. *Or⁹*, 2. *or Busiris*, 38. 138	37	2	*Athenians.*	
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. *Sparetus*, 40	28 165	13 1. *Marathius*, 20	29		
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. *Cecrops*, 50	
Moses *visites his brethren the Israelites; kills an Ægyptian, and flyes into Midian.*	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. *Triopas*, 46	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. *Thermutis, or Acencheres.* Q. 32. 176	12	5	9	
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. *Ratheris, or Achoris*, 9. 188	24	17	21	
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195	14 1. *Marathus*, 20.	24	28	
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1. *Chĕcres*, 16 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 422	73	18 1. *Ascatades.* 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Moses *his wonders in Ægypt.*	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
	Iulian. World. Exodus.	*Moses.*	*Assyria.*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argos.*	*Athens*	
The Passeouer. Israel deliuered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law giuen. The first of the 480. yeeres from Exodus to building the Temple.	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. *Acherres*, 8. 213	19	42	46	
The Flood of Deucalion, *and Conflagration of* Phaeton *about this time.*	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1. *Echireus*, 55.	44	48	
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. *Cranpus*, 21	2 1. *Granaus*, 10	
	3204 2522 9	89	17	13 1. *Cherres*, 15 221	7	4	4	
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1. *Amphytryon*, 12	
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1. *Armeus, or Danaus*, 5. 236.	22	19	9	
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. *Sthenelus*, 11	12	

	Iulian. World. Exodus.	Moſes	Aſſyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 1. Erichthonius. 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1. Rameſſes, 68 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. Amyntas, 45	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 . Dardanus, 64
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danaus, 50	11	5
The laſt yeere of Moſes.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Iulian. World. Exodus.	Iſrael.	Aſſyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	Troy.
The Iſraelites enter the Land of Promiſe.	3236 2554 41	1 1 Ioſua 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Corax, 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1 Othoniel, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1. Belochus the ſecond. 25.	50 290	21	41	5 1. Pandiõ, 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epopeus, 35	11 2. Lynceº, 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Menophis, 309 40.	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1. Erichthonius. 46
	3294 2612 99	3 1 Ehud 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1. Belopares. 30	7 315	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1. Eratthenes. 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1. Lamedon. 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abas. 23	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. Lamprides, 32.	37 345	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie : *of the* Larthes, 194. *yeeres.* See lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1 Zathus, or Sethosis, 55 1	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1. *Tros.* 60
Tantalus *in Phrygia.*	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. *Præ-tus*, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1. *Sicyon*, 45.	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. *Sosares*, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. *Cecrops the second*, 40	25
Pelops *in Pisa, who gaue name to Peloponnesus.*	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. *Acrisius*, 31	2	26
Ion *and* Xuthus *the sonne of* Hellen. See l. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3374 2692 179	4 1. *Debora* & *Ba.* 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. *Lampares*, 20	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1. *Ramses*, 66. 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, *the Kingdome of the Argiues was diuided into many small parts, and ouergrowne by that of Mycena, whereof some Kings descended from* Perseus, *others from* Pelops, *as in the Pedegree following.*	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Iulian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. *Ilus*, 55.
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. *Eurisstheus*, 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. *Polybus*. 40.	2	8 1. Pandion the 2. 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. *Pannias*, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. *Gedeon*, 40.	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion *chased out of his Kingdome, which is recouered by his sonne* Aegeus, *in few yeeres after. The omission of this Interregnum, and reckoning the yeeres in the fortie eight of* Aegeus, *or the numbring them apart by themselues, breeds answerable difference in the times of the* Athenians *following: as of* Mnestheus, Carops, *and the rest.*	3427 2745 232	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. *Aegeus*, 48.	34
Oedipus *in Thebes.*	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. *Inachus* 42	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. *Atreus and Thyestes*, 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. *Amenophis*, 122 40	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. *Abimelech*, 3.	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. *Laomedon*, 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. *Sosarmus* 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. *Thola*, 23	31	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 379	18	27 1. *Mitreus* 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. *Iair*. 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. *Theseus*, 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. *Phestus*, 8.	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. *Priamus*, 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. *Annemenes*, 162 26	23 1. *Adrastus*, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. *Polyphides* 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. *Tantanes* 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Iulian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	Troy.
	3502 2820 307	9 1. Iephta, 6.	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ibzan. 7.	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 215	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. Mnesthe° 24	21
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Agamemnon, 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The warre of Troy beganne this yeere.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1. Thuoris, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Abdon, 8.	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called Of the Diapolitani, *beganne this yeere in Ægypt, and lasted 178. yeeres,* See lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynastie. 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 332	4	28	3	25 1. Pelasgus, 20.	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. yeeres, before the beginning of the Olympiads. See l. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. *Troy taken.*

	Iulian. World. Exodus.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	The Kingdome of the Latines.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Aegysthus, 6.	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Samson, 20.	29 1. Teuteus 40	8	6	4	24	1 1. Aeneas, 3.
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1. Demophon, 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Orestes, 70	3	2 1. Ascanius, 38
	3548 2866 352	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zeuxippus 32	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. Eli, 40.	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxynetes, 12.	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thyneus 20	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. Syl. Posthumus, 29.

	Iulian. World. Exodus.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	The Kingdome of the Latines.
The Sycionian Kings ended in Zeusippus.	3579 2897 784	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Apis. 1.	6
	3580 2898 785	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Timæ. 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melan. 37.	15
	3593 2911 298	64	15 1. Samuel, and after him Saul, 40.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Dercil. 40.	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius Æneas, 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1 1. Tysamenus, 2.	19	4
The descents of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, gave end to the Kingdome of Mycena, and beginning to the Kingdome of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings whereof I forbeare to insert into this Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Codr⁹, 21	23
	Iulian World. Exodus.		From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	
	3633 2951 438		104	1. Danid, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2952 439		105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. Latinus, 50.	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 1. Enpales, 38.	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ succeede unto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Medon, 20	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. Agæus, 36.	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Ægypt. See L. 2. C. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple 1.	144	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
Salomon beganne to build the Temple 480. yeeres compleat after the deliverance out of Ægypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1. Laosthenes, 45.	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba 39.	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sesac 26 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 177	3 1. Archippus, 19.	19	

	Iulian. World.	Tem-ple.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	
The 21. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. yeeres.	3704 3032	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21	
The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy 180. yeeres. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26	

	Iulian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.
	3713 3031 38	184	1 1. *Rehoboam*, 17.	1 1. *Ieroboam*, 22.	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. *Chemmis*, 50 15.	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1. *Tersippus*, 41.	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1. *Syl. Aqu.*, 26.
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. *Pyrithiades* 20	9 22	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. *Abiam*, 2.	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. *Asa*, 41.	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2	22. 2 1. *Nadab*. 2.	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. *Baasha*, 24.	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3007 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. *Syl. Capys*, 28
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. *Ophrateus*, 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. *Ela*, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of these Israelitish Kings. See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 5 *Zimri.* 1 6 *Tibni.* 7 *Omri.* 12. 4	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30		7	45 59	5 1. *Porbas*, 31.	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. *Cheops*, 56. 65.	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. *Ahab*, 22.	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. *Iehosaphat*, 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Iulian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	36 1. Ophratanes, 30.	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Capetus, 13	
Of Iehoram *his sundrie beginnings to reigne.* See lib. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. *Ieboram.*	21 9 1. *Ahazia*, 2.	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Tyberinus, 8	
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1. *Ieboram*, 12.	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. Mezades, 30.	4	
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. *Ieboram* againe, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6	
Iehosaphat *dies*, *and* Iehoram *reignes alone.*	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. Agrippa, 41.	
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. *Ahazia*, 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5	
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. *Athalia*, 7	11 1. *Iehu*, 28.	28	36 100	11	6	
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1. *Ioas*, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12	
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22	
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 1. Diognetus, 28.	26	
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1. Cephreues, 50. 121	2	27	
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 Ocrazapes or 1. Anaxys Agraxes 42	3 123	4	29	
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. *Ichoahaz.* 17	6	8 128	9	34	
The end of the 21. *Dynastie. The Dynasties following, I omit.*	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36	
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1. Syl. Alladius, 19	
Ioas *reigned with his Father.* Lib. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. *Ioas.*	20	22	23	7	
Ioas *reignes alone.*	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. *Ioas*, 16.	22	24	25	9	
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. *Amazia*, 20.	2	23	25	26	10	

	Iulian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Inda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. Pheredus, 19	13	
	3858 3766 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1. Syl. Aeneas, 37.	
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1. Ieroboam, 41.	37	39	12	5	
	3868 3186 192	339	21	7	38 1. Sardanapalus, 20.	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Aripbron 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Mycerinus, 6.	5	16	
	Iulian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Inda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	Media
L. 2. C. 22. §. 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum eleuen yeeres.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Bocchorus, 44	11	22	
L. 2. c. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20 Sardanapalus slaine.	8	18	29	
L. 2. c. 33. §. 1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Vzzia, or, Azaria. 52.	27		9	19	30	1 1. Arbaces, 28.
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1 Thespius, 27	32	3
L. 2. c. 23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 1. Belosus, or Phul. 48.	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Procas, 23.	8
L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum, 23. yeeres.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. Sosarmus, 30.
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1. Agamnestor, 20	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. Syl. Amulius, 44	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. Apachnas and after him Amyrtis. 6.	8	7	9
Zacharia began at the very end of the yeere. L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23 15 Zacharia sixe Months.	34	2	9	8	10

	Iulian. World. Temple.	Troy.			Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	Media
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 Shallum one month. 17 Menahem 10	35	3	10	9	11
This yeere neerely concurres with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1. Sabacus the Ethiopian. 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Iphitus	Olympiads.	50	18 1. Pekahia, 2.	46	8	12 1. Æschylus, 23	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. c.23. §.5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1. Pekahiah. 2.	48	10	3	22	24
L.2.c.23.§.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1 Iotham 16	2	2 1. Tiglath Phul Assar, 27	11	4	23	25
	Iulian. World. Temple.	Iphit:	Olympiads.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	Media	
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1. Medius, 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5 2	16 12 1. Ahaz, 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1. Interregnum 7. yeeres.	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	13 1. Alcmeon, 2	43	15	
	Iulian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Romãs.	Media
Rome built. Lib. 2. chap. 24. §. 5. Carops the First, governing in Athens for ten yeeres: after whom succeeded sixe chosen each after other for the like time; and thence the office became Annuall.	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1. Carops, 10	1 1. Romulus, 37.	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1. Hoshea, 9.	27	37	5	5	21
The Æra of Nabonassar. L.2. c.25. §.1.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	3 1. Salmanassar or Nabonassar, 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekia began in the very end of this yeere. L.2. c.25. §.1.	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 Ezekia, 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This yeere concurres with the first of Ezekia. *Ibid.*	3969 3287 294	8 3	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian Warre. Whereof see L. 2. c.27. §.4. It lasted 20. yeeres.	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27

The captivitie of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1. Senacherib, 7.	47		15	31
L. 2. c. 26. §. 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	Kings of the Chaldeans.	5	1. Sethon. 23		19	35
Senacheribs *Armie destroied, and he slaine.* L. 2. c. 25. §. 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1. Merodach or Marducempadus.	5 1. Asarhaddon, 10	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1. Cardiceas, 13
Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This yeere or in the end of the yeere foregoing, An Eclipse of* ☾	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1. Merodach, 40	11	14		32	8
	Iulian. World. Temple.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit:*	*Olymp.*	*Iuda.*	*Chaldea.*	*Egypt.*	*Rome.*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	
Two Eclipses of the Moone, in the second yeere of Mardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. Gyges, 38	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1. Manasses 55	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	Interregnum one yeere.	5 1. Deioces, 53.	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 1 Numa Pompilius, 43	2	4	
L. 2. c. 27. §. 2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1. Interregnum, 2.	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1 12 Princes, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian Warre; which lasted about 18. *yeeres.* L. 2. c. 27. §. 4.	4029 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1. Psammiticus, 44	30	31	33	
L. 2. c. 28. §. 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1. Ben Merodach, 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. Argys, 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 1. Tullus Hostilius 32	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 2	55	20	24	10	6 1. Phraortes, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. Amon, 2.	21	25	11	2	19	

	Iulian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Iuda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
The Expeditien of the Scythians. L.2. c.28. §.3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1. Nabuchassar, 33	26	12	3	20	
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1. Iosias, 31	2	27	13	4	21	
L. 2. c. 28. §.2.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. Necao, 17	31	22	39	
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 1. Ancus Martius. 34	24	41	
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 - 3	22	23	4	2	7 1. Cyaxares, 40	42	
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. Sadyattes, 12	
L.2. c.28. §.1. & 2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	148	37 4	31 27 Ieboiakaz 3. menethi	32	13	11	10	2	
Nabuchodonosor *had reigned one yeere with his Father, which is to be regarded in Astronomicall observations concerning his time.* L.2. c.28. §.6. & C.25. §.1.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1. Iehoiakim, 11	33	14	12	11	3	
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	4 1 Nabuchodonosor the Great. 44	17	15	14	6	
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1. Psammis, 12.	16	15	7	
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 19 1. Iehoni 3 moneths. 20	8	7	22	21	4 1. Halyattes, 57	
Zedekia *his iourney to Babylon.* L.2. c.28. §.6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	zedekia 11. yeeres 4	11	10	5 1. L. Tarquinius Priscus, 38	24	4	
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1. Apries or Hophra 10	4	27	7	
Ierusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor; *with whose* 18. *for the more part, and partly with whose* 19. *this yeere concurres.*	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11	
	Iulian. World.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit:*	*Olympiads.*	*Captivitie.*	*Chaldea.*	*Egypt.*	*Rome.*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	
Ierusalem destroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6 10 1 Phar. Hophra slain & the kingdome of Egypt gouerned fortie yeeres by Viceroyes. 6	9	32	12	
Ægypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. L.3. c.1. §.8. & 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23		13	36	16	
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28		18	8 1. Astyages, 35.	21	
Nabuchodonosor *liues wilde; and his Kingdome is gouerned by others for him, during seuen yeeres.* L.3. c.1. §.13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	27 1. Euilmerodach. 2.	15	27	10	30	
	4127 3445	166 161	190	48 2	21	39 1. Niglsar, & Nitocris, 4.	17	29	12	32	

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit:	Olympiads.	Iuda.	Chaldaea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar *recouers his sense and Kingdome.*	4131	170	194	49	25	43 1. Laborosardach 9. moneths.	21	33	16	36	
	449	165		2							
Lib. 3. Chap. 1. §. 6. *The 37. of* Iechonia *his captinitie compleate, and he enlarged.*	4133	172	196	49	27	5 1. Euilmeradach, 26	23	35	18	38	
	3451	167		4							
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	6 1. Seruius Tullus, 44	22	42	
	3455	171		4							
Fortie yeeres after the Conquest of Egypt past, Amasis *beganne his reigne: this being inclusiuely the 41. and therefore the next yeere seemes concurrent with* Amasis *his first.*	4151	190	214	54	45	19	*Amasis*, 34	15	9 1 Cyaxares or Darius the Mede, 26	56	
	3469	185		2							
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5 1 *Crœsus*, 14	
	3471	187		4							

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit:	Olympiads.	Persia.	Chaldaea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Iewes.
	4154	193	217	55	1 1. *Cyrus in Persia*, 23	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The seuen Sages in Greece.	4159	198	222	56	6	6 1. Balthasar, 17	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2							
Pisistratus *makes himselfe Tyrant in Athens.*	4164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3482	198		3							
	4166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14 *Crœsus taken by Cyrus.*	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175	214	238	60	22	17. Balthasar slaine.	24	39	25		69
	3493	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. *Darius the Mede* 2.	25	40	26		70
	3494	210		2							
The beginning of Cyrus *his Empire.*	4177	216	240	60	1 *Cyrus* 7.	2	26	41	*Yeeres from 1 Cyrus*		Zorobabel.
His Edict of libertie to the Iewes.	3495	211		4							
	4181	220	244	61	5		30	7 L. Tarquinius Superbus, 25	5	*Onely* Zorobabel *&* Nehemias *are remembred as Gouernors of the Iewes vnto the 32. of* Artaxerxes Mnemon. *But there were many before* Nehemias, *as himselfe witnesseth.* Ch. 5. n. 15. *so that the stories of them, their number, and names, are vncertayne.*	
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2 1. *Cambyses*, 7.		33	4	8		
	3502	218		3							
The two first yeeres of Plammenitus *and part of the third may be added to the yeeres of his Father, if it be true that* Cambyses *wanne Egypt presently vpon the death of* Amasis. L. 3. c. 4. §. 2.	4186	225	249	63	3		1. *Psammenitus*, 3	6	10		
	3504	220		1							
The Conquest of Ægypt by Cambyses.	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12		
	3506	222		3							

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece	Iewes.	From Cyrus.	
Cambyses *reigned seuen yeeres and fiue moneths, so as this his last yeere was filled vp by the Magi, and (as may seeme) a good part of the next.* L. 3. c. 4. §. 4.	4191	230	254	64	8 *The Magi ous yeers.*		11			15	
	3509	225		2							
	4192	231	255	64	3 1. *Darius Hystaspis*, 36		12			16	
	3510	226		3							

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes; and from Cyrus.
	4197	236	260	65	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens.	21
	3515	231		4					
	4204	243	267	67	13 Babylon which had rebelled is kenby Darius.		42		28
	3522	238		3					
The Tarquines *expelled Rome.* L.4. c. 7. §. 1.	4205	244	268	67	14		25		29
	3523	239		4					
The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L.5. c. 1. §. 2.	4206	245	269	68	15		*Brutus and Publicola* }	*Consuls.*	30
	3524	240		1					
L. 3. c. 5. §. 4.	4211	250	274	69	20. Darius his expedition against the Scythians				35
	3529	245		2					
	4212	251	275	69	21			*The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.*	36
	3530	246		3					
	4222	261	285	72	31		*Sp. Cassius Posth. Cominius. Consuls.*	*The battaile of Marathon.*	46
	3540	256		1					
	4226	265	289	73	35	*Ægypt rebelleth against Darius.*			50
	3544	260		1					
	4228	267	291	73	4 1. *Xerxes*, 21				52
	3546	262		3					
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of lands: which bred great commotion.	4229	268	292	73	2	*Ægypt recouered by Xerxes.*	*Proc. Virginius Sp. Cassius.* }	*Coss.*	53
	3547	263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sunne. L. 3. c. 6. §. 2.	4233	272	296	74	6 *The great muster of Xerxes his Armie at Sardes.*				57
	3551	267		4					
L. 3 c. 6. §. 3. & 6.	4234	273	297	75	7			*The battailes at Thermopylæ, Artemisii & Salamis.*	58
	3552	268		1					
L. 3. c. 6. §. 9. 10. & 11.	4235	274	298	75	8. *Xerxes his tragicall loue.*			*The battaile of Platea and Mycale.*	59
	3553	269		2				*The Athenians rebuild their walls, and lay the foundation of their Dominion.*	
L. 3. C. 7. §. 1. & 2.	4237	276	300	75	10				61
	3555	271		4					
	4244	283	307	77	17			*The great victories of Cimon, at Eurymedon, and elsewhere.*	68
	3562	278		2					
L. 3. c. 7. §. 3.	4248	287	311	78	21 *The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.*				72
	3566	282		3					
	4249	288	312	78	5 1. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, 40.			*Themistocles being banished, flies to Artaxerxes.*	73
	3567	283		4					
	4251	290	314	794	3	*Inarus set vp as King by the Ægyptians.*			75
	3569	285		2					
L. 3. c. 7. §. 5. & 7.	4255	294	318	80	7. *The mariage of Hester.*	*Inarus vanquished by the Persians.*			79 *Esdras* commeth to Ierusalem. *Daniel* his 70. weekes, or 490. yeers begin
	3573	289		2					
	4264	303	327	82	16		*The decemvirs chosen to compound a body of the Roman Lawes.*	*Hippocrates the great Physicion, and Democritus the Philosopher flourish.*	88
	3582	298		3					10

The Accompt from the solution of the Captivitie, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Lowest, or from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265	304	328	82	17		The decemviri chosen for a second yere tyrannize	Cymons voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89
	3583	299		4			& vsurpe the place a third yeere		11
Nehemias comes to Ierusalem.	4268	307	331	83	20			A League for 30. yeeres, betweene Athens & Sparta	92
	3586	302		3					14
	4272	311	335	84	24		Tribuni Militū first chosen in stead of Cōsuls, Dionys. Livie placeth them in the 110. yeere of Rome.		96
	3590	306		3					18
	4273	312	336	84	25			The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles.	97
	3591	307		4					19
	4278	317	341	86	30			The Athenians & the Corcyræans against the Corinthians.	102
	3596	312		1					24
The wals of Ierusalem finished. Nehemias returnes to King Artaxerxes.	4280	319	343	86	32				104
	3598	314		3					26
L. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4283	322	346	67	35			The first yeere of the Peloponnesian Warre.	107
	3601	317		2					29
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. L. 3. c. 8. §. 4.	4289	328	352	88	6 Xerxes 2. months. 7 Sogdianus 8. months			The victory of the Athenians at Pylus.	113
	3607	323		4					35
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4290	329	353	89	8 1. Darius Nothus. 19.				114
	3608	324		1					36
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5. & 6.	4292	331	355	89	3			A vaine & troublesome peace betweene Athens and Sparta.	116
	3610	326		3					38
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. & c. 8. §. 8.	4301	340	364	91	12 Egypt rebelleth against the Persian, & sets vp Kings that raigne successively, til Ochus his reconqueste.	1 1. Amyrtæus, 6		The Athenian forces in Sicil vtterly destroyed.	125
	3619	335		4					47
C. 8. §. 9.	4302	341	365	92	13 Darius enters into confederacie with the Spartans.	2		The government of the 400. in Athens, which was suppressed the yeere following.	126
	3620	336		1					48
The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Armie of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. † 3.	4304	343	367	92	15	4		The Athenians begin to recouer strength.	128
	3622	338		3					50
L. 3. c. 8. §. 10.	4306	345	369	93	17	6		Alcibiades after many victories returnes frō banishment to Athens: is made General, & banished againe.	130
	3624	340		1					52
	4307	346	370	93	18	2 1. Nephres 6			131
	3625	341		2				The battaile at Arginusæ.	53
	4308	347	371	93	19	2			132
	3626	342		3				Dionysius the elder vsurps tyrannie in Syracuse.	54
L. 3. c. 8. §. 12.	4309	348	372	93	9 1. Artaxerxes Mnemon 43	3		The battaile at Argos, Potamos, &c.	133
	3627	343		4					55
	4311	350	374	94	3	5	The siege of Veii, which lasted 10. yeres		135
	3629	345		2					57
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313	352	376	94	5. The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes.	3 1. Acoris 12		Socrates put to death. The 30. tyrants put downe in Athens.	137
	3631	347		4					59

	Iulian and World.	Rome and Nab:	Iphit:	Olympiads.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes From Cyrus. Daniel.
L.3.c.11.§.4.	4318 3636	357 352	381	96 1	10	6		Ageſilaus warreth in Aſia.	142 64
L.3.c.11.§.7.	4320 3638	359 354	383	96 3	12	8		The victorie of Conon at Gnidus, &c.	144 66
	4321 3639	360 355	384	96 4	13	9	Veij taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flouriſh.	145 67
	4325 3643	364 359	388	97 4	17	3 1. Pſammiticus the ſon of Inarus, & after him Nephres, that had him expelled reigned in all about two yeeres.	The honorable victorie of Camillus ouer the Falifci.		149 71
L.4.c.7.§.1. L.3.c.11.§.9.	4326 3644	365 360	389	98 1	18	2	Rome taken & burnt by the Gaules.	The Peace of Antalcidas.	150 72
	4327 3645	376 361	390	98 2	19	4 1. Nectanebus. 18			151 73
	4332 3650	371 366	395	99 3	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.	The Lacedemonians take the Citadell of Thebes by treaſon.	156 78
L.3.c.11.§.11.	4336 3654	375 370	399	100 3	28	10		The Thebans recouer their Citadell, and make ſtrong warre vpon the Lacedemonians.	160 82
	4340 3658	379 374	403	101 3	32	14	Tribunes of the people continued 5. yeares in office, propound popular Lawes, among which, That one of the Conſuls ſhould be ſtill a Pl. bian.		164 86
L.3.c.12.§.1.	4343 3661	382 377	406	102 2	35	17		The famous battaile of Leuctra.	167 80
L.3.c.12.§.4.	4345 3363	384 379	408	102 4	37	4 1. Tachus 8. Euſebius giues only 2. yeres to Tachus. Reinec. 6; but the ſtorie of him proues more.	L. Sextius a Plebeian, and L. Aemylius, Conſuls.	The haſtie growth of the Theban Eſtate.	169 91
	4351 3669	390 385	414	104 2	43. Many Prouinces rebell againſt Artaxerxes, and are ſoone reclaymed.	7		The great Battaile of Mantinea. Epaminondas dyes.	175 97 Ionathan aboue this time high Prieſt.
L.3.c.12.§.8.	4352 3670	391 386	415	104 3	10 1. Ochus. 23.	8. Tachus betrayed by Ageſilaus. 1. Nectanebus 13.		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themſelues by conuerting their Treaſure to vaine vſes.	176 98
	4354 3672	393 388	417	105 1	3	3		1. Philip King of Macedon 24. yeeres, and part of the 25.	178 100
L.4.c.1.§.4.	4359 3677	398 393	422	106 2	8	8		6 The Phocian warre begins.	183 105
	4364 3682	403 398	427	107 3	13 Ochus reconquers Ægypt.	13. Nectanebus flies into Æthiopia.		11	188 110
L.4.c.1.§.6.	4368 3686	407 402	431	108 3	17			15 The end of the Phocian Warre.	192 114
L.5.c.1.§.4.†.4.	4369 3687	408 403	432	108 4	18			16 Timoleon his voyage into Sicil.	193 115
	4370 3688	409 404	433	109 1	19	Nabonaſſar. Nouemb. the 17.		17 Philip waſteth Illyria, and drawes the Theſſalians to follow him	194 116
After this, the yeeres from Cyr. & Daniel are too few, by One.	4375 3693	414 409	438	110 2	11 1 Arſes 3.			22	199 121 Iaddus High Priest.

	Iulian and World.	Rome and Nab:	Iphit:	Olympiads.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes From Cyrus. Daniel.
	4376	415	439	110	2			23 The battaile of Chæronea. Philip chosen Captayne Generall of the Greekes	2 199
	3694	410		2					121
	4378	417	441	111	12	Nabon.		25 Philip slaine by Pausanias.	4 201
	3696	412		1	1. Darius 6. yeeres & somwhat more	Nouemb. 15.		1. Alexander the great twelue yeares and fiue moneths.	123
	4379	418	442	111	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5 202
	3697	413		2					124
	4380	419	443	111	3			3 Alexander passeth into Asia.	6 203
	3608	414		3					125
L.4. c.2. §.4.	4381	420	444	111	4 The battaile of Issus.			4	7 204
	3699	415		4					126
L.4. c.2. §.5, 6 & 7. & l.5. c.2. §.8.	4382	421	445	112	5		The Gaules enter into League with the Romans.	5 Alexander winnes Tyre and Egypt.	8 205 Taddus meeting Alexander, is reuerenced by him.
	3700	416		1					129
	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit:	Olymp.					
An Eclipse of ☾	4383	422	446	112	6 The battaile of Arbela.			6 Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis wonne by Alexander.	9 206
	3701	417		2					128
L.4. c.2. §.13.	4384	423	447	112	7 Darius slaine by Bessus.			7	10 207
	3702	418		3					129
					Macedon.	Ægypt.		Greece. Romans.	Iewes. Daniel
	4385	424	448	112	8. Alexander changeth conditions: hee puts to death Parmenio and Philotas.				11
	3703	419		4					130
	4380	425	449	113	9. Alexander passeth into India: kills Clytus and Callisthenes.				12
	3704	420		1					131
Alexander dyed 17. dayes before the Summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424. yeeres: and hence to the reigne of Augustus, 294. The summe, 718. yeeres, which agrees with this accompt, Ptolem. Almageſt. l.3. c.8.	4390	429	453	114	13. Alexander dyes at Babylon.	Nabon. Nouemb. 12.			16
	3708	424		1					135
	4391	430	454	114	1. Aridæus, 6. and foure moneths.	1 1. Ptolemie Lagi, 39.	L.3.c.3.§.1.2 & 3.	The Lamian Warre.	1. Onias, 23.
	3709	425		2					136
	4394	433	457	115	4	4. Perdiccas slaine in Egypt. Nab. 11 Nou.	L.4. c.3. §.8. & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.	4
	3712	428		1					139
	4395	434	458	115	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5			5
	3713	429		2					140
Aridæus slaine by Olympias. Antigon° beaten by Eumenes.	4397	436	460	115	7	7			7
	3715	431		4					142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slaine by Cassander. Antigonus growes dreadfull	4398	437	461	116	1. Cassander. 19.	8		Thebes reedified by Cassander.	8
	3716	432		1					143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this twelfth from Alexander, by which account he reigned 32. yeeres.	4402	441	465	117	5	12 Nabonassar. Nouemb. 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolemie and Seleucus.		12
	3720	436		1					147
Peace between Alexanders Captains: with diuision of Prouinces.	4403	442	466	117	6	13			13
	3721	437		2					148

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdome of the Greekes.	Greece.	Romans.	Iewes. Daniel
The Æra of the Kingdome of the Greekes.	4404	443	467	117	7	14	1	L.4. c.5. §.7.		14
	3722	438		3			1. Seleuc°. 3°			149
							1			
Alexanders Captayns assume the name of Kings.	4406	445	469	118	9	16	3	Athens set free by Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus.		10
	3724	440		1		Ptolemie ouercome by Demetrius at Cyprus.	3			151
L.4. c.6. §.4.	4413	452	476	119	16	23	10. The battaile at Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slaine.			23
	3731	447		4			10			138
	4414	453	477	120	17	24	11 Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius.			1 into the Ascent 13
	3732	448		1			11			150
	4417	456	480	120	1. Antipater and Alexander the sonne of Cassander. 4	27	14			4
	3735	451		4			14			162
L.4. c.6. §.7.	4421	460	484	121	1. Demetrs°.6.	31	18			8
	3739	455		4			18			166

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit:	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Iewes. Daniel	
	4427	466	490	123	1. Pyrrhus 7. Moneths.	37	24			Eleazar high Priest 35	
	3745	461		2			24			172	
	4428	467	491	123	1. Lysimachus 5.	38	25			2	
	3746	462		3			25			172	
	4429	468	492	123	2	39 2 1. Ptolemie Philadelphus, 38	26			3	
	3747	463		4			26			174	
The translation of the Bible by the Septuagint.	4432	471	4 5	124	5	4	29		The Tarentines raise warre in the Easterne part of Italie, & call in Pyrrhus against the Romans.	6	
	3750	466		3.			29			177	
L.4. c.6. §.9. & Cap.7. §.2.	4433	472	496	124	6. Lysimachus slaine. Seleucus 7. Mon.	5	30. Seleucus slaine in the end of the 124. Olymp. Polib. & Iustin. 30		Pyrrhus his victorie against the Romans.	7	
	3751	467		4						178	
L.4. c.7. §.3. & 7.	4434	473	497	125	1. Ptolemie Ceraunus, Antipater, Meleager, Sostheus.	6 Nabon	2 1. Antiochus Soter, 19	The Gaules ouer great spoile in Macedon and Greece, vnder Brennus and Belgius.		8	
	3752	468		1		Nouēb. 1	31			179	
	4436	475	499	125	1 1. Antigonus Gonatas, 36.	8	3		Pyrrhus goes into Sicil.	10	
	3754	470		3			22			181	
L.5. c.2. §.6.	4438	477	501	126	3	10. Nabonassars yere begins the first of Octob.	5	About these times the Achæans begunne their societie.	Pyrrhus called out of Sicil against the Romans.	12	
	3756	472		1			25			183	
	4439	478	502	126	4	11	6		Pyrrhus ouerthrowne by the Romans.	13	
	3757	473		2			26			184	
L.4. c.7. §.5.	4441	480	504	126	6	13	8	Pyrrhus slaine at Argos.	The Tarentines craue aid of the Carthaginians.	15	
	3759	475		4			28			186	
The translation by the septuagint finished, this 17. of Philadelphus.	4445	484	508	127	10	17	12			19	Consuls
	3763	479		4			42			190	
	4446	485	509	128	11	18. Nabonassar. Oct. 29.	13			Manasses high Priest, 27.	
	3764	480		1			43			191	
The more ancient Roman Consuls haue beene often so vncertaine, that Liuie hath doubted whom to name.	4450	489	513	129	15	22. Nabonassar, Oclob. 28	17	L.5. c.1. §.3.	The beginning of the first Punicke Warre.	5	Ap. Claudius.
	3768	484		1			47			195	M. Fulvius

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdome of the Greekes.	Greece.	Romans.	Iewes. Daniel	Consuls.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	3			8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487		4			1. Antiochus Theus, 16			198	T. Otacilius.
L.5. c.1. §.6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2		Duilius his victorie at Sea.	9	C. Duilius.
	3772	488		1			51			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus passeth into Africke.	12	M. Attil. Reg.
	3775	491		4			54			202	Cn. Cornelius.
L.5. c.1. §.8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Caryneñsis Prator of the Achæans.	Regulus taken prisoner.	13	L. Manlius.
	3776	492		1			55			203	Q. Caditus.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus retouers Sicyon and ioynes it to the Achæans.		18	L. Cæcilius.
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdome.	4464	503	457	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
	3782	498		3			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	37	13		Shipwrack, and vnhappie fight of the Romans at sea.	20	P. Clandius, Pulcher, &
	3783	499		4			62			210	L. Iunius.
	4467	506	530	133	32	3 1 Ptolemie Euergetes, 26	15			22	L. Cæcilius.
	3785	501		2			64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil.	4469	508	532	133	34	3	4 1. Seleucus Callinicus 20			24	M. Fabius.
L.5. c.1. §.11.	3787	503		4			66			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511	535	134	2 1 Demetrius 10	6	4		Lutatius his great victorie at Ægateis.	27	C. Luct. Catul
	3790	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumius
The warre of the Mercinaries with the Carthaginians. L.5. c.2.	4473	512	536	134	2	7	5	Aratus wins Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	Onias 1	Q. Luctatius.
	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius.
	4474	513	537	135	3	8 Nabon Oct. 22	6			1. Simon the iust 28	C. Claudius.
	3792	508		1			71			219	M. Sempron.
The warre with the Mercinaries ended.	4476	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Gracchus.
	2794	510		3			72			221	Falco.
	4482	521	545	137	3 1. Antigonus Doson 12	16	14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516		1			79			227	Malleolus.
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman Embassador slaine by Queene Teuta.	10	M. Æmylius
	3801	517		2			80			228	M. Iunius.
L.5. c.2. §.7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Teuta Queene of Illyria subdued by the Romans.	12	L. Posthumius,
	3803	519		4			82			220	C. Fulvius.
L.5. c.5. §.1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23	5 1. Seleucus Ceraunus, 3			16	L. Æmylius.
	3807	523		4			86			224	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Consul this yeere. See L.5. c.2. §.8.	4492	531	555	139	11	26	5 1. Antiochus the Great, 36,		Marcellus his victorie ouer the Gaule about Milan.	19	C. Cornelius.
	3810	526		2			89			237	M. Marcellus
L.5. c.5. §.2.	4493	532	556	139	12	4 1. Ptolomie Philopator 27.	2			20	P. Cornelius.
	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius.
	4494	533	557	140	4 1. Philip. 42.	2	3			20	L. Veturius.
	3812	528		1			91			239	C. Luctatius.

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & Kingdome of the Greekes.	Greece.	Rome.	Iewes and Daniel	Consuls.
Hannibal takes Saguntum.	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4	Demetrius Pharius chased out of his Lordship.		22	L. Æmylius.
	3813	529		2			92			240	M. Liuius.
The beginning of the second Punick warre.	4496	535	559	140	3	4	5	L. 5. c. 3. §. 4.	The battayles of Ticinus and Trebia.	23	P. Cor. Scipio.
	3814	530		3		5	93			241	T. Sempronius.
The occurrences of this yeere are referred by Polyb. l. 5. to the 3. of the 14. Olymp. This battaile of Thrasymene was fought in the Spring, the Olympian yeere beganne at the Summer Solstice. Hannibal and Marcellus. Hiero King of Syracuse dyes. Hieronymus succeedes.	4497	536	560	140	4 ☉ Eclips. Liu. l. 22. Feb. the 11. reckoning by Iulian yeeres	VVarre in Syria betweene Antiochus & Ptolemie.	6	Philip and the Achaeans make peace with the Aetol.	The battayles of Thrasymene.	24	C. Flaminius.
	3815	531		4			94			242	Cn. Seruilius.
	4498	537	561	141	5	6 Nabonassars yeere begins Octob. 16.	7		The great battaile of Canne.	25	C. Terēt. Varro
	3816	532		1			95			242	L. Æm. Paul.
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		Posthumi⁹ the Roman Consul slain by the Gaules	20	L. Posthumius T. Semp. Grac.
	3817	533		2			96			244	Q. Fabius.
The 2. Scipioes slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarētu	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11	Philip & the Achaeans haue warr with the Aetolians and Romās in Greece.	Syracuse won by Marcellus. Capua besieged	247 1. Onias high Priest 39.	Ap. Claudius.
	3820	536		1			99				Q. Fuluius.
Hannibal at the walls of Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		Young Scipio sent into Spaine. Capua won by the Romās.	2	Cn. Fuluius.
	3821	537		2			100			248	P. Sulpitius.
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16		The battayle at Metaurus.	6	C. Clan. Nero.
	3825	541		2			104			252	M. Liuius.
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain	7	Q. Cæcilius.
	3826	542		3			105			253	L. Veturius.
	4510	549	573	144	17	5 1. Ptolemie Epiphanes 24	19		Scipio inuades Africke.	9	Cethegus.
	3828	544		1			107			255	P. Sempronius
	4511	550	574	144	18	2	20		King Syphax taken.	10	Seruilius, and
	3829	545		2			108			256	Seruilius.
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	11	T. Claudius.
	3830	546		3			109			257	M. Seruilius.
The end of the second Punicke warre, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This yeere and the next were three Eclipses of the Moone. L. 5. c. 5. §. 14.	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		Scipio triumphs ouer Carthage.	12	Lentulus.
	3831	547		4			110			258	Patus.
	4516	555	579	145	23. Philip ouercome at the River Apsus, by the Romans.	7	25		L. 5. c. 4. §. 13.	15	T. Q. Flamin.
	3834	550		3			113			261	Sex. Ælius.
	4517	556	580	145	The battaile at Cynoscephalæ, 24	8	26			16	Cethegus.
	3835	551		4			114			262	Q. Minutius.
Hannibal expelled Carthage. l. 5. c. 5. §. 4. & c. 4. §. 15	4518	557	581	146	25 Peace betweene Philip and the Romans.	9	27	Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romās		17	L. Furius.
	3836	552		1			115			263	Marcellus.
C. 5. ℓ. 5.	4519	558	582	146	26	10	28	War upon Nabis the Tyrant.		18	M. Cato.
	3837	553		2			116			264	L. Valerius.
C. 5. ℓ. 7.	4522	561	585	147	29	13	31 Antiochus at Chalcis. 119			21	L. Quintius.
	3840	556		1						267	Cn. Domitius.
	4523	562	586	147	30	14	32 Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ. 120			22	Acili⁹ Glabrio
	3841	557		2						268	Nasica.
	4524	563	587	147	31	15	33	C. 5. §. 8	The great victory of L. Scipio ouer Antiochus in Asia, which gaue beginning to the Romā Luxurie.	23	L. Scipio.
	3842	558		3			121			269	C. Lelius.

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit:	Olymp	Macedon.	Ægypt.	Syria & Kingdome of the Greekes.	Greece	Rome.	Iewes and Daniel	Consuls.
L.5.c.5.§.9	4527	566	590	148	34	18	36		Scipio driuen to banish himselfe from Rome.	26	Lepidus.
	3845	561		2			124			272	Flaminius.
	4528	567	591	148	35	19	6 1. Seleucus Philopater, 12. 25			27.	Sp. Posthumi⁹.
	3846	562		3						273	Q. Martius.
L.5.c.6.§.2.	4531	570	594	149	38	22	4		Scipio, Hannibal, and Philopœmen die. Tully placeth Scipioes death two yeeres earlyer.	30	Marcellus.
	3849	565		2			128			276	Q. Fabius.
L.5.c.6.§.3.	4532	571	595	149	39 The tyrannie of Philip. His son Demetrius accused to him, & slaine the next yeere.	23	5			31	Paulus.
	3850	566		2			129			277	Cn. Babius.
Chap.6.§.4.	4533	572	596	149	40	24	6	Callicrates betraieth the Achæans and all the Greekes.		32	Cethegus.
	3851	567		4			130			278	M. Babius.
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	4535	574	598	150	42 1. Perseus 11. or 12. yeeres.	2	8			34	Piso.
	3853	569		2			132			280	Manlius.
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	2863	579		4			142				Servilius.
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FINIS

BRITISH MUSEUM 17 MAR 37

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1617.

C.f. 23 March 1619